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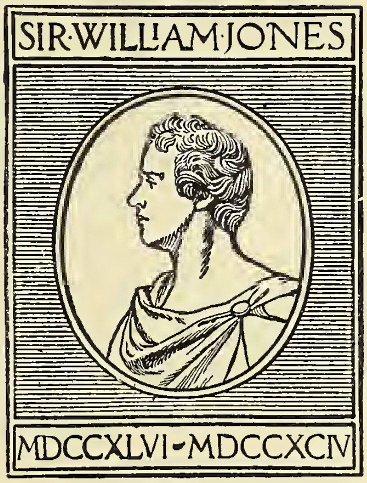
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RAMACARITA BY SANDHYĀKARA NANDI.

EDITED BY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHĀYA HARAPRASĀD SĀSTRĪ, M.A.

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Rāmacarita.

By SANDHYĀKARA NANDĪ. *Edited by* MAHĀMAHOPĀDHĀYA HARAPRASĀD SĀSTRĪ, M.A.

PREFACE.

Rāmacarita text and commentary.

The manuscript of Rāmacarita was acquired by me in 1897. It is a curious work. It is written throughout in double *en tendre.* It is written in imitation of the Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya Read one way, it gives the connected story of the Rāmāyaṇa. Read another way, it gives the history of Rāmapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The story of Rāmāyaṇa is known, but the history of Rāmapāla is not known. So it would have been a difficult task to bring out the two meanings distinctly. But fortunately the MS. contained not only the text of Rāmacarita, but a commentary of the first canto and of 36 verses of the second. The commentary portion of the manuscript then abruptly came to an end. The commentary, as may be expected, gives fuller account of the reign of Rāmpāla than the text. The other portion of the text is difficult to explain, and I have not attempted to make a commentary of my own. But I have tried, in my introduction, to glean all the historical information possible by the help of the commentary and the inscriptious of the Pāla dynasty, and other sources of information available to me.

Its author and his family.

The author of the text is Sandhyākara Nandī, who composed the work in the reign of Madanapāla Deva, the second son of Rāmapāla, and the fourth king from Rāmapāla, for, he ends his work with a hearty wish for the long life of Madanapāla. The author enjoyed exceptional opportunities of knowing the events of Rāmapāla's reign and those of his successors, as his father was the Sāndhivigrahika, or the Minister of Peace and War of Rāmapāla, and lived at Pauṇḍra-Vardhana, if not the capital, a suburb of the capital of the Pālas. When the work was written the events narrated in it were recent and people understood them without difficulty, but the case is quite different now when all memory of the events is lost. The author was unwilling to publish it, but he often repeated stray ślokas in assemblies, and so in a short time it became known that he had written a book and his friends pressed him to publish it.

The author belonged to a very respectable family of Vārendra Brāhmaṇas, who derived their name from their residence in the Vārendra country, *i.e.*, North Bengal, the scene of the struggles of Rāmapāla for empire. The residential village from which Sandhyākara's family derived their cognomen is Nanda, perhaps a contraction of Nandana. The family is still well known. His grandfather was Pināka

Nandī and his father Prajāpati Nandī. The author was not only a poet, but a linguist. As Rāmapāla was Rāma, so the poet calls himself Kalikāla Vālmīki.

The scribe and the script.

The manuscript is written in Bengali character of the twelfth century, the commentary though written a few years later was written in the same character. Both are written in a bold and beautiful hand, the commentary is clearer than the text A comparison with the dated Bengali MSS. of the 12th century, of which there are two available, leaves little doubt that the present MS. belongs to the same century. The scribe to the text was Sīlacandra, who, from his name, appears to have been a Buddhist by faith. But unfortunately he did not know Sanskrit. He wrote as he saw. He makes mistakes which a little knowledge of Sanskrit might have avoided. He often omits verses and portions of verses. In the commented portions these omissions have been supplied from the commentary, but in the uncommented portion they remain as they are.

Unique historical work.

The importance of this work for the history of Bengal in the first half of the twelfth, and the second half of the eleventh century can not be overrated. It is a contemporary record though obscured by double *en tendre*, and such records are so rare for India, and especially for eastern portion of it, that it may be pronounced as unique.

The introduction.

In the introduction I have attempted to write a connected history of the Pālas of Bengal from their election as kings in about 770 A.D. to the end of Madanpāla's reign which comes close upon 1119, the starting-point of the era of the Sena kings of Bengal.

The task of editing Rāmapālacarita from one single MS., and of writing the history of the Pālas from the meagre records available, is a very difficult task, and I am fully aware of the imperfections. I hope, however, my readers will look upon the work with indulgence.

I have but very rarely used the Bengal and Tibetan traditions, but I have made full use of the literary treasures of this period examined in Nepal.

INTRODUCTION.

Who the Pālas were.

The Pālas in their inscriptions do not claim descent from any mythical beings and even from the Kṣatriya race. Their first progenitor is Dayita Viṣṇu, a Hindu name. He is described as Sarvavidyāvadāta, sanctified by all sorts of knowledge. He was not even a military man. His son was a soldier of fortune who seems to have played an important part in the troublous times which followed the fall of the king of Gauḍa at the hands of Yaśovarma Deva, the king of Kanauj, about 730 A.D.[1]

In the Rāmacarita the Pālas are said to have been descended from the Ocean god. The Bengal tradition, as embodied in the Kāṅurpālā of Ghanarāma's Dharmamaṅgala, describes how the Ocean God came in the guise of Dharmapāla to his banished wife, Vallabhā, and so a son was born to the king. This means that Devapāla was the son of the Ocean God, and not his uncle Vākpāla, whose descendants really reigned. How the subsequent kings of this dynasty belonged to the Samudrakula is a mystery. As time went on, their pretensions seem to have been on the increase, for Vaidya Deva in his Assam inscription describes his liege Lord, Madanapāla, as belonging to solar race.

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[1] Stein's Introduction to Rajataraṅgiṇī, p. 49; and Gouḍa Vaho.

Rāmpālacarita and the Vaidya Deva-praśasti are very late works. In none of the early inscriptions do the Pālas advance any such pretensions. They were Plebeians, and so they thought well to remain. A contemporary of Dharmapāla, however, calls him as Rājabhaṭa Vaṃśapatita, that is, the descendant of a military officer of some king [see *infra*].

How they became kings.

They were made kings by election. The subjects forced Gopāla to accept the hands of the goddess of fortune. The words in Sanskrit can have two interpretations. They may also mean that the subjects forced him to accept revenue or tribute. This is a case of election. Mr. Tawney wrote a paper about elections in ancient India, but this is a historical instance of election; so the Pālas got the kingdom not by conquest, nor by inheritance, nor by marriage.

Why were they elected ?

The reason is given thus: *Mātsyam Nyāyamapohitum*, to escape from being absorbed into another kingdom, or to avoid being swallowed up like a fish. The state of the country since 730 A.D. was deplorable. After the fall of the king of Gauḍa, the king of Assam conquered greater part of the Eastern India, and Gauḍa is mentioned by name as one of the countries held by him in subjection [1] at least up to the year 759 A.D. A banished king Jayā-Pīḍa of Kāśmír came to Pauṇḍra-Varddhana [2], obtained the hand of the daughter of a local chief, and freed him from the subjection of his liege Lord (760 or later). Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king, too, is said to have become very proud by acquiring the sovereignty of Gauḍa and Bengal; and by taking away the two Royal umbrellas of Gauḍa [*Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi, 243]. All this shows how the country was weak and how torn it was by dissensions. Any great power outside Bengal might easily have conquered it. But fortunately there were no such powerful kings near at hand, and so the Bengalis very wisely thought of electing the son of Vappata, a soldier of fortune, to the throne, and saved their independence. This event, I believe, took place shortly after the Kāśmīr raid (760 or later). For quarter of a century they had peace, and their country made a good deal of progress; at the end of this quiet time Dharmapāla found opportunities to conquer Kanauj [see *infra*].

How could they marry Kṣatriya princesses ?

The question may be asked, if they were not Kṣatriyas, how could they marry in Kṣatriya families, such as Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Chedis, and so on ? The reason is not far to seek. The term Kṣatriya has undergone various changes of meaning. About 400 B.C. it meant a caste. But the purāṇas are unanimous in saying that the Kṣatriyas were all destroyed by Nandas, and this is borne out by a passsage in Savara's authoritative commentary on the Mimāṃsā Sūtras.[1] He says that the word Rājā meant a Kṣatriya engaged under government or in the army in Āryāvartta, but in the Andhra country, others so engaged would be called a Rājā. So gradually Rājā and Kṣatriya became synonymous, and so, many powerful invaders have been included in the meaning of the term Kṣatriya. Under the circumstances it is no wonder that Pālas when they had ruled for two or three generations should be regarded as Kṣatriyas. But still Siṃhagiri in his Vyāsa Purāṇa imbedded in the Vallālacarita after recounting all the Kṣatriyas in India in the 12th century, speaks of the Pālas as the worst of Kṣatriyas.

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[1] Ind. Ant., vol. ix, p. 78.

[2] Kalhan puts him between 751—782. But this requires a correction, says Dr. Stein. It may be from 760 or 70 to 800.

Date of Dharmapāla.

Dharmapāla is the second king of the Pāla dynasty. It is not known when he began to reign and when his reign came to an end, but it is known that the Khālimpur grant (J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 39 *et seq.*; and *Nachrichten*, Göttingen, 1903, p. 308) was made in the 32nd year of his reign, so he must have reigned at least 32 years or longer. But the question is, when did he reign? In Vigrahapāla's Bhāgalpur grant (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xv, p. 304) there is a statement that he conquered Indra of Kanauj, but at the request of old Brāhmiṇs of Pāñcāla he conferred the crown of Kanauj on Cakrāyudha. So Cakrāyudha was his contemporary. In a Gwaliār inscription (*Nachrichten*, Göttingen, 1905, p. 300), while giving a history of the wars of Nāgabhaṭa, a Parihāra king, it is stated that Nāgabhaṭa humbled Cakrāyudha who was a dependant. It has been already said that Cakrāyudha was a dependant of Dharmapāla, so Nāgabhaṭa and Dharmapāla belong to the same time. And we know from another inscription that Nāgabhaṭa was ruling in the year 815 A.D. (*Epi. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 198).

In an inscription not yet published, but extracts from which have been given by S. Bhandarkar in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1906 (J.B.B.R.A.S., No. lxi, p. 116), are described the military operations of Govinda the third, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Mānyakheṭa. He led a victorious army from the south to the foot of the Himalayas. Dharma and Cakrāyudha submitted to him, but he had to fight with Nāgabhaṭa. So all these four kings were contemporaries. Govinda's certain dates range from 794 to 813, and his son's dates range from 817 to 877 A.D. Indra whom Dharma replaced was reigning in 783 A.D. (Kielhorn's List of Southern Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. viii). So the order of events is this. Indra reigning in 783 A.D, Indra replaced by Cakrāyudha, Cakrāyudha defeated by Nāgabhaṭa, Nāgabhaṭa defeated by Govinda. All these events must have taken place between 783 and 816 A.D. So Dharma's conquest of Kanauj must be placed somewhere between 783 and 816.

But the Rāṣṭrakuṭa prince, Parabala, whose daughter Dharmapāla married, constructed a temple at Pāthāri in 861 A.D. (Epi Ind., vol. ix, p. 248). This would appear rather inconsistent. But Parabala must have been a very old man when he constructed the temple, for young princes are not fond of such religious works. And it can be proved that Parabala and his father lived long.

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[1] Bibl. Ind. edition, Adhyāya II, Pada II, अवेष्टियागाम्नरत्वाधिकरण

Nāgāvaloka, a prince of Guzrat, was very prosperous in the year 756 (Epi Ind., vol. ix, p. 251). The founder of Chāhumana family was one of his favoured officers (Epi. Ind., vol. ii, p. 121). But some time after this he was severely beaten by Karkarāja (Epi. Ind., vol. ix, p. 253), who sacked his capital, and Parabala was Karkarāja's son. So a century must have elapsed between Karkarāja and Parabala and it is not impossible for Dharmapāla to marry a daughter of Parabala.

The date of Dharmapāla, therefore, must fall between 783 A.D. when Indra was reigning at Kanauj, and 817 when Govinda's son became king on the death of his father, and in an early part of this period to allow so many wars to come in succession.

Extent of his empire.

By the conquest of Kanauj, Dharmapāla made himself master of Northern India, with the kings of Bhoja (Malwa), Matsya (Jaypur), Madra (Punjab), Kuru (Sirhind), Jadu (Khāndeś), Avanti (eastern Malwa), Gandhāra (Peshwar), and Kīra (the borderland), acknowledging his supremacy; practically he had imperial sway over the whole Āryāvarta about the year 800. How long the Pālas were able to keep this vast continent under their sway, there is no means of knowing. But it is sure that they held North-Western India through their dependant, the king of Kanauj. Nāgabhaṭa's conquest of Kanauj was a mere raid. He found the king to be dependent and he looted the capital. His raid produced no lasting result. So was Govinda's conquest a mere raid. To anticipate events, the fact that a Buddhist monk of Kaniśka Vihāra near Peshwar was appointed the abbot of Nālanda by Devapāla, the successor of Dharmapāla, shows that even Devapāla enjoyed the sovereignty of the vast territory acquired by his father. The extent of Dharmapāla's empire and his influence on the whole of India is exemplified by the fact that his servants bathed not only in Kedāra in the Himālayas, at the mouth of the Ganges, but even at Gokarṇa on the Malabar coast.

Reformation of Mahāyāna School of Buddhism.

The vast extent of the empire and the prosperity which it enjoyed, though disturbed by occasional raids, enabled Dharmapāla to undertake the reformation of religion It is a well-known fact that Prajñā-pāramitā was written by Nāgārjuna about the middle of the second century A.D., and it was the great book of the Mahāyanists. But Maitreya, the founder of another sect, wrote a Kārikā in 8 chapters, entitled Abhisamayālaṇkāra, with the avowed object of giving a new interpretation to the Prajñā Pāramitā; and shortly after, the Prajñā Pāramitā was recast in 8 chapters with 25 thousand ślokas under the name of the Pañcaviṃśati-Sāhasrika Prajñā-pāramitā. The book became very popular. It was thrice translated into Chinese before Houen Tsang, twice between 265 and 316 A.D. The Prajñā Pāramitā underwent several recasts between the time of Nāgārjuṇa and Houen Tsang. In Dharmapāla's time it became absolutely necessary to simplify the study of this —pre-eminently *the* book of the Mahāyānist school, and so he encouraged a learned Buddhist scholar of his time, Haribhadra by name, to write a commentary on the Aṣṭa-Sāhasrikā, according to doctrines of Maitreya. The commentary embodied the ideas of Nāgārjuṇa as well as of Maitreya. It was written by Haribhadra at Trikūṭaka Vihāra under the protection of Dharmapāla some time after his conquest of Kanauj Dharmapāla is described by Haribhadra as belonging to the family of a military officer of some king. From this it may perhaps be inferred that Dayita-Viṣṇu was descended from that family mentioned in the Iran stone Boar inscription of the first year of Torāmaṇa, in which mention is made of a Mahārājā, named Mātṛ Viṣṇu, brother of Dhanya Viṣṇu, the son of Hari Visṇu, grandson of Varuṇa Viṣṇu and great-grandson of Indra Viṣṇu. But after Dayita Viṣṇu, there is no name in the Pāla dynasty which ends in Viṣṇu. So it indicates either illegitimacy or a cross-breeding, for the Viṣṇus of Irān were Brahmaṇs. This is a conjecture thrown out for whatever it may be worth.

Haribhadra, the Reformer.

Haribhadra speaks of Dharmapāla as a great athlete, who by his prowess could restrain an infuriated elephant; also as a very pious man. Haribhadra was a monk belonging to the Tāntrika school of Asaṅga, and his preceptor was a very learned man, named Vairocana. The whereabouts of the Trikūṭaka-vihāra is as yet unknown. May it be in the Traikūṭaka city of the Cedis in the Sātpurā range ?

The Khalimpur grant.

In the Khalimpur inscription, Dharmapāla is described as स्तूपमानावदातः, *i.e.*, he was fair and as high as a stūpa. He had a large army and large navy. He could easily throw a boat-bridge across the Ganges. Where his capital was is not known. The Khalimpur grant was issued from Pāṭaliputra, where he seems to have held a great Durbar and thrown a boat-bridge across the river. The grant was made in the 32nd year of his reign. The lands belonged to the Bhukti or province of Pauṇḍra-Varddhaṇa. Four villages were endowed by the king himself at the request of Nārāyaṇa Varmā, his Mahāsāmantādhipati (the chief of his feudatories) and his Yuvarāja Tribhuvanapāla,[1] to meet the cost of the Temple of Nunya Nārāyaṇa, whose worshippers were Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas, *i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas from Gujrat where Vaiṣṇavism greatly flourished at the time, and which still remains a great place for Vaiṣṇavite worship. The name Nunya Nārāyaṇa may seem strange, but we have in Nepal four Nārāyaṇas, as Iṣannārāyaṇa, Viṣannārāyāṇa, Cangunārāyaṇa and Sikharnārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇas of different localities had different names.

It may be asked why did a Buddhist king endow a temple of Viṣṇu. The Pālas were tolerant towards all religions, as will be shown in their subsequent history. In the case of Dharmapāla, he had a Hindu wife, Raṇṇā Devi, the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince, Parabala, who in 861 erected a Vaiṣṇava temple at Pāthāri. The queen's influence must have been at work.

Gopāla, Dharmapāla's father.

Dharmapāla was the real founder of the greatness of the Pāla dynasty. Though his father was elected king, we hear nothing more about him. Two short inscriptions were attributed to Gopāla's time by Cunningham, but Babu Nilmaṇi Chakravarti has shown that palæographically they cannot belong to that early period.[2] The only fact that is known about Gopāla, is that he had a wife named Deddā Devī, the mother of Dharmapāla.

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[1] I have in this ventured to differ from Mr. Vaṭavyāla, for Nunya Nārāyāṇa Bhaṭṭaraka cannot mean Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa—the Brahman from whom Mr. Vaṭavyāla claimed his descent.

[2] J.A.S.B., 1908, p. 101 *et seq.*

Though the Khalimpur grant speaks of Tribhuvanapāla as Yuvarāja, Dharmapāla seems to have survived him.

Dharmapāla's brother Vākpāla.

Dharmapāla was very fortunate in his brother Vākpāla who was always loyal to him and helped him materially in building up the Pāla empire. In the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla he has been compared to Lakṣmaṇa, the faithful younger brother of Rāma.

In the 26th year of Dharmapāla's reign, a four-faced Mahādeva was consecrated and a big tank was excavated at the cost of 3000 Drammas by Keśava, the son of a sculptor named Ujjvala. From the very commencement of their reigns, the Pālas were great patrons of works of public utility, both religious and secular.

Devapāla.

Dharmapāla was succeeded by his son Devapāla. He too was a pious but tolerant Buddhist. The extent of his empire too was vast. In his Mungir grant[1] he is said to have ruled the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Setubandha and from sea to sea. The grant was made to a Brāhmaṇ named Vihekarāta of the Aupamanyava gotra and Āśvalāyana-Śākhā, of a village in the province of Śrīnagar, by which Pāṭaliputra seems to have been meant.

Buddhism in Devapāla's time.

The state of Buddhism in Devapāla's time may be inferred from the Ghoṣrawa stone inscription.[2] Vīradeva, a learned Brāhmaṇa, in Nagarahāra near Jelālābād, in modern Afghanistan, received his education in Buddhism at the Kāṇiṣka Vihāra near Peshawar, entered the Buddhist order, was initiated by Sarvajña Śānti, a learned monk, travelled all over North India on pilgrimage, came to Budh Gayā, and lived at Yaśovantapura or Ghosrāwa under the distinguished patronage of Devapāladeva. Vīradeva erected a chaitya at Indraśila and was much respected for his learning. On the death of Satyabodhi, the chief of the Nālanda Vihāra, Vīradeva was elected in that high office by the monks, and he lived there for many years, teaching and preaching Buddhism.

The Khālimpur grant is dated in the 32nd year of Dharmapāla, the Mungir grant is dated in the 33rd year of Devapāla, so these kings reigned during the greater part of the ninth century; and the flourishing state of Buddhism is shown by Haribhadra's commentary and Vīradeva's career as a learned monk. This only relates to the higher sides of Buddhism.

Popular Buddhism Dharmamaṅgala.

Popular Buddhism, too, underwent a great change. Bengal tradition, as embodied in the works entitled Dharmamaṅgala, affirms that this was the time when Dharma Ṭhākure pūjā or the worship of Dharma, one of the Buddhist Trinity in the form of a god, was introduced in Bengal by Rāmāi Paṇḍit in the southern districts of western Bengal under the patronage of Lausena, the son of Devapāla's sister-in-law, the ruler of Mayanā in the Midnapur district. Several works in Bengali are attributed to Rāmāi Paṇḍita, one of which, the Śūnyapurāṇa, has recently been published, but unfortunately it has suffered much in the process of modernization, and the language of the work is not the language of Devapāla's time. It tries to create the world from void and evolve the phenomenal world from out of void. It is intensely Buddhistic in tone, but there is no secret worship and mysticism about it.

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[1] Ind. Ant., vol. xxi, pp. 253—258.

[2] Ind. Ant., vol. xvii, pp. 307—312.

Lāusena.

Lāusena was the favourite of the god Dharma, and though his maternal uncle Mahāmada, the prime-minister of Devapāla, tried several times to take his life, Lāusena invariably thwarted him by the grace of Dharma, whose messenger to his favourite was Hanūmān. Lāusena is said to have conquered Kāmarūpa and Kaliṅga countries for Devapāla.

Devapāla had a son named Rājyapāla who was charged with giving effect to the grant made by Devapāla from Mungir. But we do not hear anything of Rājyapāla.

Devapāla's cousin was Jayapāla, who was very loyal to the king. Jayapāla was a warrior and led several expeditions to Orissa and Kāmarūpa.[1] Though Buddhist, he performed his father's funeral ceremony according to Hindu rites, and Umāpati, a very learned Brāhmaṇa of Kanjivilvi, got the mahādāna in this ceremony.[2]

Vigrahapāla—his wars.

Jayapāla's son Sūrapāla or Vigrahapāla succeeded Devapāla on the throne. In his time the territory of the Pāla empire was much circumscribed in the west, as from 844 and onwards all the Parihāra Gurjjara grants were issued from Kanauj, and that city seems to have been made the capital of the Gurjjara empire. But the Buddal pillar inscription found in the district of Rungpur, of Gurava Miśra, the minister to his son Nārāyaṇapāla, speaks of his having wars with Utkalas, Hūnas, Draviḍas and Gurjjaras.

Utkala was at this time passing through a revolution. The Somavaṃśis of that country were oppressing the Brāhmaṇas, so the Brāhmaṇas were anxious to overthrow them[3] and bringing in the Keśari dynasty; and as a neighbouring king of great power, under the influence of Brāhmaṇas, Vigrahapāla could not sit idle.[4]

The Huṇas were often mentioned in the history of this period as occupying some portion of Central India. They seem to have established themselves somewhere in Malwa and Bundelkhand, as they were constantly at war with the Paramāras, Pratihāras and others. As their country bordered on the Pāla empire they often came in conflict with it.

The Coḍas were at this time a rising power in the south, and they were always aggressive. They might have invaded the Pāla empire.

The Gurjjaras were now firmly established at Kanauj, and being of restless habits they often came into hostile contact with the Pālas. So the statement in the Buddal pillar inscription that Vigrahapāla long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Huṇas and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍas and Gurjjaras, seems to be justifiable.

Hereditary Brāhmaṇ ministers.

The family of the writer of the Buddal pillar inscription were the hereditary ministers to the Pāla dynasty. They belonged to the Sāṇḍilya gotra and were very learned in the Śāstras. Garga was the minister of Dharmapāla, and he boasted that his nīti made Dharma the lord of the world. The Pālas were shrewd enough to find that a purely Buddhist regimè was impossible in their days when Buddhism was declining and Brāhminism was rising into power in every quarter, and so they always tried to prop their empire by enlisting the power of the Brāhmaṇas on their side.

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[1] Ind, Ant., vol. xv, p. 304.

[2] I.O. Cat., vol. i, pp. 92 93.

[3] My third Report, p. 10.

[4] Buddal pillar Inscription, Epi. Ind., vol. ii, p. 164.

Garga's son Darbhapāṇi was the minister of Devapāla. He was greatly respected by the king for his learning and his Nīti. Kedāra Miśra, the grandson of the latter, was the minister of Vigrahapāla, called Śūrapāla, in the Buddal pillar inscription. The king attended his vedic sacrifices. Kedāra married Babbā whose father lived at Devagrāma in the Nadiā district. So at that time the Rāḍhiya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas were not so exclusive as they are at present.[1]

Pāla coinage.

Vigrahapāla is the only king of the Pāla dynasty whose coins come down to us. There are obscure hints that Mahīpāla too coined. The currency in East India was cowries. The only coin was dramma or drachma. The people used dramma even in Dharmapāla's time.

Vigrahapāla married Lajjā, a princess of the Haihaya or Cedi race, who, establishing themselves at Tripurī at the sources of the Narmadā, were at this time making conquests in all directions.

Nārāyana Pāla.

By this queen he had a son named Nārāyaṇapāla who succeeded him. His minister was Gurava Miśra otherwise called Rāma, a good speaker and a great astronomer. This Gurava Miśra was the Dūtaka for the execution of a grant of land made by Nārāyaṇapāla from Munger at the Tīrabhukti-viṣaya to the Pāśupatas, the worshippers of Śiva for whom the king had himself erected thousand temples.[2]

A Hindu monastery was built by Bhāṇḍadeva in the seventh year of Nārāyaṇapāla. This king was celebrated for the dispensation of even-handed justice to his subjects.

Rājyapāla.

His son Rājyapāla ruled the kingdom for some time and excavated many large tanks and built many temples of a towering height. He married Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of Tuṅga, a prince of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race.

Gopal II.

His son was Gopāl for whom we have got two small inscriptions—one at Budhgayā and the other at Nalandā, one on an image of Buddha and the other on an image of Vāgīśvarī.[2]

Vigrahapāla II.

Gopala's son was Vigrahapāla II, who was noted for his munificence, and for his knowledge and patronage of Arts.

Mahipāla—Sarnāth inscription.

The next king was Mahīpāla, a son of Gopāla, the last king. Mahīpāla reigned during the first part of the 11th century. In 1026 A.D. he deputed two brothers, Sthirapāla and Basantapāla, supposed to be his sons, to Benares to repair Dhamek or the huge stūpa which still stands at Sāranātha, and also to repair *the* Dharmacakra, *i.e.*, the Dharmacakra where Buddha preached for the first time, and to construct a Gandhakuṭī or temple of

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[1] Ind. Ant., vol. xv, pp. 304—310.

[2] J.A.S.B. (N.S.), vol. iv, pp. 102—105.

Buddha. The brothers were pious Buddhists and very learned, constructed hundreds of precious monuments for the glorification of their king at the holy city.[1]

Popularity of Mahīpāla.

Mahīpāla seems to have reigned long, and many works of great public utility are associated with his name at different parts of Bengal. He was so popular that songs were composed to celebrate the work of his life—songs which used to be sung in many parts of Bengal up to recent times, and which are still sung in remote corners like Mayūrabhañja and Kuch-Behar.

If a man, engaged in one work, pays attention to another unconnected with it, a proverb is often repeated "*Dhān bhānte Mahīpāler gīta,*" that is, singing the praises of Mahīpāla while engaged in thrashing corn.

Rājendracoḍa's raid.

At this time Rājendracoḍa, the king of Kāñcī invaded Bengal. The date of his invasion is about 1033 A.D. Rājendra found Raṇasura in southern Rāḍha, Mahīpāla in northern Rāḍha, Govindacandra in Baṅga and Dharmapāla in Daṇḍabhukti, the modern city of Behar in Patna district. Mahīpāla was the king, and the others were apparently his feudatories. The districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan are always known as northern Rāḍha. Not very far from the city of Murshidabad, there are extensive ruins of a city known as Mahīpāla. The kings of the Pāla dynasty had no fixed capital. Gauḍa was nominally their head-quarters. The kings were fond of pitching their camps whereever they pleased and of raising the place to a city. It is supposed that Mahīpāla principally resided at a place known by his name. Rājendracoḍa's boast, that he had conquered all these kings, does not seem to rest on the foundation of sure facts. For Ārya-Kṣemīśvara, the author of Caṇḍakauśika, a drama in five acts, gives the credit of destroying the Karṇāṭakas to Śrī Mahīpāla Deva. The drama was enacted under orders of the king, and before him. The poet writes a verse in which Mahīpāla is compared to Candra Gupta, and the Karnāṭakas to the Nandas.

Raṇaśūra of southern Rāḍha seems to have belonged to the Śūra dynasty of Bengal who are said to have brought the five Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj. That they were dispossessed of the greater part of their dominions by the Pālas is also asserted by the Bengal genealogists.

Govindacandra is here said to be the king of Baṅga. But in the tradition of Raṅgapur we know of a dynasty of kings with their names ending in Candra. We have palæographic evidence of the existence of this family, and songs to glorify many of them are still to be heard in the districts of North Bengal.[2]

That Daṇḍabhukti is the district round the modern city of Behar in Patna district, is known from the fact that the city was known by the name of Oḍantapuri by the Singhalese, by Otantapuri by Tibetans, and the Odanan Behar by Mahomedans, and by Uddaṇḍapura in the inscription of the 2nd year of Śūrapāla Deva, p. 108, J.A.S.B., new series, vol. iv. Babu Nīlamaṇi Cakravartī reads it Uddaṇḍacūḍa, which should be Uddaṇḍapura. In the Rāmapālacarita, too, Daṇḍabhukti is connected with Magadha and Pīṭhi. Rājendracoḍa either came on pilgrimage to these parts or led a raid dignified with the name of Digvijaya, which made but very little impression in this country.[1]

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[1] Ind. Ant., vol. xiv, p. 139.

[2] Hunter's Gazetteer of Rangpur.

The Cedi Empire.

During the whole of the 11th century, however, the Pālas had to contend against a formidable neighbouring power, the Cedis of Tripurī. The Cedis held the whole of the tract between Behar and Bundelkhaṇḍ. Gāṅgeya Deva, in the first quarter of the century, crossed the Ganges and conquered much of the territory to the north of that river, and between that river and the Yamunā. The King of Kanauj was very weak. He submitted to Mahmud of Gazni without a struggle and was killed by the neighbouring Hindu Rājā for allying himself with an infidel. The Cedi king took advantage of the king's weakness to conquer much of his territory. Gaṅgeya Cedi seems to have conquered Mithilā from the Pālas. For Professor Bendal in his historical introduction to my Nepal Catalogue speaks of a Nepāl scribe writing a manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa in Mithilā, acknowledging Gāṅgeya Deva as the reigning sovereign in 1029 A.D. Gāṅgeya Deva died under the celebrated fig tree in Prayāga about the year 1040. Even his great enemies, the Chaṇḍelas, style him as the conquerer of the universe. Mahīpāla had bad times with Rājendracoḍa on one side, and Gāṅgeya Deva on the other. Rājendra could not make much impression in the Pāla empire, but Gāṅgeya seems to have taken away Mithilā.

Gāṅgeya Cedi takes Mithilā.

Karna Cedi.

Gāṅgeya's son Karṇa was more formidable still. His reign was a long one, not less than 60 years, commencing from 1041. He held Pāṇḍyas, Murulas, Kuṅgas, Baṅgas, Kīras and Huṇas in check; and he is said to have been waited upon by the Coḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, and Gurjjara kings. Joined by the Karṇāṭas he swept over the earth like a mighty ocean. The mention of the word Gauḍa shows that the Pālas had to propitiate him, but later on fortune seems to have turned her face against him. The Calūkyas of Gujrat, the Cālūkyas of Kalyāṇa, the Paramāras of Malwa seem to have held him in check, and his power was completely broken in 1080 by Kīrti Varmā, the king of Bundelkhand, whose general, Gopāla Rāya, defeated him and routed his army. The Prabodha-candrodaya was composed and enacted to welcome this victorious general at the Caṇḍela capital.

Atiša, the Reformer of Tibet.

During the reign of Mahīpāla flourished the great Atiša, or Dīpāṅkara Šrījñāna, at the well-known monastery of Vikrama Šīla. Dīpāṅkara was invited by the king of Tibet with a view to reform the system of Buddhism prevailing there. And he founded the Red-Cap sect of the Lāmas. He is the real founder of higher Buddhism in that country. He translated a large number of Sanskrit works in Tibetan, and he is still respected as an incarnation of Avalokitešvara.

It is not known when the great monastery of Vikrama Šīla was founded, but during the 10th and 11th centuries it was a powerful rival to Nālanda. But Nālanda still flourished and still maintained its high position. A manuscript copied at Nālanda in the 6th year of Mahīpāla's reign is to be found in Asiatic Society's Library. Many manuscripts copied, during the reigns of Mahīpāla and Nayapāla and the 11th century generally, have found their way to Nepal where they are preserved in private and public collections.

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[1] Epigraphia Indica, vol. ix, p. 229. South-Indian Inscriptions, vol. i, p. 97.

Prajñākaramati.

Prajñākaramati, a Buddhist philosopher, seems to have flourished about this time. For the scribe, who copied his work in 1078, speaks of Prajñākara as his Tātapāda or Guru. A large number of Indian Buddhist Paṇḍitas seem to have migrated to Tibet, and to have translated Buddhist Sanskrit works into Tibetan with the help of the learned men of the country.[1]

Vernacular Literature.

But the most glorious work of this period is the rise of vernacular literature of Bengal. Not that there was no vernacular literature before this, but I believe a sound beginning had already been made. But this was the period in which it flourished exuberantly. The songs of Mahīpāla have already been spoken of. Buddhist songs in Bengali became the fashion of the day. This was, I believe, the beginning of Kīrtana songs. Kṛiṣṇācārya or Kāhṇa wrote his celebrated Dŏhās, his songs and his commentaries about this period. There were several other writers of Dŏhās, and the Sāhajiyā sect of Buddhism used to sing Buddhist songs in Bengali throughout the country. Lui, Kukkuri, Biruā, Guṇḍari, Cāṭila, Bhūsukru, Kahnā, Ḍombi, Mahinta, Saraha, Dheguṇa, Śānti, Bhāde, Tāṇḍaka, Rāuṭū, Kaṅkaṇa, Jayanandī, Dhamma, and Śavara sang Kīrtana songs to the willing ears of Bengali peasants and Bengali artisans. What is known as Dākpuruṣera vacana was also composed and collected about this time. Collections of these songs and proverbs with Sanskrit commentaries copied in the Bengali character of the 12th century can still be had in the monasteries and libraries in Nepal. Popular Buddhism had undergone a great change Tāntric gods and goddesses, Bhairavas and Bhairavīs had entered into the pantheon of popular Buddhism and were worshipped as incarnations or representations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

Nathism.

A class of men who attained success in their austerities and yoga-practices were regarded as superhuman beings or Nāthas.[2] They are objects of veneration and they had a large number of disciples. Ādinātha, Matsyendranātha, Mīnanātha and others stuck to their Buddhism. But Gorakṣanātha, who was originally a Buddhist under the name Ramaṇavajra, became a Śaiva, and was hated by the Buddhists as a renegade. These introduced a form of secret and mystic worship, which, with political changes in eastern India, brought about the downfall of Buddhism in this country.

Nyayapāla.

Mahīpāla was succeeded by Nyayapāla. He is better known in China and Tibet than in India. He seems to have enjoyed peace during his long reign and to have sent a large number of Paṇḍitas to Tibet. Cakrapāṇi, the nephew of his kitchen superintendent, wrote a large work on medicine and commented upon older medical works.

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[1] See Sarat Candra Dāsa's work entitled 'Indian Paṇḍitas in the Land of Snow.'

[2] J R.A.S., vol. xviii, Old Series, p. 394.

Sūdraka, at this time, held a high office at Gayā; and his son Viśvarūpa erected a beautiful temple in that city. The inscription on this temple was composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi in the 15th year of Nayapāla's reign. (The inscription will soon be published by Babu R. D. Banerji). The reigns of Mahīpāla and Nyayapāla form, so to say, one great period of progress and degeneration. They were not great warriors, nor were they great conquerors The military genius of Gāṅgeya and Karṇa seems to have overshadowed them, and they devoted themselves to arts of peace.

Vigrahapāla III.

Nyayapāla was succeeded by Vigrahapāla III, who is best known to us by his Āmgāchi copper-plate grant[1] issued in the 13th year of his reign for propitiating lord Buddha. Karṇa Deva of Tripurī was still the most formidable power in northern India. Within a short time of the accession of Vigrahapāla, he came in conflict with Karṇa, who was very severely beaten. His kingdom lay at the mercy of Vigrahapāla. But Vigrahapāla spared both the king and his kingdom. Karṇa entered into a treaty with him, acknowledging his supremacy; and Karṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī was married to Vigrahapāla. Vigrahapāla had three sons—Mahīpāla, Sūrapāla and Rāmapāla.

Mahīpāla II.

Mahīpāla by his impolitic acts incurred the displeasure of his subjects. He put Rāmapāla and Śurapāla to prison bound in chains; but they were rescued by their friends. The Kaivartas were a very powerful and warlike people in northern Bengal. Dibyoka was their chief. He had a brother named Rudoka. The Kaivartas were smarting under oppression of the king. Bhīma, the son of Rudoka, taking advantage of the popular discontent, led his Kaivarta subjects to rebellion. Mahīpāla did not pay any heed to the cautious advice of his ministers, he hastily collected a large but ill-disciplined force, and advanced to meet the enemy. His force was routed. The soldiers fled in disorder and he was defeated and slain. The whole of northern Bengal, called Vārendrī in those days, fell into the hands of the Kaivartas. And Bhīma built a Ḍamara, a suburban city close to the capital of the Pāla empire.[2]

Surapāla.

The Dinajpur inscription of Madanapāla mentioned Śurapāla as the next king. But the Rāmacarita is silent about him. We have, however, two identical inscriptions in the Indian Museum, dated in the 2nd year of Sūrapāla, in which an old Buddhist monk Pūrṇadāsa consecrates images of Buddha at Uddaṇḍapurī.[3]

Rāmapāla—his wars.

Rāmapāla and his son Rājyapāla travelled all over the empire and beyond it, collected together all his feudatories, and sent Śivarāja of the Rāṣtrakūṭa race, who was the commander of his palace guards, to reconnoitre the Vārendra country. Śivarāja assured the people, Brāhmaṇas and others, that their property would be respected.

His Feudatories.

His principal supporters were—

(1) Bhīmayaśā, the Rājā of Pīṭhī in Magadha, who defeated the army of Kānyakubja.

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[1] Ind. Ant., vol. xxi, p. 97.

[2] Second chapter of Rāmacarita.

[3] J. and Proc. A.S.B., vol. iv, p. 108.

(2) Vīraguṇa, a king of Southern India, who was a lion in the forest of Kōṭā.
(3) Jayasiṅha, the Rājā of Daṇḍabhukti or Bihar, who destroyed the army of Karṇa Keśarī, the Rājā of Utkala.
(4) Vikrama Rāja, the Rājā of Devagrāma and the surrounding country, washed by the waves of the rivers of Bāla-Valabhī or Bagḍi, one of the five provinces into which Bengal was divided.
(5) Lakṣmīśūra, the ruler of Apara Mandāra, and the lord of all the forest feudatories.
(6) Śurapāla, the lion in destroying the elephants of Kūjabaṭi.
(7) Rudraśekhara of Tailakampa, the modern Telkupi near Pachet.
(8) Mayagala Siṅha, the king of Ucchāla.
(9) Pratāpa Siṅha, the king of Ḍhekkarīya or Ḍhekura on the other side of the river Ajaya near Katwa.
(10) Narasiṅhārjuna, the king of Kayaṅgala.
(11) Caṇḍārjuna of Saṅkaṭagrāma.
(12) Vijayarāja of Nidrāvala.
(13) Dvorapabardhana of Kauśāmbi.
(14) Soma, Rājā of Padubanvā or Pabnā (?)

But the warriors on whom Rāmapāla relied in this crisis were, Rāṣṭrakuṭa princes, Kāhnura Deva who was Mahāmāṇḍalika, and Śivarāja Deva who was Mahāpratīhāra. These were son and nephew of Mahana or Mathana, his maternal uncle. This warrior, Mahana, riding on his famous elephant, Bindhya Māṇikya, defeated Devarakṣita, the Rājā of Pīṭhī, in Magadha. Kāhnura Deva was his son, and Śivarāja was the son of his brother Suvarṇa Deva.

Bridge of boats.

The allied army threw a bridge of boats on the Ganges, crossed the river and advanced and destroyed the Ḍamara, and took Bhīma a captive while riding on his elephant in the battle-field. He was placed in charge of Vittapāla, who showed him all hospitality, and treated him very kindly

But Hari, a friend of Bhīma, rallied the scattered Kaivarta army and advanced to fight. It was a well-contested battle in which both sides lost much. Rāmapāla's son contested every inch of ground, and established his power. Hari at last found himself powerless, was captured, and led to the place of execution. Bhīma, too, seems to have been put to the sword.

The foundation of Rāmāvatī, the Rāmapāla in Dacca.

Rāmapāla founded a city named Rāmāvatī at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā in the Bārendrī country. In the choice of the site of the city, Rāmapāla seems to have taken the advice of Rājā Caṇḍeśvara of Śrīhaṭṭa Śrīhetu, and of Kṣemeśvara. The city was in a short time beautified with the temples of various Hindu gods and goddesses, and Brāhmaṇas and Bhikṣus had their residences in it. A great Vihāra was erected under the name of Jāgaddalavihāra. The city contained an image of Avalokiteśvara, whose greatness consisted in saving all sentient beings. Near it was a place of pilgrimage called Apunarbhava. In a short time the city was planted with many gardens, and many large tanks were excavated in it, and market places there contained merchandise from various quarters of the earth. The king himself excavated a tank as large as an ocean, with sides as high as chains of mountains on the seaside. An eastern potentate propitiated him with large elephants, chariots, and armour, for extending his protection to him. He conquered Utkala and restored it to the Nāgavaṃsīs; and so he ruled all the countries down to Kalīnga. Māyana conquered Kāmarūpa and other countries for the king.

His Council.

Rāmapāla tried to surround himself by men eminent in science and literature. His prime-minister was Bodhideva, the son of Yogadeva, the hereditary prime-minister of the Pāla family. His war minister was Prajāpati Nandī, the father of Sandhyākara Nandī, the author of the Rāmacarita, a Brāhmaṇa of Vārendra distribution in Bengal. Sandhyākara had the rare advantage of the position of his father to know fully and minutely the military strength of the Pāla empire. His book is, therefore, of a great value as a record of the contemporary history of the later Pālas.

His chief medical officer was Bhadresvara, both a physician and a poet. The grandfather of Bhadresvara, Devagaṇa by name, was the court physician of that Govinda Candra, contemporary of Mahīpāla and Rājendra Coḍa, so well known in Bengali songs. Bhadresvara's son was Suresvara, the author of a Sanskrit dictionary of medical botany, who served under a king named Bhīma Pāla, the ruler of Pādi, perhaps the same Bhīma who wrested northern Bengal from the Pālas for a time.

The Death of Rāmapāla.

Rāmapāla lived at Rāmāvatī, leaving the cares of his government to his son. The country prospered greatly, and he was never disturbed by wicked people. Rājyapāla governed the kingdom with wisdom and tact, which much pleased his father Rāmapāla. Just at this time, Mathana, his friend, died. When residing at Munger, the king heard of his death, distributed much wealth to Brāhmaṇas and entered the sacred river with a view to proceed to heaven.

On his death, his enemies became very jubilant. But Kumārapāla, his son, put them down.

Vaidyadeva—his successor's General.

All except north Bengal revolted, but Vaidya Deva, his minister, with a strong navy restored peace to the whole empire; when Kumārapāla was anxious to reward the merit of this useful minister, news was received that Tigmadeva, the king of Kāmarūpa, was meditating independence. He at once appointed Vaidya Deva the king of Kāmrūpa, and sent him with a strong army to dethrone Tigmadeva. Vaidya Deva easily overthrew the king and took his place.[1]

Gopala III.

Kumārapāla died shortly after, and Gopal III his son, too, after a short reign breathed his last. Madanapāla, the second son of Rāmapāla, now became king; the short reigns of the previous kings had so weakened the power of the Pālas that Madanapāla had to preserve the prestige of the Pāla empire by a close alliance with Candra Deva, the founder of the Gahaḍavāḍa kingdom of Kanauj. The alliance seems to have been an offensive and defensive one. For the Bengal army fought a battle against the enemies of Kanauj on the banks of the Yamunā. Candra Deva's inscriptions range from 1090 to 1104. Madanapāla lived about this time. One of his inscription was dated the 14th year of his reign.

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[1] Epigraphia Indica, vol. ii, p. 347.

Madanapāla.

There is an inscription commemorating a grant of land made by Madanapāla Deva in the 8th year of his reign[1] from the victorious camp at Rāmāvatī to Baṭesvara Svāmī at Pauṇḍrabardhanabhukti for reciting the Mahābhārata before the chief queen Citramālikā.[1] Another inscription of the same king at Jayanagara near the Laksmīsarai station is dated in the 19th year of his reign.[2] The letter for 9 is doubtful. It is most likely 4. So instead of nineteen we should rather say fourteen. .These two inscriptions plainly show that Madanapāla's empire included East Bengal, North Bengal, and Behar. The 14th year of Madanapāla would come close to the year 1119, the initial year of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena Era. It is a curious fact, however, that no inscription of the Pāla kings has yet been discovered in the Rāḍha country, that is, the Burdwan Division of Bengal. The first inscription comes from Pāṭaliputra, the second from Monghyr, the third and fourth from Bhāgalpur, some from Dinajpur, and the last one from Dacca.

Mahendrapāla and Govindapāla.

There are two more inscriptions of a king named Mahendrapāla—one dated in the 8th, and the other in the 19th year of his reign Both are from Gayā and its vicinity. He may have belonged to the Pāla dynasty, but there is nothing to show his connection with them. A second king, Govindapāla, is mentioned in a Gayā inscription dated 1175, which states that he lost his kingdom 14 years ago, *i.e.*, 1161. So the last vestige of the Pāla Empire seems to have come to an end in that year. There are some MSS. from Nepal dated in the 37th, 38th and 39th year after the loss of Govindapāla's kingdom, *i.e.*, 1198, 1199 and 1200 A.D.

History of Mithilā.

The Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla records a grant of land at Tīrabhukti at Mithilā. With the rise of the Chedis under Gāṅgeya and Karṇa, they seem to have lost their hold on that country. It then formed a part of the Chedi Empire, north of the Ganges, and they passed into the hands of the Karṇāṭakas, who helped the Chedis in building up their empire. Nānya was the first Karṇāṭaka king. A manuscript copied during his reign is dated 1098 A.D[3] Nānya Deva's family reigned quietly at Mithilā, sometimes paying tributes to the Pālas, sometimes to the Chedies at Gorakhpur, sometimes to the Mahomedans at Delhi, till Harisiṅha of this family in 1325 rebelled against Emperor Ghyāsuddin and defeated the Delhi troops. The event was signalised by the performance of an original drama entitled 'Dhūrta samāgama' by Jyotirīśvara Kavi Śekharācārya. Harisiṅha invaded Nepal, and since then the rājās of his family kept political connections with that kingdom, till about 1400 A.D. the descendants of Harisiṅha became, by marriage, the rulers of Nepal, and lost their position in Mithilā by the rise of the Brāhmaṇa Rājās under Kāmeśa. The kings of Mithilā always patronised Sanskrit and vernacular literature; and it is possible to compile a connected literary history of Mithilā from Nānya Deva up to very recent times.

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[1] J.A.S.B., vol. lxix, p. 68.

[2] C.A.S.R., vol. iii, p. 125, and plate xlv, No. 17.

[3] Epi. In., vol. i, p. 318, Note 57.

रामचरितं ।

श्रीघनाय नमः सदा ।

प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

श्रीः श्रयति यस्य कण्ठं कृष्णां तं विभ्रतं भुजेनागं ।
दधतं कं दामजटालम्बंशशिखण्डम[ण्ड]नं वन्दे ॥ १ ॥

श्रीघनाय नमः ।

श्रीरित्यादि । तं शशिखण्डमण्डनं महेश्वरं वन्दे । यस्य कण्ठं कृष्णं श्यामं शीर्णशवलज्वालयेत्यर्थात् । श्रीः शोभा श्रयति । भुजेन अगं शेषं विभ्रतं, कं दाम कपालमालां जटालम्बं जटालम्बि दधतं । एकः पक्षः ॥

पुण्डरीकाक्षपक्षे तु तं कृष्णं वासुदेवं वन्दे । यस्य कण्ठं श्रीर्लक्ष्मीः श्रयति कण्ठालिङ्गनं करोतीति यावत् । भुजेन बाहुना अगं पर्व्वतं गोवर्द्धनाख्यं विभ्रतं कं शिरः दामजटालं दाम्ना बालरज्वा जटालं दधतं वंशो वाद्यवेणुः शिखण्डो मयूरपिच्छं तौ मण्डने यस्य इत्यपरः पक्षः ॥ १ ॥

कंसहरः कम्बलिदमनपादः सहिमाविभू रचयतात् वः ।
येन प्राक् सुरसेना विषमाशुगदाहतोपकृता ॥ २ ॥

कंस इत्यादि । स हरः महेश्वरः । कं सुखं वो रचयतात् । कम्बली सास्नावान् बलीवर्द्दः। वाहनत्वात् तस्य दमनं पदमङ्घ्रिर्यस्य । अविः पर्व्वतः । अविर्मेषे रवावद्रावित्यजयः । हिमाविर्हिमगिरिस्तस्माद्भूतेति हिमा[वि]भूर्गौरी तथा सह वर्त्तत इति सहिमाविभूः सगौरीकः । विष[मा]शुगः कामदेवः तस्य दाहात् भस्मीकरणात् । सुरसेना देवचमूः । येन प्राक् प्रथममपकृता पश्चादुपकृतैवेति प्राक्पदाभिप्रायः ।

अन्यच्च स कंसहरो वासुदेवः कं सुखं रचयतात्, वलिरसुरः स हि त्रिविक्रमरूपेण हरिणा पदाक्रान्त्या दान्तः । हि हेतौ माविभूः लक्ष्मीपतिः । प्राक्सुराः पूर्व्वदेवाः असुराः । तेषां सेना चमूः । विषमा क्रूरा । आशु शीघ्रं येन गदाहता सती उपकृता ; "हता हि हरिणा दैत्याः प्राप्नुवन्ति परां गतिं" ॥ २ ॥

श्रियमुन्मुद्रितलक्ष्मीयुगलं [1]कमलानामिनः स वस्तनुतां ।
कृत्वालोकाहरणं महाक्षये यं विधुर्विशति ॥ ३ ॥

श्रियमित्यादि । इनः सूर्य्यः श्रियं वः तनुतां कमलानामरविन्दानां विकासितत्वात्[2] उन्मुद्रित[3]-लक्ष्मीकः । उन्मुद्रिता प्रकाशिता लक्ष्मीः कमलालया वा येन महाक्षये महति क्षीणत्वे सति आलोकाहरणं कृत्वा, उद्योतमाहृत्य यं सूर्य्यं विधुश्चन्द्रो विशति । कृष्णपक्षे हि क्रमेण क्षयातिशयमासादयन् इन्दुरुद्योतरहितो दर्शदिवसे सूर्य्यमण्डलमवलम्बते ॥

समुद्रपक्षे कमलानामिनः पतिः समुद्रः श्रियं वः तनुतां इत एव लक्ष्मीप्रादुर्भावात् उन्मुद्रितलक्ष्मीकः । महाक्षये महाप्रलये लोकाहरणं कृत्वा लोकान् कुक्षौ निक्षिप्य यं समुद्रं विधु र्वासुदेवो विशति ॥ ३ ॥

तत्कुलदीपो नृपतिरभू[त्] धर्म्मो धामवानिवेक्ष्वाकुः ।
यस्याब्धिं तीर्णाग्रावनौ रराजापि कीर्त्तिरवदाता ॥ ४ ॥

तत्कुलदीप इत्यादि । सूर्य्यकुलप्रदीप इक्ष्वाकु र्नाम नृपतिरभूत् । धामवानिव धर्म्मः, यस्य कीर्त्तिरब्धिं तीर्णा समुद्रपारं गता । अग्रा उत्कृष्टा । अवनौ रराजापि पृथिव्यामपि रराज । अवदाता[4] शुभ्रा ॥

अन्यत्र समुद्रकुलदीपो धर्म्मः धर्म्मनामा धर्म्मपाल इति यावत् । नृपतिरभूत् । एकदेशेन समुदायः, यथा भीमो भीमसेन इति । धामवान् तेजस्वी इव यथा इक्ष्वाकुः कटुतुम्बी उत्प्लवते, तथा यस्य ग्रावनौः शिलानौका, अब्धिं तीर्णा समुद्रप्रासादादन्तरीक्षमिव तीर्णवती रराज, अपि शब्दात् कीर्त्तिरपि समुद्रं तीर्णा रराज ॥ ४ ॥

येन महीधरसारेणोर्व्वीपालान्वयावतंसेन ।
लक्ष्मीपतिनाम्बुनिधेरूढे भूदाररूपेण ॥ ५ ॥

येनेत्यादि । येन इक्ष्वाकुणा मही पृथ्वी आ अम्बुनिधेः आसमुद्रं ऊढे ऊढा, धरः पर्व्वतः, धरसार इव सारो यस्य यद्वा ईधरसारः लक्ष्मीधरसारः । उर्व्वीपालानां नृपाणां अन्वयस्य अवतंसेन भूषणेन अतएव लक्ष्मीपति[ना] श्रियःपत्या भूः पृथ्वी दारस्वरूपा प्रशस्तदारा वा यस्य । अत एव ऊढे (ढ़े) ऊढ़ा ॥

अन्यत्र येन धर्म्मेण पालान्वयावतंसे[ने]ति विशेषणं ततश्च पालपद्धतिना धर्म्मपालेनेत्यर्थः । उर्व्वी पृथ्वी ऊढे महीधरसारेण महीधरः पर्व्वतः आदिवराहो वा शेषं पूर्व्ववत् । अपि च लक्ष्मीपतिनेति पदेन वासुदेवाभिधायिना श्लेषोपमालङ्कारमाकारयति । इवार्थो गम्यः यथा सिंहो मानवकः । यथा हरिणा भूदाररूपेण वराहरूपेण अम्बुनिधेः सकाशात् मही ऊढ़ा । धरसारेण धरस्येव सारो यस्य । धरं वा गोवर्द्धनं सारयति अपसारयति । ऊर्व्वीपालान्वयस्य सौरस्य रामरूपेण सौम्यस्य कृष्णरूपेण अवतंसतां गतेन ॥ ५ ॥

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[1] The comm. omits ॰युगलं and makes ॰लक्ष्मीकः ।

[2] The omission of त makes better sense.

[3] Comm. उन्मूखद्रि ।

[4] Comm. अवशता ।

वंशे तस्य वभूवु र्भर्त्तुर्भुवनस्य [1]भू[पतयः ।
कीर्त्तिसुरसिन्धुधवलोल्लङ्घितजलधिक्षालितत्रिभुवनाः ॥ ६ ॥

वंश इत्यादि । उभयत्रापि समं सुगमञ्च एकत्र कीर्त्तिश्च सुरसिन्धुश्चेति द्वन्द्वगर्भता भगीरथेन सुरसिन्धोरवतारणात् । अपरत्र कीर्त्तिः सुरसिन्धुरिवेति गर्भः । साधर्म्यन्तु धवलिमजलधिलङ्घनत्रिभुवनक्षालनलक्षणमिति विशेषः ॥ ६ ॥

ये वसुधां गोत्रभिदं ईशाहीनमुत्तोलयितारः ।
दधुरधर]यन्तः स्वरूपचितदोषमविभरुस्त्रिदिवम् ॥ ७ ॥

ये वस्वित्यादि । ये भूपा ईशस्य प्रभोरलङ्कारभूतं अहीनं सज्जनमुत्तो(त्तु)लयितारः उन्नतिं नेतारः इति युक्तकारिणः । तथा गोत्रभिदं कुलाघातिनं स्वरूपचितदोषं स्वरूपेण सञ्चिता दोषा येन तमधरयन्तः अधः कुर्व्वन्त इत्यपि युक्तकारिणः । वसुधां दधुः, अध्वरविधिना च त्रिदिवं विभराम्बभूवुः, उत्क्रान्तौ वा तथा कुर्य्युः शब्दच्छलमिलितमपरार्थमर्थान्तरमपि करतलमवतारयन्तः कवन्ते सन्तः ॥

तदयमर्थः । महेश्वरभूषणशेषं चेत् उपरिकृतवन्तः अतो धारकमपरमपश्यन्तः स्वयमेव धरित्रीधुरां दधुः । तथा इन्द्रं(दं) स्वरुणा वज्रेण उपचितवाङ्क्षेदधरितवन्तः अतः स्वयं स्वर्गं विभ्रति स्म । अपि च नाकाधिपतिं अधोभुवनाधिपतिं मर्त्त्यं मर्त्त्याधिपतिमात्मानं नाकाधिपतिमनुविदधानास्त्रिभुवनव्यवस्थितिमिति घटयत । ७ ॥

हरिणोपासितधामाविग्रहपालः किलाभवद्राजा ।
नतभूभृत्पङ्क्तिरथो गोत्ररत्नाकरेऽमुष्मिन् ॥ ८ ॥

हरिणेत्यादि । अमुष्मिन् गोत्रे कुले रत्नाकरे पुरुषरत्नानां आकरे पङ्क्तिरथो दशरथो नाम राजाभूत् । हरिणोपासितधामा वासुदेवेन रामरूपेण उपासितमाश्रितं धाम गृहं यस्य अतएवाविग्रहपालः अस्य वासुदेवस्य विग्रहं मूर्त्तिं रामं पालितवान् यद्वा विग्रहपालः विग्रहं संग्रामं पालयति गच्छति संग्रामगतः सन् हरिणा इन्द्रेण उपासितधामा उपासितमर्च्चितं धाम[2] शौर्य्यं यस्य । तेन हि दशरथेन देवकार्य्यानुरोधेन सङ्गराङ्गनप्रणयिना दुर्ज्जयदनुतनुतनुजान् निर्जित्य विडोजाः स्वभुजशौर्य्यशौटीर्य्येण अग्राचार्य्यः कृतः । अथवा विग्रहान् त्यक्तायुधगर्व्वान् पालयति अतएव नतभूभृत् नताः प्रणताः भूभृतोराजानो यस्मै[3] यं वा ॥

अन्यत्र अथानन्तरं विग्रहपालो राजाभवत् हरिणा सिंहेन स्वधामतोऽप्यधिकतया उपासितमभ्यर्हितं स्वीकृतं धाम विक्रमो यस्य सिंहतोऽपि महाविक्रम इत्यर्थः । नतभूभृत्पङ्क्तिः प्रणतराजराजिः शेषं पूर्व्ववत् । राजेति चन्द्राभिधायिपदेन श्लेषोपमा । यथा चन्द्रो गोत्रे गां पानीयं त्रायत इति अपां पत्यौ रत्नाकरे

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[1] The portion bracketted has been restored from the commentary.

[2] Comm. नाम ।

[3] Comm. यस्मिन् ।

ऽभूत् हरिणेन मृगेन अङ्करूपेण उपामितं धाम वपुर्यस्य, अविग्रहोऽतनुः कामः तं पालयति तस्योदये तस्य प्रभावात् । नता न्यग्भूता पर्व्वतपङ्क्ति र्यस्मात् रथात् स तादृक् रथः स्यन्दनो यस्य ॥ ८ ॥

सहसावितरणजितकर्णः क्षौणीं यौवनश्रियोदूहे ।
अश्रान्तदानवारातिशयो योभूद्वृषानुचरः ॥ ९ ॥

सहसेत्यादि । यो दशरथो यौवनश्रिया तरुणिमसंपत्त्या सह क्षौणीमुदूहे । सहसावितरणेनाविलम्बितदानेन जितः कर्णः कानीनो येन अश्रान्तोऽप्राप्तश्रमो दानवारातीनां देवानां शयः करो यस्मात् । अत एव हि असुरपराजयसिद्धैः विबुधैः करेण प्रहरणग्रहणश्रमोपि नासादितः । तथाहि वृषानुचरः शचीसहचरानुचरोभूत् ।

अन्यच्च । यो विग्रहपालो यौवनश्रिया कर्णस्य राज्ञः सुतया सह क्षौणीमुदूढ़वान् । सहसा वलेनावितो रक्षितो रणजितः संग्रामजितः कर्णो डाहलाधिपति र्येन । रणजित एव परन्तु रक्षितो न उन्मूलितः । कपालसन्धिघ(म)टनात् । दानवारो दानसमुच्चयो भूमिकाञ्चनकरितुरगादिभि र्नानाप्रकारं दानं तस्यातिशयः प्राचुर्य्यं स चाश्रान्तोऽविच्छिन्नो यस्य अतएव [1]वृषानुचरो धर्म्मानुगतः । ९ ॥

अथ तस्य महीपालः सुरपालोपि पुरुषोत्तमो रामः ।
स्फुरदृश्यशृङ्गसम्भावितरूपश्चारुभाग्यसम्पन्नः ॥ १० ॥
जगदवनैकधुरीणः सामयिकमहोमहानलो भरतः ।
अपि लक्ष्मणोपि शत्रुघ्नलक्ष्मणो जज्ञिरे तनयाः ॥ ११ ॥

अथेत्यादि । श्लोकद्वयेन कुलकं । तस्य दशरथस्य तनयाः सुता जज्ञिरे । तत्र प्रथमं रामो रामभद्रो नाम । स च महीपालः महीं पालितवान् । सुरपालः सुरान् पालितवान् पुरुषोत्तमो हरिरवतीर्णः । स्फुरता ऋष्यशृङ्गेण मुनिना सम्भावितमुपेदितं रूपं स्वरूपं यस्य । अत्रैव विशेषः । चरुर्हव्यपाकस्तस्य भागोऽंशः चरुभागस्तस्य भावश्चारुभाग्यं तेन सम्पन्नः । तथाहि "ऋष्यशृङ्गचरोरंशः प्रथमोऽयं महाभुजः" ॥

अन्यच्च तस्य विग्रहपालस्य तनया जज्ञिरे । तत्र महीपालो नाम, ततः सुरपालो नाम । अपि समुच्चये । पुरुषोत्तमः पुरुषश्रेष्ठो रामो रामपालो नाम । स्फुरदृश्यं दर्शनीयं शृङ्गसम्भावितं प्रभावसमृद्धं रूपं यस्य, चारुणा भाग्येन सम्पन्नः ।

जगदित्यादि । रामभद्रानन्तरं भरतो नाम जगदवनैकधुरीणः महस्तेजो[2] महानल इव पूज्यो वह्निरिव सामयिको महोमहानलो यस्य । तथा च "समये यश्च तनोति तिग्मतां" । अपि लक्ष्मणो नाम । अपि शत्रुघ्नलक्ष्मणः शत्रुघ्ननामा इति चत्वारः ।

अन्यच्च स रामपालः जगदवनैकधुरीणः सामयिकेन महसा महान् अलोभरतोऽलुब्धः लक्ष्मणः श्रीमान् शत्रुघ्नलक्ष्मणः शत्रुघ्नं लक्ष्मणं चिह्नं यस्य इति त्रयः ॥ ११ ॥

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[1] The Comm. has वृत्तिसा॰ which is evidently a लिपिकरप्रमादः ।

[2] Comm. महत्तेजो ।

ज्येष्ठस्तेषु विरेजे रामो लङ्केनभरनिमग्नायाः ।
उन्नमयिता धरायाः बलिधामक्षिदिव कादिषु मुखेषु ॥ १२ ॥

ज्येष्ठेत्यादि । तेषु रामादिषु चतुर्षु मध्येषु ज्येष्ठः अग्रजो रामो विरेजे । लङ्काया इनो राव(म)णस्तस्य भरेण निमग्नाया धराया उन्नमयिता उच्छ्वासयिता ॥

अन्यच्च तेषु त्रिषु मध्ये रामो रामपालो ज्येष्ठः प्रशस्यतमो विरेजे । अलं शक्तौ अतएव केन सुखेन भरनिमग्नाया अतिशयनिमग्नायाः परेण कवलिताया धराया उन्नमयिता उद्धर्त्ता । केनः कं कुत्सित इनः कैवर्त्तनृपः तस्मिन् निमग्नाया वा । अत्रोपम[ा] वलिनोऽसुरस्य[1] धाम प्रभावं चिणोति वलिधामचित्(तः) वासुदेवः । स यथा वराहरूपः कादिषु ब्रह्मादिषु मुखेषु प्रधानेषु ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरमहेन्द्रेषु चतुर्षु । अन्यत्र एकं विना त्रिषु राजते । कस्य पानीयस्य इनः समुद्रस्तस्मिन् भरनिमग्नाया धराया उन्नमयिता । अपि च वलिधामचित् वलिसद्मचित् शेषमहीचिद्वत् स यथा कं वातं अत्तुं शीलं येषां तेषु कादिषु पवनाशनेषु नागेषु प्रधानेषु शेषवासुकितक्षकेषु कर्क्कोटकेषु चतुर्षु त्रिषु राजते । केन शिरसा धराया उन्नमयिता ॥ १२ ॥

यं वहुशोनागसमजमुच्चैर्वाजिव्रजं प्रजा दधतम् ।
ज्ञातनयं स्फुरदङ्गं मातानयदेत्य कोशलाभाच्च ॥ १३ ॥

यमित्यादि । वहुशो वहुधा यं राघवं अनागसं पापापराधरहितं(तां) अजं अजन्मानं उच्चैः वाजिव्रजं गरुड़गामिनं इति पदद्वये वासुदेवावतीर्णमिति भावः । प्रजा लोकान् दधतं तनयं पुत्रं ज्ञात्वा विज्ञाय पुरुषातिशयत्वमस्य विदुषी माता जननी कोश(ष)ला नाम एत्य उपसृत्य अङ्कमनयत्(तम्) अङ्कमित्यर्थात् क्रोड़ं, स्फुरत् हर्षोपचीयमानमित्यङ्गविशेषणं । अतएवाभा[2]च्च शोभितवत्यपि । यद्वा यञ्च एत्य प्राप्य कोशला नाम पुरी अभात्[2] ।

अन्यच्च यं रामपालं वहुशो वहुसंख्यं नागसमजं हस्तिघटां उच्चैर्महान्तं वाजिव्रजं अश्वसेनां प्रजाः पदातिसेनां दधतं ज्ञातनयं विदितनीतिं(तं) स्फुरदङ्गं उपचितराज्याङ्गं मा लक्ष्मीः एत्य कोशलाभाच्च भाण्डागारलाभेनापि अतानयत् विस्तारितवती ॥ १३ ॥

भर्त्ता नाकस्य तरस्तत् विश्वविरोधिभूभृतां भिन्दन् ।
दानव्यग्रकरार्पितकुशतिलतोयोयमवलारिः ॥ १४ ॥

भर्त्तेत्यादिविरोधालङ्कारः । नाकस्य स्वर्गस्य भर्त्ता । भूभृतां पर्व्वतानां तत् जगविरोधि तरो वेगं पक्षच्छेदात् भिन्दन् । दानवीनां दानववधूनां अग्रहस्तेऽर्पितानि कुशतिल[तो]यानि येन वैधव्यं तासां कृतम् । एवमिन्द्रस्वरूपोऽपि अव(च)लारिः वलारिर्न भवतीति विरोधः । अविरोधे तु अकं पापे दुःखे च तस्य

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[1] Comm. वलेन सुरस्य ।

[2] Comm. अभावात् ।

द्वयस्यापि न भर्त्ता। सर्व्वेषां वैरिभूभुजां तरो बलं भिन्दन्। दानाशक्ते करे अर्पितानि कुश[ति]लानि येन अबला असमर्था अरयो यस्येत्युभयत्रापि ॥ १४ ॥

अभिदुरकरोक्षतबलो प्यमरुत्वानप्रभूतमन्युरपि ।
योभूदगोत्रभिदपाकशास(नाश)नोपि च सुनाशीरः ॥ १५ ॥

अभिदुर इत्यादि। व्यतिरेकमु(सु)खेन विरोधः। अभिदुरकरो न वज्रहस्तः। न क्षतो हतो बलनामा दैत्यो येन। न मरुत्वान्। न प्रभूतमन्युः प्रचुरयज्ञः। न गोत्रभित् न पाकशासन इति इन्द्ररूपरहितोऽपि सुनाशीर इन्द्रः। अविरोधे यथा। अभिदुरा(रो) अजातगुरस्त्यागे शौर्य्ये च करा यस्य। अक्षतं बलं सामर्थ्यं सैन्यं। वाह्यमदेन हि महान्तोपि विक्षिप्यन्ते, अयन्तु न मरुत्वान् न वातु(तू)लो न विक्षिप्त इत्यर्थः। अप्रभूतः असंजातो मन्युः शोको यस्य। न गोत्रभित् कुलघाती। अपाकं अगतपाकं शासनं यस्य यथाधर्म्मतो दण्डधारी। सुनाशीरः शोभनाग्रेरः[1] ॥ १५ ॥

जिष्णुशुचिजीवितेशकलानिधिकमलेशपवनधनदेनम् ।
यं वेधा व्यधित समाहारं किल लोकपालानाम् ॥ १६ ॥

जिष्णुरित्यादि। जिष्णुरिन्द्रः शुचिरग्निः जीवि[ते]शो यमः कलानिधिः चन्द्रः कमलस्य जलस्य ईशो वरुणः पवनो धनदः प्रसिद्धौ इनः सूर्य्यः इत्यमष्टानां लोकपालानां समाहारमेकरूपं। वेधा व्यधित घटितवान् इति निगमार्थः। पदार्थस्तु क्रमेण जयशीलो विशुद्धः प्र[ा]णिनाथः कलानां चतुष्टये निधिः कमलाया लक्ष्म्या ईशः लोकान् पुनीते धनं ददाति प्रभुः। इति कविरपि समाहारद्वन्द्वपदमेव निर्द्दिष्टवानिव ॥ १६ ॥

वदनगतभारतीकः कमलासनतां दधत् प्रजानाथः ।
विधिरिव धाता जगतो यः श्रीपतिनाभिसम्भूतः ॥ १७ ॥

वदन इत्यादि। कमलायाः श्रि(प्र)य आस(श)नमाश्रयः। श्रीपतिः पार्थिवो यो नाभिः क्षत्रियस्तस्मात् सम्भूतः विधिरिवेति श्लेषोपमा। अत्र श्रीपते वासुदेवस्य नाभितोऽवयवादुद्भूतः। शेषं सुगमं। उभयत्रापि समं ॥ १७ ॥

यः शङ्करो गिरीशः सर्व्वज्ञः सर्व्वमङ्गलाधारः ।
हर इव मारहरोऽधात् वृषचारी राजशेखरताम् ॥ १८ ॥

य इत्यादि। शं क्षेमः। गीर्वाक्। मङ्गलं श्रेयः। मारो दैवकृतः प्रतिपक्षकृतश्च प्रजास्वाघातः। वृषो धर्म्मः। राजा नृपतिः। हर इवेति श्लेषोपमात्र सर्व्वमङ्गला गौरी। मारः कामः। वृषो वृषभः। राजा चन्द्र इति ॥ १८॥

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[1] Fighting in front.

[1]किं वहु हरिरवतीर्णः स यशोदानन्द[योरुचित्रम् ।
प्रौढारि]वारिजगदानन्दकमुद्यद्विराजि धामास्य ॥ १९ ॥

इदानीमुपसंजिहीर्षुराह । यत् यस्माद्धेतोः अस्य उभयस्य रामस्य यशः कीर्त्तिर्दानं त्यागः दया कृपा उरु महत् चित्रं अद्भुतं । दयापक्षेऽपि नपुंसकशेषेणेयम् । तथा धाम तेजः प्रौढारिवारि प्रौढान् समृद्धान् अरीन् शत्रुन् वारयति खण्डयति । जगदानन्दकं जगतामानन्दकारि । उद्यदुदञ्चत् विराजि शोभमानमिति । अतो हरिरिवावतीर्णः । स उभयोऽपि[2] । तथा हि हरेरपि धाम वपुः प्रौढारिवारिजगदानन्दकं प्रकर्षेण ऊढानि अरि चक्रं वारिजं शंखं(संख) कौमुदी गदा नन्दकः खड्गो येन धाम्ना तत्तथा । [3]विराजि वौ राजि गरुड़े उद्यत् ऊर्द्धमारोहत् । अतो यशोदानन्दयो रुचित्रं यशोदा च नन्दश्च यशोदानन्दौ तयोः रुचित्रं रुचिमभिलाषं त्रायत इति रुचित्रं अभिलषितमभिलषितार्थसम्पादकञ्च तद्वपुरिति भावः ॥ १९ ॥

अस्त्री समुत्कटभुजो भीत्यातुरगाधि[4]भूपचरितश्च ।
अवहत्परतपोवनमवने रुचिमान् स लक्ष्मणोपेतः ॥ २० ॥

अस्त्रीत्यादि । स राघवः कटं शवं भुङ्क्ते इति कटभुजो राक्षसाः । भीत्या भयेन आतुरगाधिभूपचरितः आतुरेण आविलेन गाधिभुवा गाधिपुत्रेण कौशिकेन उपचरितः उपगतः । यद्वा तुर त्वरणे इगुपधत्वात् कः । तुरेण त्वरमाणेन कौशिकेनोपगतः सन् परं दूरं तपोवनं ऋष्याश्रमं अवहत् चलितवान् । अस्त्री धनुर्द्धरः समुत्सहर्षः अवने रक्षणे रुचिमान् साभिलाषः लक्ष्मणेन भ्रात्रा उपेतः ।

अन्यत्र स रामपालः अवनेः पृथिव्याः अवनं रक्षणमवहत् । अस्त्री धन्वी । अतः समुत्कटभुजः सम्यगुत्कटो भीषणो भुजो यस्य । अतो भीत्या तुरगाधिभुवा अश्वपतिना राज्ञा उपचरितः कृतनानादानोपचारः । परंतपः शत्रुतापकारी । लक्ष्मणा नृपलक्ष्मणा कनकदण्डादिना उपेतः । अतएव रुचिमान् ॥ २० ॥

रञ्जितविश्वामित्रात् महौजसोस्य विदितास्त्रविद्यस्य ।
जगदभिरक्षादक्षा शक्तिः शरदीर्णताड़कस्याभूत् ॥ २१ ॥

रञ्जित इत्यादि । अस्य राघवस्य रञ्जितात् विश्वामित्रात् विदितास्त्रविद्यस्य विदितानि अस्त्राणि विद्ये च बलातिबले येन । अतएव महौजसः शरदीर्णताड़कस्य शरेण दीर्णा ताड़कानाम्नी राक्षसी येन (शेन) । जगदभिरक्षायां दक्षा शक्तिरभूत् ।

अन्यत्र अस्य रामपालस्य मित्रात् सूर्य्यादपि महौजसः विदितास्त्रविद्यस्य शरदीर्णताड़कस्य शरेण दीर्णाः ताड़कास्तालवृक्षा येन । जगदभिरक्षादक्षा[5] रञ्जितविश्वा रञ्जितं विश्वं जगद्यया एवंभूता शक्तिरभूत् ॥ २१ ॥

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[1] The portion bracketted has been restored from the commentary. The text repeats here the portion from ०नन्दक to धामास्य ।

[2] The commentary has हरिरवर्णतीर्णः । स उभेऽपि ।

[3] Comm. has दूड़त् apparently for उद्यत् before विराजि which grammar does not require.

[4] The text has तूरगाधिपभू० ।

[5] Comm. दरक्षा ।

लोकान्तरप्रणयिणो दुर्नयभाजोऽग्रजन्मनो व्यसनात् ।
पतितान्धकारवत्यनुभावादुदहारि गोतमी तेन[1] ॥ २२ ॥

लोकेत्यादि । राघवो हि अवतीर्णः । तस्य लोकान्तरं स्वर्गः तत्रत्यस्य अग्रजन्मनो ज्येष्ठभ्रातुरिन्द्रस्य व्यसनात् पतिता स्वामिशापभ्रष्टा अन्धकारप्रविष्टा गोतमी गोतमवधूरहल्या उदहारि उद्धृता ।

अन्यत्र परलोकगतस्य ज्येष्ठभ्रातुर्महीपालस्य युद्धव्यसनात् मिलिता गोः पृथिव्याः तमी रात्रिः । अन्धकारवती उन्मूलिता जगदन्धकार(रः)विध्वंसात् । "अस्तमपि गोतमोदारमहस्तदनेन पुनरूढे" इत्युत्तरार्द्धपाठान्तरे गोतमो मुनिः तत् पूर्व्वसिद्धं दारमहः कलत्रोत्सव इन्द्रस्य व्यसनात् अस्तं गतमपि पुनरनेन प्रापितः । अन्यत्र गो[:] पृथिव्याः तमोऽन्धकारं दारयतीति गोतमोदार(रः) । अहस्तेजो अहर्दिनम्वा महीपालव्यसनादस्तं गतमपि पुनरनेन प्रापितः[2] । अनेन पुनरूढम् ॥ २२ ॥

परिकलितकुशिकनन्दनसदाश्रमसमृद्धसम्पदो रामः ।
कृतताड़कोद्भवविधूननश्च बर्द्धितसुवाहुधामा च ॥ २३ ॥

परिकलितेत्यादि । परिकलितः कौशिकस्य सन् पूज्यमान आश्रमस्तेन समृद्धप्रमोदः । कृतं ताड़कासुतस्य विधूननं येन । तथाहि [3]वायव्यास्त्रव्यतिकरनिरालम्बनस्ताड़केन वर्द्धितं छेदितं सुवाहुनाम्नो राक्षसस्य धाम वपुर्येन ।

अन्यत्र परिकलिता अभ्यस्ता कुशिकाः कुशी खड्गादिलोहविकारा यैर्नन्दनैः पुत्रैः राज्यपालादिभिः तेषां सदा सर्व्वदा श्रमेणास्त्रगुणनिकया समृद्धसम्पदः । कृतः सुतः (कृतं सुतं) तस्य ताड़कानां आघातकानां उद्भवस्य विधूननः चेष्टा वर्द्धितं शोभनयो र्भुजयोर्धाम तेजो येन ॥ २३ ॥

पृथुरक्षोनीकं धर्म्मविप्लवं विप्रहर्षकोर्य्यात्मः ।
[4]सत्कृताध्वरोहितजगद्दधद्वलयितज्याकोदण्डम् ॥ २४ ॥

पृथु इत्यादि । स राघवः वलयित[ज्य]कोदण्डं वलयितमौर्व्वीकं कोदण्डं दधत् रक्षोनीकं राक्षससैन्यं पृथु महत् । धर्म्मं विप्लव इति धर्म्मविप्लवं अर्थात् संक्षिप्तवान् । अतएव विप्रहर्षकः विप्रान् ऋत्विजो हर्षितवान् सत्कृताध्वरः सत्कृतो यथाविधि सम्पादितोध्वरो येन । हितजगत् हितं भृतं जगत् येन ।

अन्यत्र स रामपालः दण्डं दधत् धर्म्मविप्लवं अनीकमलक्ष्मीकं अपवान् । पृथुरक्षः महती रक्षा यस्य । विप्रह(क)र्षकः विगतप्रह(क)र्षः जितारिषड्वर्गत्वात् । सत्कृताध्वरोहि[त]जगत् सद्भिः कृतसन्धानं कृतेऽध्वनि वा रोहितं आरोहितं जगत् येन । वलयितज्यकः वलयिता वेष्टिता अवगूरिता यद्वा सामन्तचक्रोपक्रममेव चक्रावर्त्तेन पर्य्यटिता ज्या पृथ्वी येन ॥ २४ ॥

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[1] There is another reading अस्तमपि गोतमोदारमहस्तदनेन पुनरूढे ।

[2] पुनरनेन प्रापितः is not needed here. It appears that the scribe simply repeated what he wrote a little before.

[3] Comm. वायस्याकास्त्र ।

[4] Text has स तु सत्कृता° ; स तु is superfluous.

इति तेन कौशिकीया क्रिया व्यधायि दधती बुधानमृतैः ।
प्रेष्यसुमित्रापत्या क्षिप्तविपक्षेष्टभूमिरक्षेण ॥ २५ ॥

इतीत्यादि । तेन राघवेण इष्ट[भू]मिरक्षेण यज्ञभूमिरक्षकेण कौशिकीया कौशिकस्य क्रिया यागः । बुधान् देवान् अमृतै यज्ञशेषैः दधती प्रेष्यसुमित्रापत्या प्रेष्यः परिचारकः सुमित्रायाः अपत्यं लक्ष्मणो यस्यां क्षिप्तविपक्षा क्षिप्ता· विपक्षा राक्षसा यस्यां सा व्यधायि (व्यवधायि) निर्वर्त्तिता ।

अन्यत्र । रामपालेन पत्या स्वामिना इष्टभूमिरक्षेण इष्टानां मित्राणां राज्यं भूमिं रक्षता । (क्रियासत्)[1] बुधा(द्वु)न् पण्डितान् अमृतैरयाचितैर्दानै र्दधती प्रेष्यसुमित्रा प्रेष्याणि शोभनानि अशठानि मित्राणि राजानो यस्यां सा व्यधायि । कौशिकेन इन्द्रेणापि इयं क्रिया क्रियते इति कौशिकीयेति विशेषणं तथाहि इन्द्रेण पत्या अपेक्षितपृथ्वीपालेन बुधान् देवान् अमृतैर्दधती प्रेष्यसुमित्रा क्षिप्तविपक्षा क्रिया क्रियते इति ॥ २५ ॥

भीमज्याभृज्जीवाकर्षणकण्डूयमानभुजकाण्डः ।
कौशिकसेनोऽयं जनपदान् विदेहानवाप्य मुदमूहे ॥ २६ ॥

भीमेत्यादि । अयं राघवः भीमस्य हरस्य ज्याभृद्धनुस्तस्य जीवा गुणः तस्याकर्षणाय कण्डूयमानभुजः सेनः सप्रभुः सनाथः कौशिकनाथः ।

अन्यत्र अयं रामपालः भीमनामा ज्याभृद्भूमिपतिः तस्य जीविताकर्षणाय कण्डूलभुजः । कुशी खड्गादि[:] तया जयद्भिः कौशिकैः सेना यस्य कौशिका एव सेना यस्य अथवा इन्द्रसेना एव सेना यस्य । विद[ा] ज्ञानेन ईहान् चेष्टमानान् विमृष्यकारिण इत्यर्थः ॥ २६ ॥

अपि चापदण्डमरमप्रतिमद्रविणोऽवधूतनिखिलन्टपम् ।
स भवस्यावितजनकः करपल्लवलीलयालावीत् ॥ २७ ॥

अपीत्यादि । अपि समुच्चये । स राघवः भवस्य हरस्य चापदण्डम् धनुर्द्दण्डम् अवधूतनिखिलनृपं अ(आ)रं अविलम्बित[ं] करपल्लवलीलया अलावीत् । अतएवा[प्रतिम]द्रविणः अतुल्लबलः अवितजनकः प्रीणितसीरध्वजः ।

अन्यत्र । अपि समुच्चये । स रामपालो भवस्य संसारस्यापदं विपदं डमरमुपपुरं शत्रुकृतमलावीत् । वि[प]त्पक्षे अप्रतिमद्रविणं संसारविप्लवनात् अप्रतिमं द्रविणं धनं यस्य, अविताः प्री(प्र)णिताः जनाः प्रजा येन करपल्लवलीलयाष्टदानेन । डमरपक्षे द्रविणं धनं, अविता रक्षिता प्रजा येन करपल्लवलीलया आयुधचेष्टया अवधूतनिखिलनृपं यथा भवति ॥ २७ ॥

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[1] Seems unnecessary.

अनुजः सुरपालस्य क्षममयमुद्वहत् जानकीं लक्ष्मीम् ।
समहास्तत्सूनूनाञ्च तत्स्वसारोऽभवँल्ललितजन्यः ॥ २८ ॥

अन्वित्यादि । अयं राघवः सुरपालस्य इन्द्रस्यानुजो हरिर्जानकीं सीतां लक्ष्मीमवतीर्णां उद्वहत् । तत्सूनूनाञ्च राघवकनिष्ठानामपि त्रयाणां तत्स्वसारः सीताभगिन्यः समहा विवाहोत्सवसहिता ललितजन्यः प्रियबध्वोऽभवन् ।

अन्यत्र । अयं रामपालः सुरपालस्यानुजो जनकस्य पितुर्लक्ष्मीं ऊढवान । तत्सूनूनां च रामपालपुत्राणां अपि तत्स्वसारस्तस्य पालस्यैव स्वीयाङ्कितकं सारो बलं समहाः सतेजाः ललितजन्य ईप्सितयुद्धोऽभवत् । सामर्थ्येन पितृतुल्यास्ते बभूवुरिति भावः ॥ २८ ॥

हत्वा राजप्रवरं [भूयो] भूमण्डलं गृहीतवतः ।
स निरास्थदस्त्रकलया सहस्रदोर्व्विद्विषः स्वास्थ्यम् ॥ २९ ॥

हत्वेत्यादि । स राघवः राजप्रवरं [क्ष]त्रियसन्तानं हत्वा भूयः पुनः पुनरेकविंशतिवारान् भूमण्डलं गृहीतवतः सहस्रदोर्व्विद्विषः (षयः) कार्त्तवीर्य्यारातेः परशुरामस्य स्वास्थ्यं स्वर्गस्थितिमस्त्र(त्र)कलया निरास्थत् ।

अन्यत्र स रामपालोऽस्त्रकलया सहस्रदोः सहस्रबाहुः राजप्रवरं नृपतिश्रेष्ठं महीपालं हत्वा भूयः प्रचुरं भूमण्डलं गृहीतवतः द्विषः शत्रोः कैवर्त्तस्य नृपस्य स्वास्थ्यं अस्मिन् पक्षे शरिपरे (शरीरे) स्वरिलोपः[1] सौष्ठवं निरास्थत् ॥ २९ ॥

दुर्ज्जननीकारपरोऽप्यनुपालितसज्जनीकृतश्रीकः ।
शूरतमसूनुसहितोऽसाववहद्दण्डकारण्यम् ॥ ३० ॥

दुरित्यादि । असौ राघवः दुर्ज्जननी निन्दिता माता कैकेयी तस्याः कारो नियमः भरतराज्याभिषेकादिः तत्परः । अनुपालितसज्जनीकृतश्रीकः अनुपालिता प्रतीक्षिता सती साध्वी जनी जाया सीता तया कृता श्रीः शोभा यस्य । सूनूः कनीयान् भ्राता लक्ष्मणः दण्डकारण्यं प्रसिद्धं अवहत् चलितवान् ।

अन्यत्र असौ रामपालः दण्डकारण्यं दण्डस्योपाय[स्य]कारण्यं करणत्वं साधकतमत्व म[व]हत् । अतएव दुर्ज्जनानां दुष्टजनानां नीकारे भर्त्सने तत्परः । यद्वा दुर्ज्जनानां नीकारस्य साध्यस्य परः परः शत्रुः शातयिता । अनुपालितसज्जनीकृतश्रीकः अनुपालिता सज्जना यया करणभूतया सा अभूतत(स)द्भावात् अनुपालितसज्जनीकृता श्रीर्लक्ष्मी येन । सूनुः पुत्रः ।

इदानीं कुलकं, श्लोकाष्टकेन सीता रावणेन हृतेति वर्ण्यते । तदत्र कीदृशि समये, कस्मिन् सन्निवेशे कतरेण प्रकारेण हृतेति कथाक्रमेणाह ॥ ३० ॥

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[1] This grammatical rule seems to have been used to explain the other meaning of the word स्वास्थ्य ।

प्रथममुपरते पितरि महीपाले भ्रातरि क्षमाभारम् ।
विभ्रत्यनीतिका[रंभ]रते रामाधिकारितां दधति ॥ ३१ ॥

प्रथममित्यादि । प्रथमं दण्डकारण्यगम[न]काले राघवस्य शोकात् पितरि महीपाले पृथ्वीपतौ दशरथ उपरते सति भ्रातरि भरते क्षमाभारं पृथ्वीभारं अनीतिकारं अविद्यमान ईतिकार उपप्लवकारो यत्र तं विभ्रति सति । रामाधिकारितां रामस्य सिंहासनारोपि[त]तत्पादुकाद्वयरूपेण अधिकारितां दध(धा)ति ।

तथा रामपालपक्षेप्यनेन कुलकश्लेषश्लोकाष्टकेन वरेन्द्री दिव्वोकेन गृहीतेति व्याहरिष्यते । ननु च राज्यभारं विभ्राणस्य असीमशौर्य्यशालिनो रामपालस्य परेण भूमिरादीयत इति जीवतो[1] व्याघ्रस्य दंष्ट्राङ्कुरोत्पाटनोत्साहसाहसिक्यमिदं कथङ्कारं आरम्भगोचरं इति शङ्कां निराचिकीर्षुः पूर्व्वकथामवतारयन्नाह ।

प्रथममित्यादि । प्रथमं पूर्व्वं पितरि विग्रहपाल उपरते सति महीपाले भ्रातरि क्षमाभारं भूभारं विभ्रति सति अनीतिकारंभरते अनीतिके नीतिविरुद्धे आरम्भे उद्यमे रते सति महीपालः षाड्गुण्यशल्यस्य मन्त्रिणो गुणितमवगुणयन् उपष्टम्भारभटीमात्रादीषत्ग्रहणेन मिलित[ा]नन्तसामन्तचक्रचतुरचतुरङ्गबलवलयितबहलमदकलकरितुरगतरणिचरणचारुभटचमूसम्भारसंरम्भनिर्भरभयभीत(भिर)रिक्तमुक्तकुन्तलपलायमानविकलसकलसैन्येन स्वतः क्षयातिशयमासेदुषा सह सहसैव बलद्विपर्य्ययकोटिकष्टतरसमरमारभ्य निरमज्जत । रामाधिकारितां रामपालस्य तस्मिन् समये निगड़बद्धस्य आधिर्मानसी व्यथा तत्करणशीलतां दधति एतदग्रे स्फुटयिष्यति ॥ ३१ ॥

रामेतु चित्रकूटं विकटोपलपटलकुट्टिमकठोरम् ।
भूमीभृतमापनिते तपस्विनि महाशयेऽसहने ॥ ३२ ॥

[2]राम इत्यादि । चित्रकूटं भूमिभृतं पर्व्वतं तपस्विनि गृहीतवानप्रस्थव्रते ।

अन्यत्र । चित्रकूटं अद्भुतमायं शिलाकुट्टिमवत् कर्कशं भूभृतं(त) महीपालं तपस्विनि अनुकम्पार्हत्वदशापन्ने ॥ ३२ ॥

अपरभ्राताधिवसति कष्टागारं(र) महावनं घोरम् ।
हतविधिवशेन वायसकुशीलताभेद्यकुचजानौ ॥ ३३ ॥

अपरेत्यादि । अपरेण भ्रात्रा लक्ष्मणेन सह कष्टं कृच्छ्रं महावनं महारण्यं अधि[व]सति सति दुर्द्दैववशेन वाय(यय)सस्य काकस्य कुत्सितशीलतया दुश्चेष्टया [भेद्यौ] द्वौ विदीर्णौ कुचौ यस्याः सा तादृशी जा(या)या यस्य ।

अन्यत्र । अपरेण भ्रात्रा (ता) सुरपालेन सह कष्टागारं कारागृहं महद्वनं रक्षणं यत्र दुर्द्दैवाधीने नवा नूतनायसी लोहसम्बन्धि[नी] कुशी निगड़रूपा सा लतेव जंघातरुविदूरवेष्टनात् तथा भेदिनी विदीर्णे अकुचे अंसकोटनी जानुनी अष्ठीवती यस्य ॥ ३३ ॥

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[1] Comm. जीवित । [2] Comm. रामपाल ।

शिष्टारिष्टैकदृशि विराधकबन्धापदञ्च दधमाने ।
दक्षिणका[ष्ठा]श्रिति गतपञ्चवटीसन्निवेशे च ॥ ३४ ॥

शिष्टेत्यादि । शिष्टा शेषीकृता अरिष्टस्य काकस्य तस्यैव एका दृष्टिर्येन विराधो (रोधि) नाम राक्षसः कबन्धश्च तयोरापदं मृत्युं दक्षिणामगस्त्यचरितां काष्ठां दिशं(सं) श्रितवति गतः प्राप्तः पञ्चवटी(टो)नामाश्रमः येन ।

अन्यत्र । शिष्टा अनुशिष्टा अरिष्टैकदृशोऽशुभैकदृष्टयो दारुणकर्म्माणो यस्मै विराधिकां कदर्थयित्रीं बन्धापदं बन्धनविपत्तिं दक्षिणानां सरलानां काष्ठां उत्कर्षं आश्रितेऽतिक्रान्तः पञ्चानामपि वराटानां स(श)मावेशो यस्य ॥ ३४ ॥

विशास्यतयास्तवति बहुस्वपलादिस्वसारं च ।
खरनिग्रहं दधाने विदधाने दूषणत्रिकोच्छेदम् ॥ ३५ ॥

विशेत्यादि । विशास्यतया विगतनासिकामुखतया लक्षितां बह्वस्वां बह्वसुजन्मनां पलादिनो राक्षसस्य रावणस्य स्वसारं भगिनीं शूर्पनखां अस्तवति निराकृतवति खरनाम्नो राक्षसस्य निग्रहं वधं दूषणनामा राक्षसः त्रिकः त्रिशिराश्च राक्षसः तयोरुच्छेदं विनाशं ।

अन्यत्र विशास्यतया विगतभक्ष्यतया स्वस्यात्मनः पलादि मांसशोणितादिकं स्वस्य सारं सामर्थ्यञ्च बह्व यथाभवति तथास्तवति । खरो दुःसहः निग्रहोऽपकारः भक्तनिषेधादिकं दूषणत्रिकं ते दोषास्त्रयो रागद्वेषमोहा यद्वा का[यिकवा]चिकमानसाः तदुच्छेदः तत्परिहाणं ॥ ३५ ॥

विजनस्थानव्यूहे भूतनयात्राणयुक्तदायादे ।
विद्युद्विलासचञ्चलमायामृगतृष्णयान्तरिते ॥ ३६ ॥

विजन इत्यादि । विच्यु(?)तो जनस्थान इति ख्यातनाम्नि सन्निवेशे स्थितो रावणव्यूहो येन । भूतनयायाः सीतायास्त्राणे युक्तो दायादो भ्राता लक्ष्मणो येन । मायामृगः कनकमृगरूपो मारीचस्तस्य तृष्णया लुब्धत्वेन अन्तरिते व्यवधानहिते राघवे सति ।

अन्यत्र विजने स्थानमवस्थानं तेन व्यूहो विगत ऊहो यस्य तस्मिन् रामपाले भूतं सत्यं नयो नीतं तयोर(रर)क्षणे युक्तः प्रसक्तो दायादो महीपालो यस्य माया लक्ष्म्या मृगतृष्णया ममायं लक्ष्मीं ग्रहीष्यतीति मुग्धतया अन्तरिते तिरोहिते भूमीगृहादिगुप्तक्षिप्ते रामपाले सति ॥ ३६ ॥

मायिध्व(ध)निना शङ्कितविप(पा)दो भर्त्तुर्भुवः प्रभूतायाः ।
निकृतिप्रयुक्तितो रक्षितरि कनिष्ठे तथापन्ने ॥ ३७ ॥

मायीत्यादि । मायिनो मारीचस्य ध्वनिना लक्ष्मण त्रायस्वेत्यार्त्तनादेन भर्त्तुः रामस्य शङ्किता विपद्यया तस्याः शङ्कितविपदः भुवः पृथ्वीतः प्रभूता[याः] सीतायाः निकृतिप्रयुक्तितः भर्त्सन(नः)प्रयोगतः [१]अनक्षरेण कनिष्ठे लक्ष्मणे रक्षितरि रक्षार्थं स्थापिते । तथा तेनाकारेण तामेव दिशं प्रपन्ने गते सति ।

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[१] Seems superfluous.

अन्यत्र मायिनां खलानां ध्वनिना अयं रामपालः क्षमोऽधिकारी सर्व्वसम्मतः ततश्च देवस्य राज्यं ग्रहीष्यतीति सूचनया शङ्कितविपदः मामसौ हनिष्यतीति शङ्किता त्रिपद्येन तस्य भुवोभर्त्तुर्महीपालस्य प्रभूताया बहुतराया निराकृतिप्रयुक्तितः शाठ्यप्रयोगात् उपायवधचेष्टया तथा लनाकारेनापन्ने दुर्गते कनिष्ठे भ्रातरि रामपाले रक्षितरि भाव्यर्थे ॥ ३७॥

मांसभुजोच्चैर्दशकेन जनकभूर्दस्युनोपधिव्रतिना ।
दिव्याह्वयेन सीता वासालंकृतिर(रा)हारि कान्तास्य ॥ ३८ ॥ कुलकम् ।

मांसेत्यादि । अस्य राघवस्य कान्ता प्रिया जनकभूर्जनकसुता दिव्या दिव्यनायिकाह्वयेन नाम्ना सीता रामस्य गृहस्यालंकृतिः मांसभुजा राक्षसेनोच्चैः महता दशकेन दशशिरसा रावणेन दस्युना चौरेणोपधिव्रतिना कैतवतपस्विना अहारि हृता ।

अन्यत्र । अस्य रामपालस्य जनकभूः पैत्र(पत्य)भूमिर्वरेन्द्री सीतावासालङ्कृतिः लाङ्गलपद्धतिवसत्यलंकारा चावाससंपन्नेत्यर्थः । अतएव कान्ता कमनीया दिव्याह्वयेन दिव्यनाम्ना दिव्वोकेन मांस(श)भुजा लक्ष्म्या अंशं(स)भुञ्जानेन भृत्येनोच्चैर्दशकेन उच्चैर्महती दशा अवस्था यस्य अत्युच्छ्रितेनेत्यर्थः दस्यु(श्यु)ना शत्रुणा तद्भावापन्नत्वात् अवश्यकर्त्तव्यतया आरब्धं कर्म्म व्रतं छद्मनि व्रती । यद्वा आचारक्विप् हेतुमण्णिज(य)न्ताण्णिनि अहारि गृहीता ॥ ३८ ॥

क्षत्तानुजतनुजस्य च भीमस्य वि[व]रप्रहरकृतः ।
साभिख्यया वरेन्द्री क्रियाक्षमस्य खलु रक्षणीयाभूत् ॥ ३९ ॥

क्षत्त्येत्यादि । सा सीता अभिख्यया शोभया वरा श्रेष्ठा, अस्य रावणस्य, क्षत्ता अनुजाश्च तनुजाश्च यस्य भयङ्करस्य विवरस्य जटायुषः प्रहारं कृतवतः । अमुं प्रहृत्य सीतां असौ नीतवान् । इन्द्रीक्रियाक्षमस्य अनिन्द्रं इन्द्रं कर्त्तुं क्षमस्य रक्षणीयाभूत्, न पुनरुपभोग्या ।

अन्यत्र सा भूमिः अभिख्यया नाम्ना वरेन्द्री क्षत्ता अस्य दिव्वोकस्य यो अनुजो रुद्रोकः तदीयतनयस्य भीमनाम्नः रन्ध्रप्रहारिणः क्रियाक्षमस्य अलंकर्म्मीणस्य यथोक्तक्रमेण रक्षणीयाभूत् । स तत्र भूपतिः वर्त्तमानः ॥ ३९ ॥

स विनाशितमारीचोपगतेऽष्टतमो भुजौ दधद्विकलौ[1] ।
धाम निजं परिकलयांचकार शून्यं सह्लनुरथ रामः ॥ ४० ॥

स इत्यादि । इदानीं रामस्य चेष्टां प्रकटयति स राघवः विनाशितमारीचः अपगतप्रियतमः अतएव हि विफलौ भुजौ दधत् (तः) लक्ष्मणसहितः । निजं धाम पर्णशालां शून्यं परिकलितवान् ।

अन्यत्र । अतिशयेन विनाशी विनाशितमः अरिर्याभ्यां ययोर्वा तौ च समुच्चये भुजौ विपक्षाक्षिप्त-

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[1] Text विकलौ but Comm. विफलौ ।

भुज्यमानभूमिलात् विफलौ दधत् । उपगता इष्टतमा मित्राणि मातृवन्धवो यस्य, ससुतः, धाम शौर्य्यं स्वं शून्यं मिथ्या कलितवान् ॥ ४० ॥

अपि चेष्टया विमुक्तः क्षमया गुरुमन्युदहनदीप्तोऽयं(सं) ।
अवनीपतितां तनुमपि न तदा सम्भावयामास ॥ ४१ ॥

अपीत्यादि । अपि समुच्चये स राघवः गुरुमन्युवह्निदीप्तः क्षमया सहिष्णुतया चेष्टया सह विमुक्तः निश्चेष्टो मूर्च्छितः सन् अवनीपतितां तनुं देहं न सम्भावितवान् ।

अन्यत्र अपि समुच्चये क्षमया भूम्या इष्टया विमुक्तः अवनीपतितां पृथ्वीपतितां तनुं अल्पमपि न सम्भावितवान् ॥ ४१ ॥

सख्या सह विपदुदये न विनयविधिना सूनुना यत्नात् ।
कृतपरमोहापोहोऽलब्ध स्थिरसम्बिदुत्थानम् ॥ ४२ ॥

सख्येत्यादि । राघवः सूनुना कनिष्ठभ्रात्रा सख्या द्वितीयेन यत्नतः पानीयसेचनव्यजनादिना कृतः परस्यातिशयस्य मोहस्य अपोहः खण्डनं यस्य अतः स्थिरसम्बित् स्थिरचेतनः उत्थानं अलब्ध लब्धवान् उत्थित इत्यर्थः ।

अन्यत्र । सख्या अमात्येन सूनुना सुतेन च सह कृतौ परमौ महान्तौ ऊहापोहौ इदं कर्त्तव्यं इदं न कर्त्तव्यम् इत्यादिकौ येन स्थिरतत[१] स्थिरसम्बित् (तः) कृतनिश्चयः उत्थानं उद्यमं लब्धवान् ॥ ४२ ॥

विविधविशालव्यालाटविकाकीर्णावनिर्बहुर्व्वीभृत् ।
इष्टार्थाभिनिविष्टेन ततस्तेनाटि कष्टेन ॥ ४३ ॥

विविधेत्यादि । तेन इष्टा प्रिया सीता तदर्थाभिनिविष्टेन अवनिः विविधा विशाला व्याला हिंस्रपशुसर्पराक्षसादयो यस्यां तयाटविकया आकीर्णा बहुपर्व्वता अ[ा]टि पर्य्यटिता ।

अन्यत्र । रामपाले[न] सामन्तचक्रं प्रणिनीषुणा पृथ्वी पर्य्यटिता । तत्र व्याला आग्रहारिका वैषयिका आटविका अटवीयसामन्ताः उर्व्वीभृद्राजा । इष्टार्थोऽभिलषितार्थः ॥ ४३ ॥

अन्वयभवनं सहसामन्तव्रजमभ्युपेतसाहाय्यं ।
अनुमेने स महादो रवितनयं मित्रभावमापन्नम् ॥ ४४ ॥

अन्वय इत्यादि । स महादोर्महाबाहुः रवितनयं सुग्रीवं सहसां बलानां अन्वयभवनं कुलगृह अन्त(स्त)व्रजं समीपमागतं मित्रभावाभ्यर्थनया प्रपन्नमनुमेने ।

अन्यत्र सह सम्बद्धार्थं सामन्तव्रजं वक्ष्यमाणनायकं अन्वयस्याभ्युदयस्य भवनं अवितनयं गूढ़(ढा)नीतिं मित्रकोटिप्रविष्टं स रामपालोऽनुमेने ॥ ४४ ॥

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[१] Seems superfluous.

देवेनभुवो विपुलद्रविणस्यच [१]दानतः सुखाचक्रे ।
अमुना हरिनागपदातिलब्धवहलप्रभावोऽसौ ॥ ४५ ॥

देवेनेत्यादि । अमुना सुग्रीवः देवेनभुवः इन्द्रभुवः वालिनो विपुलबलस्य च दानतश्छेदात् हरिनागस्य वानरनायकस्य पदे राज्येऽतिशयेन लब्धः पुनरस्खलनात् वहलप्रभावो येन तथा सन् सुखाचक्रे अनुकूलितः ।

अन्यत्र । अमुना देवेन राज्ञाऽसौ सामन्तव्रजः हरयोऽश्वा नागा हस्तिनः पदातयः एभिर्लब्धो वहलः प्रभावो येन स ताटकभुवो भूमेर्विपुलस्य धनस्य च दानतस्त्यागात् अनुकूलितः ॥ ४५ ॥

अथ तरसाशिवराजेनास्य हितान्वेषिणाज्ञया भर्त्तुः ।
आशुगजेन वलवता वाजिवरख्यातधाम्ना च ॥ ४६ ॥
खरगुरुचारणविक्रमदीर्णमहेन्द्रेण केशरिसुतेन ।
[२]उद[ल]ङ्घि महातटिनी शोभान्वीतेन दुस्तरमहोर्म्मिः ॥ ४७ ॥ युग्मम् ।

अथेत्यादि । अग्रिमश्लोकेन सह कुलकमतस्तत्रैव योजयिष्यते । खरेत्यादिपूर्व्वश्लोकेन समं कुलकं । अथानन्तरं केशरिणो वानरवरस्य पुत्रेण क्षेत्रजेनाशुगात् पवनात् जातेन हनूमता तरसाशिनां रक्षसां वरान् श्रेष्ठान् अजता क्षिपता । भर्त्तुः सुग्रीवस्याज्ञया अस्य राघवस्य हितान्वेषिणा प्रियान्वेषिणा बलवता महाबलेन वाजिवरख्यातधाम्ना पक्षिशेखरेण संपातिना इयं सा समुद्रपारेऽशोकवनिकायामेव सा सीता प्रतिवसतीति ख्यातं(नं) कथितं धाम स्थानं यस्य खरो दुःसहो गुरुर्महान् चारणश्चरणभवो विक्रमो विमर्द्दस्तेन विदीर्णो विदारितो महेन्द्रनामा पर्व्वतो येन । भया(भा) दीप्त्या अन्वीतेन यद्वा उद्गमाह्लानं इतेन तटिनीशो महाजलनिधिः दुस्तरमहोर्म्मिः उदलङ्घि ।

अन्यत्र तरसाबलेन शिवराजेन शिवराजनाम्ना महाप्रतीहारेण राष्ट्रकूटमाणिक्येन अस्य रामपालस्य भर्त्तुराज्ञया हितैषिणा आशु शीघ्रं गजेन बलवता सैन्यवता तुरङ्गपुङ्गवैः ख्यातं शौर्य्यं यस्य । खरगुः तीक्ष्णरश्मिस्तस्येव रुग् दीप्तिर्यस्य सूर्य्यवत्तेजस्विनेत्यर्थः ॥ रणो युद्धं तत्रत्यविक्रमेण दीर्णः भीतः इन्द्रो यस्मात् केशरिकिशोरसदृशेन शोभान्वीतेन पश्चाङ्गप्रसादालङ्कारेण महातटिनी गङ्गा लंघिता ॥ ४७ ॥

आपन्नभीमरक्षा विषयग्रामाकुलत्वदुस्था या ।
त्रस्तानुसृतावसुमत्यमुना सीतेनतेजसाभाजि ॥ ४८ ॥

आपन्न इत्यादि । अमुना हनूमता इनतेजसा सूर्य्यतेज इव तेजो यस्य । अनुसृतौ सत्यां अनुसारेण सीता आपन्नभीमरक्षा प्राप्तानि भीमानि रक्षांसि यां आपन्ना भीमानि रक्षांसि या वा । अतएव त्रस्ता (दस्ता) रूपादिविषयग्रामाकुलतया दुस्था असु(शु)मती जीवितमात्रशेषा अभाजि सेवाञ्जलिना बोधिता ।

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[१] Text has दतः ।

[२] Text has उदयिं माहातटिणी ।

अन्यत्र अमुना शिवराजेनासीतेनासिगतेन तेजसा खड्गदर्पेण सा वसुमती भूमिर्वरेन्द्री आपन्ना व्यस्ता भीमस्य रक्षा यस्यां अतो विषयाणां च ग्रामाणाञ्चाकुलतया दुःस्था त्रस्ता देवब्राह्मणादिभूमिरक्षानिमित्तं कोऽयं विषयः, क एष ग्रामः, कस्य भुक्तिरियमिति प्रश्नपुरःसरं अनुसृता सती अभाजि भग्ना ॥ ४८ ॥

तस्यामाश्वस्तायां सन्दिष्टेन सह रक्षकव्यूहैः ।
भग्नं परितोवनमुषितालङ्का नामचास्य पूर्द्विषतः ॥ ४९ ॥

तस्यामित्यादि । संदिष्टेन संदेशेनांगुरीयकादिना करणभूतेन तस्यां सीतायामाश्वस्तायामाश्वासयुक्तायां सत्यां अमुना हनूमता अ[ा]हारविहारव्यपदेशेन तस्य द्विषो रावणस्य वनं क्रीड़ावनं परितः सर्व्वतः रक्षार्थनियुक्तराक्षसव्यूहैः सह भग्नम् । तथा लङ्का नाम पूः पुरी उषिता दग्धा ।

अन्यत्र अमुना शिवराजेन समादिष्टेन तस्यां वरेन्द्र्यां भीमनियुक्तरक्षकव्यूहैः सहाशु शीघ्रं अस्त[ा]यां क्षिप्तायां सत्यां तस्य द्विषो भीमस्यावनं रक्षणं सर्व्वतो भग्नं अतः का नाम पूः पुरी अलं यथेष्टमुषिता वसतिं गता अपि तु न कापि ॥ ४९ ॥

इति कृत्वाग्नामागत्य चितां (ताता) भूमिं स जानकीं निजभर्त्रे ।
अक्षान्तकरः प्रथिताभिज्ञोऽचकथन्मिथस्तथाभूतां दशां[1] ॥ ५० ॥

आरम्भरामो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

इतीत्यादि । स हनूमान् अक्षनाम्नो रावणसुतस्य वधकारी प्रथिता प्रकटिता सीतासंदिष्टाऽभिज्ञाऽभिज्ञानं चूड़ामणि र्येन तथा सन् निजभर्त्रे राघवाय जानकीं भूमिं चितां व्याप्तां वा अत्यस्त(न्त)चेतनां तथाभूतां मिथो रहसि अचकथत् ।

अन्यत्र । स शिवराजो देवोऽक्षान्तः केनापि न सोढ़ः करो हस्तो यस्य प्रथितः (ता) ख्यातोऽभिज्ञः कुशलः अभिज्ञा स्मृतिः प्रकटिता येन वा[2] तथा सन् निजभर्त्रे रामपालाय जानकीं भूमिं चितां परिचितां व्याप्तामथ्वा तथाभूतामचकथत् ॥ ५० ॥

इति रामचरितटीकायां आरम्भरामो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

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[1] This word spoils both sense and metre.

[2] There is a redundant ते after 'वा' ।

द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः।

अथ धृत्यमर्षगर्व्वोच्छलदुत्साहोऽयमुन्मिलत्पुलकः।
रामो महानुभावो [1]रिपुनिर्जयोद्यमञ्चक्रे ॥ १ ॥

अथेत्यादि। विभावादिसामग्रीपरिग्रहेण काव्यस्य वीररसप्रधानतां आतनोति। तदत्र उभयोऽपि जिगीषुर्महानायको राम इति आलम्बनविभावः। सत्त्वातिशयोदयादुदञ्चनमहापुरुषकारो हि उद्दीपनविभावः स च वैरिविजयोद्यमपदेनैवोपपादितः। पुरुषार्थसम्पा(म्प्या)दनप्रणिधानलक्षण उत्साह इति स्थायीभावः। धृत्य(ध्य)मर्षगर्व्वाः व्यभिचारिणः। पुलकः सात्त्विकः, रागाद्यारम्भगम्भीरावष्टम्भोऽनुभावः इत्येवं परिपोषमासादयन्नुत्साहः स्थायी भावो वीररसत्वेन परिणत इति काव्यसर्व्वस्वभूतवीररसोल्लेखाविष्कारः यदाहुः।

धर्म्मानुरोधशीलस्य विजिगीषोर्मनस्विनः।
आलम्बाद् जायते यत्नः पुरुषार्थसमाप्तये ॥
स्थायी भाव उत्साहो दीप्तसत्त्वद्विजन्मना।
महापुरुषकारेण रोमाञ्चैरथ सात्त्विकैः ॥
अप्यमर्षेण गर्व्वेण वेगेनोग्रतया तथा।
स्मृत्या मत्या च धृत्या च सप्तभिर्व्यभिचारिभिः ॥
रागाद्यारम्भगम्भीरावष्टम्भैरनुभावकैः।
परिपुष्टो भवेद्वीरो दाने धर्म्मे युधि त्रिधा ॥
स्वरे विशेषलेशः पुनरग्रे निगदिष्यते।

स्पर्शनजोत्साहात् द्विगुणितप्रभा वानरप्रवीरास्ते।
स(सा)म(मा)हा नीलाङ्गदवलयामलिताः कुमुदमादधतः ॥ २ ॥
उरुतरसोऽनलसहिताः पृथुनारम्भेण सह रभसमेताः।
सहतारपुष्करगजादिव(वा)लाः सांराविणं दधदुत्तालाः ॥ ३ ॥
क्रूरकरबालधीराः कुलिशसमाननखरायुधप्रकराः।
स्फुरदृक्षपतिमुखास्तं न्यविशन्त धुरन्धरा धरोद्धरणे ॥ ४ ॥

स्पर्शनजेत्यादि। श्लोकत्रयेण कुलकं। ते वानरप्रवीराः स्पर्शनजः पवनतनयः तस्योत्साहेन द्विगुणिता प्रभा दीप्तिर्येषां समहा सोत्सवाः नीलोऽङ्गदश्च प्रसिद्धौ एतयोर्यूथपत्योर्बलञ्च एभिर्यामलिताः कुमुदो नाम कपिसेनापतिस्तं दधतः राघवं न्यविशन्त इति तृतीयेन श्लोकेन समं सम्बन्धः।

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[1] Text रिपुविर्ययोद्यलम्। Comm. वैरिविजयोद्यमं।

अन्यच्च ते नरप्रवीराः चतुर्थश्लोके वक्ष्यमाणनामानः दानजनितोत्साहद्विगुणप्रभावाः, समहानीलैरिन्द्रनीलमणिखचितैः अङ्गदैः केयूरैः वलयैः कङ्कणैश्चामलिताः प्रोज्ज्वलिताः पृथ्वीहर्षं दधतः पूर्व्ववत्क्रियासम्बन्धः।

उरुइत्यादि। ते वानरप्रवीराः उरुतरसस्तरोबलं वेगश्च नलः प्रसिद्धस्तेन सहिताः। पृथुनाम्नः रम्भनाम्ना च वानरेण सह रभसमायाता र[भ]सनाम्ना कपिना समेताः तथा तारनाम्नः पुष्करनाम्नश्च कपेा गजादीनाञ्च गजगवयगवाक्षप्रभृतीनां कपिभटानां सह वर्त्तन्त इति सांराविणं समूहोत्थः कोलाहलः। उत्ताला उद्गतकरतालाः।

अन्यच्च ते नरप्रवीराः उरुतरसोऽनलसहिताः अनलसाः दक्षाश्च हिताश्च महता आरम्भेण सह ([१]मुपगतवत्) रभसमायाताः तारैरित्युच्चैः पुष्करैः वाद्यैः सह वर्त्तन्ते गजादिबलानि येषां गजादयो हस्त्यश्वमहिषादयः उत्तालाः उदग्राः।

क्रूर इत्यादि। ते वानरवीराः क्रूरान् खरान् करान् हस्तान् वालधीन् लाङ्गूलानि इतरे क्षिपन्ति वज्रसदृशनखायुधप्रकराः। स्फुरन् ऋक्षपतिर्जाम्बवान् मुखं येषां धरोद्धरणे पर्व्वतोत्पाटने धुरन्धराः तं राघवं न्यविशन्त।

अन्यच्च। ते नरप्रवीराः क्रूरकरवालाः धीराः अकातराः वज्रसमं आननं मुखं येषां अतएव खराः तीक्ष्णाः आयुधप्रकरा येषां ऋक्षपतिश्चन्द्रः स्फुरच्चन्द्रवदनाः धराया भूमेर्वरेन्द्र्या उद्धरणे धुरन्धराः तं रामपालं न्यविशन्त ॥ ४ ॥

वन्द्यगुणसिंहविक्रमशूरशिखरभास्करप्रतापैस्तैः
समहाबलैरुपेतो जेतुं जगतीमलम्भूष्णुः ॥ ५ ॥

वन्द्य इत्यादि। तैर्हनूमत्प्रभृतिभिर्वन्दनीयशौर्य्यादिगुणैः सिंहविक्रमैः शूरशिखरैः शूराणां शिखरैरग्रै र्माणिक्यै र्वा भास्करप्रतापसदृशप्रतापैः। भास्करः सूर्य्यः प्रतापः प्रभावः।

अन्यच्च मिलितसामन्तचक्रस्य नामाङ्कनं न कृतमिति तदुल्लिखति वन्द्य इति। कान्यकुब्जराजवाजिनीगण्ठनभुजङ्गो भीमयशोऽभिधानोमगधाधिपतिः, पीठीपतिः; गुण इति नानारत्नकूटकुट्टिमविकटकोटाटवीकण्ठीरवो दक्षिणसिंहासनचक्रवर्त्ती वीरगुणो नाम; सिंह इति दण्डभुक्तिभूपतिरद्भुतप्रभावाकरकरकमलमुकुलतुलितोत्कलेशकर्णकेशरीसरिद्वल्लभकुम्भसम्भवो जयसिंहः; विक्रम इति देवग्रामप्रतिबद्धवसुधाचक्रबालबालबलभी(भि)तरङ्गवहलगलहस्तप्रशस्तहस्तविक्रमो विक्रमराजः; शूर इति अपरमन्दारमधुसूदनः समस्ताटविकासामन्तचक्रचूड़ामणि[१]र्लक्ष्मीशूरः; कुजवटीयप्रतिभटकरिकूटकषणकेशरी शूरपालश्च। शिखर इति समरपरिसरविसरदरिराजराजिगण्डगर्व्वगहनदहनदावानलः तैलकम्पीयकल्पतरुद(तरुरुद्र)शिखरः। भास्कर इति खरतरकरवाललीलाविहणवैरिवाहिनीरुधिरप्रवाहविहितापरलोहितार्णववलयितोच्छालभूपालो मयगल-

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[१] Seems to be unnecessary.

सिंहः प्रताप इति प्रतापसिंहः प्रतिपक्षकक्षोनिभृदक्षौहिणीदारुणद्रवणभ्रूणविभ्रंसभीषणप्रयाणढक्कारवो डेक्करीयराजः एभिर्महाबलैरुपेतो रामपालः ॥ ५ ॥

प्राप्तप्रबर्द्धितार्ज्जुनबिजयोऽर्थितबर्द्धनः [सोममुखश्च] ।
अनुगतमातुलसूनु-प्रबलभुजालम्बनो रामः ॥ ६ ॥

प्राप्तेत्यादिः । प्राप्तः प्रबर्द्धितार्ज्जुनस्य प्रच्छन्नकार्त्तवीर्य्यस्य भार्गवस्य विजयो येन अर्थितस्य अनुगतस्य सुग्रीवस्य बालिबधात् बर्द्धनो बर्द्धयिता । एतत्पदद्वयाविष्कारेण लङ्कापि रीषज्जय इति । प्रसन्नत्वात् सोमेन चन्द्रेण सदृशं जगदाह्लादकं मुखमस्येति अनुगतम[स्या]तिशयेनानुगस्य अतुलस्य सूनोर्लक्ष्मणस्य भुज आलम्बनं यस्य स तादृक् रामः ।

अन्यच्च प्राप्तो मिलितः प्रबर्द्धितो(को) देशकोषादिप्रसादेन स्फीतीकृतः अर्ज्जुन इति कयङ्गलीयमण्डलाधिपतिः नरसिंहार्ज्जुनः सङ्कटग्रामीयचण्डार्ज्जुनश्च विजय इति निद्रावलीयविजयराजो येन । बर्द्धन इति कौशाम्बीपतिर्द्दोरपबर्द्धनः सोम इति पदुवन्वाप्रतिबद्धमण्डलाप्रतिबल्लभः(व) सोम[ः] तन्मुखा अपरे च सामन्ताः तैः सहितोऽनुगतानां मातुलपुत्राणां राष्ट्रकूटानां वक्ष्यमाणानां भुजालम्बनं यस्य ॥ ६ ॥

अपि चण्डधामनन्दनबिरचितहरिकुञ्जरव्यूहः ।
तुमुलमतुलरणरङ्गचतुरङ्गञ्जयदरीन् बलं कलयन् ॥ ७ ॥

अपीत्यादि । चण्डधामनन्दनेन सुग्रीवेण विरचितो हरिकुञ्जराणां बानरश्रेष्ठानां व्यूहो बलविन्यासो यस्य । चतुरं दक्षं अरीन् शत्रून् बलं कलयन् ।

अन्यच्च चण्डधामभिरुग्रप्रतापै र्नन्दनै राज्यपालादिभिर्विरचितो हरीणामश्वानां कुञ्जराणां गजानां व्यूहो यस्य चतुरङ्गं करितुरगतरणिपदातिमयं अरीन् जयत् बलं कलयन् ॥ ७ ॥

सतु [दुग्ध]सिन्धुराजमथनगोत्र[१]प्र[भवमुभयभुजदण्डं] ।
परराष्ट्रकूटसुभटजेतारमजीगणन्निजं बन्धुं ॥ ८ ॥ कुलकम् ।

स त्वित्यादि । एतेषु बहलाहङ्कारलहरिलम्भिताभूतपूर्व्वाहंपूर्व्विकारम्भरभसभरोदञ्चदुच्चण्डचण्डिमाडम्बरचलरणविक्रमसमसमयमौलिलोलकेरालबालधिवलयेषु त्रिभुवनविजययोग्यसञ्जातसम्पदोपाश्रितेषु कौशकेशरिकिशोरनिकरेषु किङ्करेषु महत्सु सत्सु राघवः परराष्ट्रस्य लङ्कायाः कूटसुभटं रावणं जेतारं निजमुभयं भुजदण्डं महाबन्धुं अजीगणत् । पुनः किम्भूतं दुग्धमयसिन्धुराजस्य क्षीरोदस्य मथनो गोत्रः पर्व्वतोमन्दरः तस्यैव प्रभवः प्रभावो यस्य भुजदण्डस्य तं यथा मन्दरेण क्षीरोदमुन्मथ्य लक्ष्मीरमृतादिकमुद्धृतं तथा राघवः भुजदण्डेन राक्षसार्णव(न्तर)मुन्मथ्य सीतालक्ष्मीरध्वरविरोधेरविरोधात् यज्ञशेषलक्षणं अमृतं अपरापरञ्च रत्नमभ्युद्धृतमिति साधर्म्यम् ।

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[१] The text had to be restored from the commentary as in the MS. of the text we have, after the word गोत्रप्र॰, a portion of the next verse. The word दुग्ध is omitted in the text.

अन्यत्र एतेषु समस्तसामन्तेषु तथाविधेषु विविधेषु विद्यमानेषु च रामपालः दुग्धसिन्धुराजमथनगोत्रप्रभवं दुग्धो निर्दुग्धो गालितगर्ब्बत्वात् गृहीतबहुतरकरितुरगद्रविणपण्यत्वाच्च सिन्धुराजः पीठीपतिर्द्देवरक्षितो नाम येन तेन मथनेन मथननाम्ना महनइति प्रसिद्धाभिधानेन राष्ट्रकूटकुलतिलकेन उपलक्षितं यद्गोत्रं कुलं तत्प्रभवं तदीयनन्दनमहामाण्डलिककाह्नुरदेवसुवर्णदेवभ्रातृजमहाप्रतीहारशिवराजदेवप्रभृतिसु(म)भयभुजदण्डमुत्कृष्टराष्ट्रकूटसुभटं निजं बन्धुं मातुलसन्तानं जेतारमजगणत्। तथाहि महनेन विन्ध्यमाणिक्यं करेणुराजमारुह्य समरसीमन्यु(सु)ल्लासितशल्यशतकोटिपाटितोद्भटसुभटं शङ्कटमरट्टमन्दोत्कटकरिघटाघोटकपटलः स पीठीपतिर्म्मगधाधिपो निर्द्दुदुहे। नागाधिराजमवरुह्य समृद्धसिन्धुराजोर्म्मिजालकवलीकृतमेक एव भूपालभोग्यवसुधावलयं वराहजन्माविभुः स महनः परमुज्जहार। अपि च भुजदण्डं निजं राष्ट्रकुटसुभटं बन्धुमित्युभयं जेतारमजगणदिति यथासंख्येन सम्बन्धः तदत्र निजभुजदण्डपक्षे दुग्धेत्यादिपदं ऐक्ष्वाकुपक्षवत् योज्यम्॥ ८॥

गमयन् स महासेनामेनामतिचित्रबिक्रमो बिभ्रत्।
शक्तिमथतारकारी रामः शुशुभेऽभ्यमित्रीणः॥ ९॥

गमयन्नित्यादि। अतीवचित्रोऽद्भुतो बिक्रमो यस्य शक्तिं सामर्थ्यं तारः तरणम् समुद्रे गङ्गायाश्च इत्युभयत्रापि समम्। तारकारीराम इति। रेफलोपदीर्घत्वाभ्यां तारकारिः कार्त्तिकेय इति श्लेषोपमा। अत्र चित्रो नानावर्णविचित्रो विःपक्षी मयूरस्तेन क्रमते। शक्तिं अस्त्रविशेषं। शेषः सर्व्वत्र सम[:]॥ ९॥

[1]तस्य म(मा)हाबाहिन्यां गुप्तायां तरणिसम्भवेनाभूत्।
द्विषमभिसेनयतोमुखरितदिक्कोलाहलः समुत्तारः॥ १०॥

तस्येत्यादि। महावाहिन्यां महासेनायां तरणिसम्भवेन सुग्रीवेण गुप्तायां रक्षितायां कोलाहलः समुत्सहर्षः। तारोऽत्युच्चः अतो मुखरितदिगभूत्।

अन्यत्र महावाहिन्यां गङ्गायां तरणिसम्भवेन नौकामेलकेन गुप्तायां च्छन्ना[यां] समुत्तारः सम्यगुत्तरणं मुखरितदिक्कोलाहलो यस्मिन्॥ १०॥

आवासयन् स विष्वद्रीचीरुच्चैश्चमूरमूर्विरचयन्(तन्)।
उत्तरकूलं परितस्तरे तरस्वी महासिन्धोः॥ ११॥

आवासयन्नित्यादि। उत्तरकूलं महासिन्धोः समुद्रस्य आवारं।

अन्यत्र गङ्गायाः तीर्णायाः पारं आच्छादितवान्।

इदानीं राघवस्य शैलश्रेणीभिः सेतुबन्धं रामपालस्य भीमेन समं समरं नवश्लोकीकुलकेन समारचयति। तत्र नवश्लोकेन राघवेणागतोरणं पर्व्वतपङ्क्तिग्रथनां सेतुबन्ध इति प्रसिद्धं रचयता समुद्रोऽबन्धि,

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[1] The text has अथ in addition, which mars the metre.

रामपालेन रणं संग्रामं रचयता भीमो नृपतिरबन्धीति सम्बन्धः। तत्र किम्भूतम् अगतोरणं रणं वेति द्वितीयश्लोके तैर्महावीरैः आबद्धं, एकं हनूमत्प्रभृतिभिः, अपरं वन्द्यगुणप्रभृतिभिः। किम्भूतैः तैः इत्याह ॥ १ १ ॥

प्रवरकरकुलिशकन्दल[1]निस्कन्दोदस्तविपुलपरगोत्रैः।
कठिनज्याधरकर्षणनीरोषितनिर्ज्जरप्रकोष्ठतटैः ॥ १२ ॥

प्रवर(ल) इत्यादि। पराव्यवहिताः गोत्राः पर्व्वताः न पुनः सन्निहिताः समुद्रोदरवर्त्तिनः। ज्याधरः पर्व्वतः।

अन्यत्र परेषां शत्रूणां गोत्रं कुलं। ज्याधरं धनुः ॥ १ २ ॥

धुतनागवलालोकावरणैराश्वाहितप्रयत्नतरैः।
सुविहित[रक्षोपायै][2]रारब्धन्तैर्महावीरैः ॥ १३ ॥

धुत इत्यादि। धुतं स्फोटितं नागबलस्य काद्रवेयकुलस्य आलोकावरणं यैः। आपातालनिमग्नमूलानां गिरीणां उत्पाटनात् नागलोकोऽप्यवालक्ष्यते आशु शीघ्रं आहितप्रयत्नातिशयैः। सुष्ठु विहितो रक्षसां अपायो यैः।

अन्यत्र धुतं क्षोटितं नागवलयस्य हस्तिघटायाः आलोकावरणं अन्धपटो यैः। आश्वं अश्वसमूहः तत्राहितप्रयत्नैः[3] संयोगेन घोटकं ठटुठक्कुरैः रक्षायाः उपायः गूढ़[4]प्रखरसन्नाहवाङ्गरक्षशीर्षरक्षतलीरचक पदातिपार्ष्णिरक्षाप्रकारः। किम्भूतं अगतोरणं सेतुं रणञ्च रचयता इत्याह ॥ १ ३ ॥

अविदूरान्दोलितभूमीनं तरसा[5]पतन्महासत्वम्।
क्षिप्तखगावलि[6]संकुलमविरलशङ्कुप्रहारञ्च ॥ १४ ॥

अवीत्यादि। अविभिः[7] पर्वतैः अब्धिकुक्षिप्रक्षिप्तैः दूरमत्यर्थमान्दोलिता भूः स्थानं येषां ते तादृशा मीना मत्स्या येन सेतुना तरसा वेगेन पतन्ति महान्ति सत्त्वानि यादांसि येन खगावलिः जलचरपक्षिश्रेणी ताभिः संकुलं अविरलः शङ्कुषु यादोविशेषेषु प्रहारो यस्य।

अन्यत्र अविदूरौ सन्निहितौ परस्परान्दोलनमनसौ[8] भूमीनौ भूमीश्वरौ रामभीमौ यस्मिन् रणे तरसा आपतन्तो महासात्त्विका भटा यत्र खगावलिः बाणावलिः शङ्कुः शल्यं अस्त्रं ॥ १ ४ ॥

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[1] The text here inserts समुत्तारः। कन्दल which words are not in the comm., and they spoil the metre.

[2] रक्षोपायैः restored from the commentary.

[3] Com. प्रपणैः।

[4] The text of the comm. गुड़।

[5] Text has तरसारसा which is evidently wrong.

[6] Text has खगावरणैः which is evidently wrong.

[7] The commentary has अचौभिः which is wrong.

[8] Comm has मनोसौ।

विकटास्याडम्बरचलनक्रमकरपालिघोरसंघट्टम् ।
उल्लासितकुन्तीर्णास्कन्दितसैन्धवमहोर्म्मिभरम् ॥ १५ ॥

विकटेत्यादि । भयङ्करवक्त्राडम्बराणां (अ)चलानां नक्राणां मकराणाञ्च पालिषु पङ्क्तिषु घोरः संघट्टो विमर्द्दो यस्य सेतोः उल्लासिता गौः पृथ्वी[1] येन रावणवधोपायभूतत्वात् । तीर्णोऽमज्जनात् आस्कन्दितो यन्त्रितः सैन्धवः सामुद्रो महोर्म्मिभरो येन ।

अन्यच्च भयङ्करः असेः खड्गस्य आडम्बरः कम्पनक्रमणञ्च येषां तेषां करपालिनां खड्गिनां घोरः सङ्घट्टः खड्गमेलको यस्मिन् रणे । उल्लासितैः कुन्तिभिः कुन्तकरैः इतोऽभियुक्तः आस्कन्दितश्च सैन्धवानां घोटकानां महोर्म्मिभरः उत्प्लवगतिविशेषातिशयो यत्र ॥ १५ ॥

विदितजितानिलरंहोहरिबलमाहतपदातिसंदोहम् ।
दलितगलद्दानजलद्विरदं निर्भिन्नबहुवीरम् ॥ १६ ॥

विदित इत्यादि । विदितं ज्ञातं जितपवनवेगानां हरीणां वानराणां बलं सामर्थ्यं यस्मिन सेतौ आहतपदानां व्याहतस्थानानां आतीनां शरालिपक्षिणां सन्दोहो येन । दलिता गलन्मदा जलहस्तिनो येन । निर्भिन्ना विवक्त वेङ्कपक्षिका इरा पानीयं येन ।

अन्यच्च विशेषेण दितं छिन्नं खण्डखण्डीकृतं जितपवनवेगानां हरीणां अश्वानां बल्यं सैन्यं यस्मिन् रणे । आहताः पदातिसन्दोहा यत्र दलिता गलन्मदजला द्विरदा येन ॥ १६ ॥

सह(हा)साविघटनया जीवग्राहग्राहिताहित[2]प्रवरम् ।
स्फुरदसमधामसम्पत्तिमीयमानबलसंवाध[3]म् ॥ १७ ॥

सहसेत्यादि । सहसा अविलम्बिता अविघटनया पर्व्वतसङ्घट्टेन अजीवा निर्जीवा ग्राहा जलजन्तवो येन सेतुना ग्राहितोऽहितप्रवरो राक्षसाधिपतिर्येन महाकायत्वादतुलदेहसम्पत्तिरतएव स्फुरद्भिरध्ववमाय शालिभिस्तिमिभिर्महाजलजन्तुभेदैरीयमाणो गम्यमानः बलस्य सामर्थ्यस्य सम्यक् बाधो यस्मात् ते हि तिमयः प्रथमतः स्वप्रमाणसौटीर्य्यपर्य्युत्सुकाः समीपमभ्ययुस्त[त]स्तेऽपि कपिसुभटभुजदण्डदम्भोलिलीलोत्खातक्षिप्तगुरुतरुगिरिप्राग्भारभग्नग्रीवाकाण्डतुण्डमुण्डा[:] चूर्णपेषमपिष्य(स)न्त ।

अन्यच्च सहसा बलेन विधिविघटनया जीवग्राहं गृहीतोऽहितवरो भीमो येन रणे मीयमानं हन्यमानमपि यद्बलं मैन्यं (सैन्यं) अतुलतेजःसम्पत्ति अतएव स्फुरत् तेन बलेन सम्बाधं सङ्कीर्णं प्रतियोधैः बध्यमाना अपि केऽपि तत्र न किमपि कातर्य्यं भेजुः ॥ १७ ॥

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[1] This should be कुः पृथ्वी ।

[2] The text has ॰ग्राहिताहिताहित॰ ।

[3] The text has बामं वाधाम् ।

[१]संक्षुण्णं च पर्व्वताघातविघट्टितशंखकन्धरम् ।
शैलास्फालसमुच्छलन्नाटितककबन्धकीलालम् ॥ १८ ॥

सक्षुण्णमित्यादि । शङ्खः कम्बुः कन्धरो मेघः ते हि जलजिघृक्षया समुद्रमासेदिवांसः पर्व्वताघातेन विघट्टिताः । शैलास्फालसमुच्छलत् । कल्लोलकवलितदिक्चक्रवालतया नाटितं विकटकबन्धं पानीयं येन कीलालं पानीयम् ।

अन्यच्च रणे शङ्खो ललाटास्थि कन्धरो ग्रीवा कं शिरः कबन्धश्छिन्नमस्तकः कायः कीलालं रक्तं ॥१८॥

कृतविश्वशिवावृत्तिं लुभसितबसुमेरुमुपनतरजतगिरिम् ।
हराहृतरत्नाकरं वृषोपकल्पिताप्सरोदत्तकान्तम् ॥ १९ ॥

कृत इत्यादि । कृता विश्वस्य जगतः कल्याणस्य आवृत्तिर्येन सेतुना । बसु मुक्तादिरत्नं । वृषा इन्द्रः । मन्दोदरीदयितवन्दीकृतानां वृन्दारकसुन्दरीणां दत्तकान्तः सम्भोगो येन ।

अन्यच्च कृता पक्षिशुनकशृगालानां वृत्तिर्वर्त्तनं येन रणेन बसु धनं इह हि सकलजनसुलभसमस्तवस्तुसम्भारोपलम्भविजृम्भमानलोभक्षोभितैरुत्तममध्यमैरपि किं पुनरधमैरुद्दामधामभिदुर्द्दुरुढैर्द्राग्जतिकलोकैः लुभसितं । हीरकमाणिक्यमौक्तिकाद्यनन्तनानारत्नराजिराजितोज्ज्वलविशालकाञ्चनचयरजतपुञ्जाद्यपर्य्यन्तविचित्रकस्तूरिकाकर्पूरकुङ्कुमचन्दनागुरुगहनबहलतराखण्डभाण्डागारं मेरुमिव विपक्षगोत्रोन्मूलनाकर्णनजनितभयेन सपक्षतामुपेत्यो(त्या)पनतं(तां) रजतगिरिमिव चिरविरहविहरदङ्कलोदाकुलकेन भीमभूपतिहृदयपरिहाणभीरुणा हरेण आहृतम् रत्नाकरमिव निजतनुभूपालकुलावलोकनकौतूहलमीलनात् । महीपालविग्रहोपग्रहीकृतमतुलं तुलयितुं तल्लिनेयं अस्मादृशां रसा सहसा साहसिकी “यातु” । वृषोधर्मः सम्प्रहारसङ्घट्टपाटितसुभटपटलोपकल्पितामरवाराधीशसम्भोगं रणं ॥ १९ ॥

सम्यगनुगतरसाशेनाप्रथमसहोदरेण रामेण ।
भीमः स सिन्धुरगतोरणं रचयता किलाबन्धि ॥ २० ॥ कुलकम् ।

सम्यगित्यादि । राघवेण सम्यगकैतवेन अनुगोऽनुगतः तरसाशिनां पलभुजां इनस्य रावणस्या(स्य) प्रथमो द्वितीयः सहोदरः विभीषणो यस्मिन् । राघवः तेन हि भ्रातृभर्त्सितेन आगत्यानुगतः । अगतोरणं पर्व्वतमालां रचयता भीमो भयङ्करः स सिन्धुः समुद्रोऽबन्धि ।

अन्यच्च रामपालेन सम्यगनुगता समासादिता रसाया भुवः आशा येन रणं युद्धं रचयता स भीमो भूपतिः आप्रथं आख्याति यथा भवति तथा दरेण भयेनासहः कातरः सिन्धुरगतो हस्तिगतो वारणश्रेष्ठपृष्ठावतिष्ठमानः शारिकुहरस्थित एव अबन्धि ॥ २० ॥

इदानीं कीदृशोऽसौ सिन्धुर्भीमश्चेति आदिकुलकेन तावुभौ वर्णयन्नाह ।

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[१] This verse and the following have been restored from the commentary.

यमनुप्रविश्य पानीयानां पातारमेकमात्मीयाम् ।
क्षौणीभृतः सपक्षा रक्षां जिष्णोरधुर्द्विषतः ॥ २१ ॥

यमित्यादि । यं अपां पतिं एकं अनुप्रविश्य पर्व्वताः सपक्षा मैनाकप्रभृतयः जिष्णोरिन्द्रादात्मीयां रक्षामधुः ।

अन्यत्र यं भीमं रक्षणीयानां रक्षितारं प्रविश्य सपक्षा भूपालाः द्विषतः शत्रोः जित्वरात् स्वरक्षां दधुः ॥ २१ ॥

यत्र विपक्षाणामपि भृतां वाहिनीसहस्राणि ।
निरमज्जन् दुर्व्वाराण्यभितः सर्व्वौघमिलितानि ॥ २२ ॥

यत्रेत्यादि । पर्व्वतानां नदीसहस्राणि ओघः प्रवाहः ।

अन्यत्र राज्ञां चमूसहस्राणि सर्व्वौघः सर्व्वसन्नाहिका ॥ २२ ॥

यस्मिन् रत्नानामाश्रये सरस्वत्यपि[१] स्वयं लक्ष्मीः ।
ते पारिजातबाजिप्रवरकरीन्द्राद(दा)योऽप्यासन् ॥ २३ ॥

यस्मिन्नित्यादि । सरस्वति समुद्रे, अपि समुच्चये, लक्ष्मीस्ते पारिजात उच्चैश्रव ऐरावत प्रभृतयः स्थिताः ।

अन्यत्र सरस्वती भारती लक्ष्मीस्ते अपगतारिजाता अश्वप्रवराः करीन्द्राः सुभटाश्च ॥ २३ ॥

विश्वम्भरेण लक्ष्मीर्लेभेऽमृतमप्यलम्भि सुमनोभिः ।
किन्त्व लभते स्म शम्भू राजानं यं समासाद्य ॥ २४ ॥

विश्वेत्यादि । यं सिन्धुं प्राप्य कृष्णेण लक्ष्मीः देवैरमृतं लब्धं शम्भुः शिव[:] राजानं चन्द्रं लभतेस्म (लब्धं) लब्धवान् ।

अन्यत्र यं राजानं प्राप्य विश्वं जगत् भरेणातिशयेन लक्ष्मीः सम्पदो लेभे । सज्जनैः अयाचितदानं शं कल्याणं भूः पृथ्वी लेभे ॥ २४ ॥

अजीजिवन् जगदखिलं दधतः पारार्थ्यमर्थिनो घ(घा)नाः ।
अच्युतपदमधिरुह्य यस्य च कल्पद्रुमप्रकृतेः ॥ २५ ॥

अजीजिवन्नित्यादि । यस्य सिन्धोः कल्पद्रुमजन्मभूवः अर्थिनो घना मेघा अच्युतपदमाकाशं ।

अन्यत्र यस्य भीमस्य कल्पद्रुमस्वभावस्य सेवकाः याचकाश्च घनाः अविरला अच्युतपदं अस्खलितपदं ॥ २५ ॥

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[१] The text has सर सरस्वत्यपि ।

स भवानीसमुपेतो भुजङ्गमविभूषितः स्वयं देवः ।
द्विजराजकेतुरासीन्मुक्तापुण्यस्य यस्यान्तः ॥ २६ ॥

स भवानीत्यादि । यस्य सिन्धोर्मुक्ताभिश्चारुतरस्य अन्तः द्विजराजकेतुर्गरुड़ध्वजः स भवान्पूज्यः । ईर्लक्ष्मीस्तत्सहितः भुजङ्गमविभौ शेषे उषितः ।

अन्यत्र यस्य भीमस्य त्यक्तं अपुण्यमधर्म्मं येन द्विजराजकेतुश्चन्द्रशेखरः गौरीसहितः सर्पालङ्कृतः ॥ २६ ॥

योऽत्यन्ततोयशोभी राजितदिग्भित्तिरहतमर्य्यादः ।
सुकृतपदव्यालोभेन कृतोत्साहोवहन् महाशयतां ॥ २७ ॥ कुलकम् ? ।

य इत्यादि । यः सिन्धुः अत्यन्तं तोयेन शोभितुं शीलं यस्य ईरया पानीयेन जिता दिग्भित्तिर्येन सुष्ठुकृतपदो व्यालः सर्पो यत्र भेनश्च[न्द्र]स्तेन कृत उत्साहो यस्य महानागः पद्माश्रयः महाशय इति प्रसिद्धएवायं ।

अन्यत्र यो भीमः अत्यन्ततः अतिशयेन यशोभिः कीर्त्तिभिः राजिता दिग्भित्तिर्येन लोभेन कृतो न[1] विहित उत्साहो येन सुकृतपदव्या धर्म्मवर्त्मना महाशयतां महेच्छत्वं अवहत् ॥ २७ ॥

तेनावालम्बि परो वितीर्णरत्ननिधिना धरित्रीभृत् ।
स सुवेलोऽपगताया जनकभुवो वार्त्तयोत्सवं दधता ॥ २८ ॥

तेनेत्यादि । तेन राघवेण अविभिः पर्ब्बतैः सेतुपर्ब्ब(य)तैः तीर्णो रत्ननिधिः समुद्रः येन अस्व(श्व)नयैव वार्त्तया जनकभुवः सीताया अपगताया विमुक्तायाः उत्सवं दधता स सुवेलो नाम धरित्रीभृत् पर्ब्बतः परः पारीणः अवा(वाव)लम्बि अध्यासितः ।

अन्यत्र रामपालेन कृतकार्य्येभ्यः सेवकेभ्यः वितीर्णानि रत्नानि नानाविधानि निधयश्च येन तथाहि

"कृतापवर्गेष्वनुजीविसात्कृताः
कृतज्ञतामस्य वदन्ति सम्पदः"

सुवेलोपगतायाः शुभलक्षणप्राप्तायाः जनकभुवः पितृभूमेर्वरेन्द्र्या वार्त्तया जनाभ्युदयलक्षणया अजाजीवनरूपया वा उत्सवं दधता स परः शत्रुर्भीमभूपति र्वद्धो गजयूथादवालम्बि अवतारितः ॥ २८ ॥

उद्दामरामसैनिकसंघट्टोत्पिष्टविकटकटकस्य ।
[2]अपसरशरणचरणचारभटीकाः करेणवो यस्य ॥ २९ ॥

उद्दामेत्यादि । सप्तभिः श्लोकैः सुवेलस्य भीमस्य द्वयो(रु)रवस्थां प्रथयति राघवसैनिकानां वानर-

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[1] Superfluous.

[2] अपसरारणचार० ।

भटानां सङ्घट्टेन उत्पिष्टो विकटो विषमः कटको नितम्बो यस्य सुवेलस्य अतएव अतुलपराक्रमदुर्निवारवानरवलविमर्द्दनदलितत्वात् अपसरणं शरणं यस्याः सा तादृशी चरणानां चारभटी वेगशक्तिर्येषां करियूथानां ।

अन्यत्र यस्येति भीमस्य विकटो रमणीयः कटकः स्कन्धावारः करिघटा(ट)श्चास्यभूयिष्ठा विनिष्ठ्यूताः पलायाम्बभूवुः ॥ २९ ॥

हरिपरिहृतोपमहिषोविधृतपादाविकोऽभिहतशृङ्गः ।
यः परिभवभर[भ]ङ्गुरविगतश्रीकाननाभोगः ॥ ३० ॥

हरीत्यादि । तथा हरिभिः सिंहैः परिहृतः । अपगता महिषयूथा विधृताः पादाव(ध)यः पादपर्व्वता अभिहतं शृङ्गं शिखरं यस्य परिभवो विमर्द्दःकाननाभोगो वनाभोगः ।

अन्यत्र हरयोऽश्वा वाहित्रिकवलवाहनानि महिषाः पादाविकाः पदातयः शृङ्गं प्रभुत्वं परिभवोभङ्गुरः आनतो विगतश्रीको मलिनः आननाभोगः वक्त्राभोगः ॥ ३० ॥

झगिति विकुरङ्गसङ्गतिरहितोविहतेक्षणश्रवणः(तः) ।
विश्वाप(पा)दाश्रयोऽभू[1]द्विकीर्णखड्गादिरपदभूदा(ता)रः ॥ ३१ ॥

झगीत्यादि । वयः पक्षिणः कुरङ्गाः मृगाः ईक्षणश्रवणाः सर्पाः श्वापदाः व्याघ्रादयः खड्गादयो गण्डकगवयप्रभृतयः अपदा अविद्यमानस्थानाः भूदाराः शूकराः ।

अन्यत्र विकुः विगतपृथ्वीकः अङ्गानि राज्याङ्गानि ईक्षणं चक्षुः श्रवणं श्रुतिः विकलेन्द्रियत्वात् तदुभयमपि विहतं विश्वापदाश्रयः समस्तविपदाश्रयः विकीर्णखड्गादिः अपास्तनिस्त्रिंशादिशस्त्रजातः । अपदभुवो अविद्यमानपादारोपणस्थाना दाराःकलत्राणि यस्येति यथायथं नेयं ॥ ३१ ॥

[2]विहितगुरुगण्डमण्डलनिर्झरभरकुञ्जराजिवैतथ्यं ।
मुखरितगुहाबलिवलन्निर्घोषोऽधिकन्दरक्षुभितः ॥ ३२ ॥

विहितेत्यादि । विहितं गुरूणां गण्डानां गण्डशैला(वा)नां मण्डल[स्य]समूहस्य तथा निर्झराणां भरस्य सम्भारस्य तथा कुञ्जानां राजेः पङ्क्तेः वैतथ्यमन्यथाभावो यस्य गिरेः प्रतिध्वनिभिः मुखरितासु गुहावलीषु वलन् वानरवलस्य निर्घोषो यत्र अधि अधिकं कन्दरेषु क्षुभितं क्षोभो यत्र ।

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[1] Here is a redundant वि in the text.

[2] The text is corrupt; nearly two pādas of the last verse have entered into this. The verse is completely restored from the commentary.

अन्यत्र विहितं गुरूणां गण्डस्थलस्य निर्झरं मदप्रवाहं बिभ्रतां कुञ्जराणां आजेः सङ्गरस्य वैतथ्यं वैफल्यं यस्य मुखरितगुभिः मुखरितदिग्भिः ह्रावलिभिः हाहाकारैः बलन् सैन्यस्य निर्घोषो यस्य दरेण भयेन क्षुभितः अधिकं यथा भवति ॥ ३ २ ॥

अपि विफलपत्त्रपल्लव[1] तदभ्यासगहनमद्राक्षीत् ।
बहुधातुरञ्जितं यमवसन्ननानाकरं लोकः ॥ ३३ ॥

अपीत्यादि । विगतानि फलपत्त्रपल्लवानि येषां तानि तादृंशि अभ्यासगहनानि उपवनानि यस्य गिरेः बहुभिर्धातुभिः गैरिकहरितालकठिन्यादिभिः रञ्जितं अवसन्ना नाना अनेके आक(का)राः खनयो यस्य ।

अन्यत्र विफलः पत्त्राणां करितुरगमहिषाणां पल्लवो विस्तारः तथा काण्डादीनामस्त्राणां अभ्यासगहनं अभ्यसनकष्टं यस्य भीमस्य बहुधा बहुभिः प्रकारैः शोकभयादिभिरातुरं जितं पराजितं अवसन्नो नाना उभयः करो हस्तो यस्य "नानानेकोभयान्वयोः" ॥ ३ ३ ॥

कूटप्रस्थविभागैः सौवर्णै राजतैर्मणिमयैर्यः ।
द्रागदयाटिकपीनपरिग्रहविहतैः विगतश्रीः ॥ ३४ ॥

कूटप्रस्थेत्यादि । द्राक् शीघ्रं अदयं निर्दयं अटितुं शीलं येषां तैः कपीनस्य वानरपतेः परिग्रहैः परिवारैः सैनिकैः कर्त्तृभूतैः विहतैः क्षुण्णैः कूटानां[2] शिखराणां प्रस्थानां सानूनां विभागैः सुवर्णादिमयैर्हेतुभूतैर्विहीना श्रीः शोभा यस्य ।

अन्यत्र द्राक् अदयाटिकानां दण्डदियावर्गाणां (?) पीनेन स्थूलेन परिग्रहेण विहतैर्विभावितैः कूटेन राशिना प्रस्थेन परिमाणविशेषेण कृतैर्विभावितैर्भागैः सुवर्णादिमयैर्हेतुभिः विहीना श्रीः सम्पत्तिः यस्य भीमस्य ॥ ३ ४ ॥

इति यत्र विबुधविद्याधरगन्धर्वाङ्गनाभुजङ्गास्ते ।
कल्याप्तमारधारितसुरता अपि दुर्मनायन्त ॥ ३५ ॥

इतीत्यादि । इत्यनन्तरोदितविमर्दव्यतिकरेण यत्र सुवेले विबुधादीनां अङ्गनानां भुजङ्गास्ते वानरादयः कल्यया मदिरया उद्दीप्तत्वात् आप्तो मारो मन्मथस्तेन धारितं सुरतं येषां ते तादृशा अपि दुर्मनायिताः ।

अन्यत्र इत्यनन्तरोदीरिततद्वंशावमाने सति यस्मिन् भीमे ते सुभटा भीमसहायाः ॥ ३ ५ ॥

अथ बहुतरसा हत्या युक्तो रामेण वित्तपालस्य ।
ह्नोरभ्यासे[2] सहसा सौरेशितनयः प्रैषि ॥ ३६ ॥

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[1] The text has खडाद्य after पल्लव, which is evidently wrong.

[2] The last page of the MS. of the Comm. commencing here has been retraced with ink and so is very unreliable.

अयमातिथ्यकृतार्थोलभताभिमतं न पुण्यजनतोऽस्मात् ।
सपरिणतिरङ्गदोरोहितमस्यन् कमबहदर्कभुवः ॥ ३७ ॥
अथ भीमानीकं तेन महातरसाशनैरमेयबलम् ।
समचीयत हरिसुहृदा सुविहतपर[म]ण्डलावरोधेन ॥ ३८ ॥
क्षिप्तविपक्षावनिना कीशबलेनेत्सैतं महोत्साहात् ।
उन्मूलितेरितपरस्परकृतसङ्घट्टनागचयम् ॥ ३९ ॥
सम्भ्रमददङ्कर(रु)क्षोभिरुचितमुरुवाजिराजिदीर्णधरम् ।
व्यस्तदशमस्तकापत्यसार्थमीरिततरोत्थितमनोरथकम् ॥ ४० ॥
दैवेन[न]र(व)जीवितमभिजिघांसुनापत्यपत्तिपटलेन ।
विहितान्योन्यप्रतिबन्धेनोपर्य्युपरि स(स्व)म्बाधम् ॥ ४१ ॥
बद्धरुधिरस्रोतोबहमवधूतकबन्धमूर्द्ध-चय-निचितम् ।
कासरवाहनकवलक्षिप्तमहाशरकलापमिति (कुलकम्) ॥ ४२ ॥
विग्रहदानप्रावितमहाद्रविणकुम्भकर्णमहिमासौ ।
शुशुभे शुभंयुसूनुर्विश्वाहितरक्षसामन्तः ॥ ४३ ॥
शक्तिं जगद्विजयिनी[१](वृषजयिनी) वृषजयिनस्तस्य सूनुमप्यसजत ।
स मूर्च्छितोऽयमनया धाम धरायां निवेशयास ॥ ४४ ॥
उरुतरतरसोपक्रम्योत्पाट्याकृष्टविपुलभूमिभृता ।
तदनु जगत्प्राणभुवा सम्पादितपरमहौषधीकेन ॥ ४५ ॥
तेन प्रतिहतमोहेन लक्ष्मणेनारिराकलितमायः ।
निन्ये मृत्युस्थानं जेता स पराक्रमेण हरेः (युग्मकम्) ॥ ४६ ॥
रामेणोचितरूपा कापि दशास्यो[प]हिता विपद्घोरा ।
स्वशिरश्छेदव्यतिकरमदर्शदेष स्वयं हि दशा ॥ ४७ ॥
अथ तेन गगन[२]खेलत्खगमण्डलिकाविलासविषयस्य ।
उत्कृत्तकण्ठकाण्डव्रजनिर्य्यद(ज)सृक्छटाजटालस्य ॥ ४८ ॥
निहतकुटुम्बस्य पुरो दारुणमास्कन्दनं किमपि दधतः ।
धृतचन्द्रहासधाम्ना लङ्काराजः कृतोऽस्य वधः (युग्मकम्) ॥ ४९ ॥

इति रामचरिते . . . . . नामको द्वितीयपरिच्छेदः ।

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[१] Seems to be redundant.

[२] T. ण ।

अथ तृतीयपरिच्छेदः ।

कर्षन् धनञ्जयाम्ना[·][1] शुचिमयोनिजा[·] प्रजाजननीम् ।
स चिराय चरितरक्षोभुवमिष्ट[त]मामु(म्न)रीचक्रे ॥ १ ॥
कुर्वद्भिः शं(श)देवेन श्रीहेत्वीश्वरेण देवेन ।
चण्डेश्वराभिधानेन किल क्षेमेश्वरेण च सनाथैः ॥ २ ॥
स्फुरदुच्चदेवमुख्यैः सक्षेचद्वादशादित्यैः ।
साक्षात्संप्रत्ययविधिपरमाधिष्ठानमान्यतमैः ॥ ३ ॥
स्कान्देन तेन सविनायकेन मिलितैः प्रकाशरूपैस्तैः ।
रुद्रैरेकादशभिर्वसुभिर्विततास्पदैर्विश्वैः ॥ ४ ॥
अक्षत[2]भयसद्म(द्व)पुरप्रांशुप्रासादचेदी(दि)वास्तव्यैः ।
उपनमदाशापालैर्दैवै[ः] सम्भाविताकलुषभावाम् ॥ ५ ॥
भगवद्भिरपि विप्रवरैरपि प्रशान्ततमैरपि चानूचानैः ।
… … परमर्षिभिरुपापादितव्रतोत्कर्षाम् ॥ ६ ॥
मन्द्राणां स्थितिमूढां जागद्दलमहाविहारचितरागाम् ।
दधती[·] लोकेशमपि महत्तारोदीरितोरुमहिमानम् ॥ ७ ॥
अपरिमितपुण्यभूमिं(मि) सत्याचारैककेतनमभेद्यम् ।
विपुलतरपुण्यकीर्त्तिभिरभिहित(तः)शुचिभावमुपजा[ता]म् ॥ ८ ॥
ब्रह्मकुलोद्भवां[3] स्कन्दनगरेण मूर्च्छितामितापचिति[म्] ।
तैरतिगुरूत्प[ला]वासैरस्वप्नैर्भरि[त]शोणितपुराञ्च ॥ ९ ॥
अप्यभि[4]तो गङ्गाकरतोयानघप्रवाह(हा)पुण्यतमाम् ।
अपुनर्भवाह्वयमहातीर्थविकलुषोज्ज्वलामन्तः ॥ १० ॥
अपि पृथुकच्छबलभीक्षशतरकालीक्षतोत्थानम् ।
अपि विश्रुतफलाशिष्टतामशोकवन्याम्नाम्[5] ॥ ११ ॥
परमविरलकन्दाबलिमयमविरलकलकण्ठकूज[6]न्मुखम् ।
पृथुलककुचश्रीफलकम्पनसहितं लोलमञ्जुलवनीकम् ॥ १२ ॥

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[1] Text ताव । [2] Text तो । [3] T. कुलद्भवा ।
[4] T. वि । [5] Metre does not come out at all. [6] T. ज्जि ।

प्रबलद्विक्रमकन्दलशोभाधरमीक्षणामृतौघमुचम् ।
तरलभ्रमरकमुरु[1]गन्धवहानिललहरी[2]लीनम् ।
किञ्च बहुनागरङ्ग(ङ्क)ञ्जितवन्तं वासवोद्यानम् ॥ १३ ॥
व्यभिचारिभिरालस्यग्लानिश्रमदीनताविषादयुतैः ।
उन्मादमोहचिन्तोत्सुकतानिर्वेदनादिभिर्भावैः ॥ १४ ॥
अघसंसूचकचेतोबुद्धिव्याहारविग्रहारम्भैः ।
विपुलकसात्त्विकभावैरुपपादित(रुपपदि)सम्प्रयोगञ्च ॥ १५ ॥
निदधानं मनसि प्रियममृतादिभिरर्घितं स(सा)दा रामम् ।
करुणमहितमगन्धं प्रियाश[3]या बन्धुजीवनं दधतीम् ॥ १६ ॥
बहुधान्यराजसं(स)हतिसम्भावितकाम्यरूपया लक्ष्मग(क्ष्मा) ।
सद्वंशास्तारि[त]या प्रस्फुरदिक्ष्वाकुशेखराभरण[ा]म् ॥ १७ ॥
प्रबलबलजाक्रमसमुद्भवधनलाभाम[ा]पन्नोर्व्वीम् ।
धात्रीमपि प्रियङ्गोरतनु[·]सदेलोद्भवक्षेचाम् ॥ १८ ॥
फलरसमितसुधाशनपूगोद्यानप्रसाधनैकदिशम् ।
फलिताञ्च नारिकेलावासिन्येषेति जगति सा[4]र्द्रमुखाम् ॥ १९ ॥
पृथुसुमनःपरनागापरकेसरमालभारिणीं दधतीम् ।
प्रवलमधुपारिजातलवङ्गमितामोदसम्पत्तिम् ॥ २० ॥
करकमलापाटलमतिसुरभितया केसरं नदद्भ्रमरम् ।
दधतीं मधुराणां वाचामे[5]यानां यथाक्रमाद्रेखाम् ॥ २१ ॥
दरदलित-कनक-केतककान्तिमप्यशेषकुसुमहिताम् ।
अरविन्देन्दीवरमयसलिलसुरभिशीतलश्वसनाम् ॥ २२ ॥
अपि धवलधामलेखालक्ष्मीभाराभिरामपुरलीलाम् ।
निरुपरि कनक[6]कलसमेलकारपीवर-पयोधराभोगाम् ॥ २३ ॥
सुकलापायितकुन्तलरुचिमाविललाटकान्ति[7]मवनमदङ्ग[ा]म् ।
अधरितकर्णाटेक्षणलीला[·] धृतमध्यदेशतनिमानमपि ॥ २४ ॥

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१ T. र । २ T. लि । ३ T. शा । ४ स्रा ।
५ Text म्ये । ६ T नकक । ७ T माविलनाटकान्ति ।

सद्रुचिरोमाबलिमहितामव्यस्ता बलीर्दधतीम् ।
दोषं विसन्दधाना[˙] बहुलतरारोहपरिणाहाम् ॥ २५ ॥
पृथुतरपुष्करिणीप्रियगतिमतिकद्प्रकाण्डजघनाञ्च (च) ।
पुण्य[ा]वदानाहक्षणदेशाङ्कुवलयजितञ्च दृशा ॥ २६ ॥
क्रूरकरापीड़ितासाबिति भर्त्तुर्मृदुकरग्रहात् कृपया ।
कृष्टोपचितां सपदि स्खलितप्रतिपक्षमारदहनशुचम् ॥ [कुलकम्] २७ ॥
अभिजनजातैरपि साधुभिः सहसा लोकैः कृतबहुपदोपनतिम् ॥ २८ ॥
अमरावतीसमानाने[क]वरेन्द्रीकृतातङ्काम् ।
सुमनोभिरभिव्याप्ता[˙] निष्प्रत्यूहामृतस्य परिपूर्णैः ॥ २९ ॥
पुण्यजनानां वसतिमसाधुव्यवहारसङ्कथाशून्याम् ।
स कथाविपुलमानवाभय(र)दा(ज)मुदग्रदेवकुलजाताम् ॥ ३० ॥
दधती[˙] रत्नानां पटल[˙] पृथुलं कामितां सुरेश्व[र]पुरीम् ।
रामावतीमतिशुभां सविभीषणशासनामृतस्नाताम् ॥ ३१ ॥
अकुरुत महाद्रविणवेष्टितप्रतिष्ठाधिरोपितहरीशः ।
कनकमयधामलेखाधिकरणमपि मेरुशिखरमिव ॥ कुलकं ३२ ॥
वज्रविद्रूरज-मुक्तामरकत[१]माणिक्यनीलरत्न(चम)खचितैः ।
सुरधामचारुचञ्चन्मरीचिमञ्जरीजालैः ॥ ३३ ॥
आभरणैरुपकरणैर्भूरिभिरभिराम-हेमनिर्म्माणैः ।
हृत्तोरुतारतरलैर्हारैरपि हारिभिर्बहुभिः ॥ ३४ ॥
विविधैर्महाधनैरपि दिव्याङ्गैरंशुकैरतिविचित्रैः ॥ ३३ ॥
कस्तूरीकालागुरुमलयजकाश्मीर[ज]कर्पूरैः ॥ ३५ ॥
उन्मुद्रमन्द्रमधुरातोद्यव्यतिभेदमेदुरोद्गारैः ।
गीतिलयलब्धिसुभरैरधरीकृततुमुलतुम्बुरुध्वनितैः ॥ ३६ ॥
परमारविकाराभिर्युवतिभिरपि देववारवनिताभिः ।
क्वणितमणिकिङ्किणीकं कृतनेपथ्योद्भटनटन्तीभिः ॥ ३७ ॥

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[१] Text मारत्नकत ।

सरभसविहरन्महिषीहृष्यद्वृषगोसहस्रहाबलि[1]भिः ।
समयोपभुज्यमानैर्भूयिष्ठोत्पादकैर्विषयविसरैः ॥ ३८ ॥
इति राजोपनिवेदितनानाविधरत्नरङ्गरसरभसैः ।
आनन्दैकनिदाने शोभासम्पत्तिभाजि निव्य[ा]जे ॥ ३९ ॥
इह विश्वकर्म्मनिर्म्मितकर्व्वुरमयमन्दिरे मिथो मिलितौ ।
चिरमभिदुरपरिरम्भमरुचतां बलि++माश्विनौ देवौ (कुलकम्) ॥ ४० ॥
[2]अ[ा]टिषत सुमनसामासारै रष्टान्दष्टैः ।
रोचिष्णुणामुनोपरि ध(धा)रणिभृदालैः शिवालयास्त्रितये ॥ ४१ ॥
स विशालशैलमालितालीवद्धमम्बुधि[ं] साक्षात् ।
अपि पूर्त्त[3] पुष्करिणीभूतं रचयाम्बभूव भूपालः ॥ ४१ ॥
तुङ्गमहाभोगालिर्धरालघिमभाक् महावनस्वास्थः (स्थाम्भः) ।
तेन व्यधाय्य(जा)नागा नाकस्याहेलया भरभृत् ॥ (?) ४३ ॥
स्वपरित्राणनिमित्तं पत्या यः प्राग्दिशीयेन ।
वरवारणेन च निजस्यन्दनदानेन वर्म्मणाराधे ॥ ४४ ॥
भवभूषणसन्ततिभुवमनुजग्राहजितमुत्कलत्रं यः ।
जगदवतिस्म समस्तं कलिङ्गतस्तान् निशा(षा)चरान् निघ्नन् ॥ ४५ ॥
यो वाजिनामधिभुवा नागाबलिसंयतेरितस्कन्धः ।
कृतसाहायकविधिना देवः (नः)प्रियकारिणाप्रीणि ॥ ४६ ॥
तस्य जितकामरूपादिविषयविनिवृत्तः मानसम्पाद्यः ।
महिमानमायनन्तपो यतमानस्य प्रजाभिरक्षार्थम् ॥ ४७ ॥
इति राजराजभोग्यामलकामिव विविधशेवधिभरसमृद्धां ।
रामावतीं गृहीत्वामूमयोध्यामसौ पुरीं तामगमत् ॥ ४८ ॥

इति रामप्रत्यागमनं नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ॥

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[1] T. विला ।

[2] Some letters seem to be lost as the metre does not come out.

[3] T. र्द्ध ।

अथ चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

तत्र स राजा निवसन्नानाविषयसन्निवेशेन ।
सूनुसमर्पितराज्यो रामः कान्तासखश्चिरं रेमे ॥ १ ॥
अमुना सती वरेन्द्री याताथदिव्यविषयोपभोगसुखं ।
क्वचिदपि कदापि दुर्जनदू(भू)षितचर्य्या[*] न सा सेहे ॥ २ ॥
कृच्छ्रेण रत्नगभा[*] सूनुस्तस्याज्ञयाशु चातुर्य्यात् ।
जनकभुवमसुमन्त्वाश्रितसौतविधिस्ततो वनं निन्ये ॥ ३ ॥
नृपशासनश्रुतिश्रितमूर्च्छा प्रतिपत्तिमियमवाप्य ततः ।
[अन्तः] स्थिति[*] प्रजाया घननेत्रागत[तो]यभराभिदधे ॥ ४ ॥
अभयदमना विलापोदितमन्युकृतसमस्तलोका … …
… … … … विग्रहनिर्ज्जितकामरूपम्भृत् ॥ ५ ॥[१]
तं गीतरामचरितं सहजेन समं प्रतीतसुतभावं ।
परमवनस्तमसेचनक[*] रामो राज्यपालमनैषीत् ॥ ६ ॥
उन्मुद्रयता कुमुदं विभावयता शिलान्तरं गोभिः ।
लूनारातिमर्म्म च कलालिना भुवनाधिपोऽमुना मुमुदे ॥ ७ ॥
प्राप्ते काले सरिति(य) दुर्व्वाससा दिताश्रवसेतुः ।
वृषजिन्मथनोऽस्ततनुर्निःश्रेणिकयाद्रिसुतपुरान्तरया ॥ ८ ॥
इत्यधिमुञ्जिरि कलयन् ब्रह्मभुवः स्वं वहुप्रदाताऽसौ ।
कृतनिश्चयः कृत[ा]र्थः प्रास्थित पृथ्वीपति र्म(र्मा)हासरितं ॥ ९ ॥
जनजाते रु(र)दति शुचा सारवम[व]गाह्य तज्जलं पुण्यं ।
विरहसहपरिजनैर्दुर्विषहं (दूहं) रामो जगाम स स्वभुवं॥ १० ॥
अथ रक्षता(?)कुमारोदितपृथुपरिपन्थिपार्थिवप्रमदः ।
राज्यमुपभुज्य भरस्य सूनुरगमद्दिव[*] तनुत्यागात् ॥ ११ ॥
अपि शत्रुघ्नोपायाज्ञो(ज्ञो)पालः स्वर्जगाम तत्सूनुः ।
हन्तु[ः] कुम्भीनस्यास्तनयस्यैतस्य सामयिकमेतत् ॥ १२ ॥

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[१] A portion of the sixth verse has been repeated here. The scribe seems to have omitted many verses after this.

अथ तस्य रामनृपतेर्दनुसून्वर्द्दनावतारस्य ।
अपरः प्रजाप्रमोदाङ्कुरकन्दो नन्दनोऽयमनुरूपः ॥ १३
निखिलनृपलक्षणधरः पुरुषातिशयो जितारिषड्वर्गः ।
विधुतजगदन्धकारो धृतधीरोदात्तनायकप्रकृतिः ॥ १४ ॥
कुशली कुशोकशल्यं रामविरामविप्लवं निराकुर्व्वन् ।
अम्भोधिमेखालाया भुवः प्रभुरभूदभिया मदनः ॥ १५ ॥ (कुलकम्)
अभिषेकसम्भारवितानैर्विश्वाशापूरणपुरा
दिशतात्यर्थमनाथावनात् जनयता जनानन्दं ॥ १६ ॥
हेलाविलूनबलवत्पद्मा(न्द्रा)वलिवलदमिचचक्रेण ।
राजावत[ं]सलक्ष्मीभारैकधुरीणतां दधानेन ॥ १७ ॥
दोषास्पर्शोत्कर्षितममहिमातिशयप्रकाशमानेन ।
द्विजपरिकरपरिपालनरुचिनोच्चैर्मण्डलाधिपतिना च ॥ १८ ॥
सख्याच शस्त्रभालक्ष्म्याशाभूतेन चारुवृत्तेन ।
सुहितपरमश्रमेण च सुवर्णजातेन विधिवदर्घ्येण[1] ॥ १९ ॥
सिंहीसुतविक्रान्तेनार्ज्जुनधाम्ना भुवः प्रदीपेन ।
कमलाविकाशभेषजभिषजा चन्द्रेण बन्धुनोपेतम्(ताम्) ॥ २० ॥
चण्डीचरणसरो[ज]प्रसादसम्पन्नविग्रहश्रीकं ।
न खलु मदनं साङ्गेशमीशमगाद् जगद्विजयलक्ष्मीः ॥ २१ ॥
स तथा सिन्धूद्भूष्णुमभीका भर्त्तुं प्रजा अलम्भूष्णुं ।
कुमुदस्वसारमुररीकुर्व्वन्न[ा]सीदसीमसामाक्षः ॥ २२ ॥
स मनोभूरनिरुद्धप्रभवो विषमायुधो रतिप्रणयी ।
सुमनःसमयं [प]रमयुज्यत क्ष्मापति[2]माकुलग्रामः ॥ २३ ॥
धुतमानप्रमदेनानेन न कोपोहितः सहजधैर्य्यात् ।
प्रकटितवलाहिताशीलोभञ्जितवान(ना)हिताविद्धाम(द्धम्) ॥ २४ ॥
मदनस्त्व(त्वा)मिति वितथञ्चिन्त[न]ममारात्मकोप्यकामोपि ।
अपि शम्बराभ्युदयमप्यङ्गसकल[ं] दधाति निरपायम् ॥ २५ ॥

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[1] T दाघ्नोन ।

[2] क्ष्मापि ।

अमु[ना] शङ्करनयनाशिताङ्गजातः क्रियेत पर एव ।
अगणेया वाणाबलिरस्य परस्यैव पञ्चतां तनुते ॥ २६ ॥
उद्यन्महाबल ईर(रा)य(या)ति च जन्यास्यतो [बलम] रौणाम् ।
कालिन्द्यामुत्सेका[1] दमुदनासीरोहितौघनुदबाहि ॥ २७ ॥
अपरो रामः सम्यक्कृतकालाच्छादनामुक्तिः ।
इत्येष मदन(ना)पालोऽपि न वाम[ा]लम्बितः प्रजापालः ॥ २८ ॥
दाता विपक्षभिदुरः समादानरतो दृषाध्वरतः ।
विलसज्जय(या)न्ततनयं सहस्रदृष्टिर्दधाति पदमैन्द्रम् ॥ २९ ॥
काष्ठान्तानुगतेजा आज्यारूढ(ढा)प्रकर्षहेतिरयम् ।
अव्भ्रकुसुमायितोप[ला]लिको(वो) नलोहितोच्चरु(र)चिः ॥ ३० ॥
महिषीपत्यवतंसितपादाम्भोजः प्रमोदयन्मित्रम् ।
साक्षात् स धर्म्मराजः समवर्त्ती जगति दण्डधरः ॥ ३१ ॥
सहित-कुमुदारोहो दोषा[च]र[स]ञ्चारबाञ्छः ।
अतिबहलकटकबलनोल्वणभीकारी रमेत पुण्यजनः ॥ ३२ ॥
अपि के रतिपरमया स(श)मवति वरमाशामनाश्रितं लोकम् ।
अपि च कविचक्रवर्त्त्युद्भवभूरेष प्रचेताः स्यात् ॥ ३३ ॥
स्पर्शन एष ख्यातः सुमनोवर्त्म व्रजन् कुरङ्गवरः ।
भङ्गान्दोलनतरलाकारि मदारा(वा)रिसन्ततिस्तेन ॥ ३४ ॥
विहितावदातगोत्रस्थितिरर्घितगुणनिधिः शिवप्रणयी ।
अयमेव सार्व्वभौमस्कन्धोपरि राजति सौदन्[2] ॥ ३५ ॥
या भोग[व]ती या सुरणदीक्षिता मर्त्त्यमश्नुते या ताम् ।
रमयति कपर्द्दकरोटिभृतां महावाहिनीमीशः ॥ ३६ ॥
पातालस्थेनो मिलितः स म(मा)हानागवाहिनीनेता ।
स विभर्त्ति भूतधात्रीमधिशेते तं हरिः श्रिया सहितः ॥ ३७ ॥
अवनतह[ं]सश्रेणिर्विबुधज्येष्ठः पिताम(मा)हो धाता ।
कीर्त्तित एष ब्रह्माण्डगताखिललोकचित्रकर्म्ममहिमा ॥ ३८ ॥

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[1] T. द्वेपा ।

[2] T. शौदः ।

वृत्तं निस्तारेण विलीनो दोषाकरः सुकृतमुदितम् ।
सति मिन्द्रे(?)ऽस्मिन् जगतां कृतकमलोन्मेषकैरवक्लेशे ॥ ३९ ॥
अपि स तनुते न राजीवमलङ्कुरुते सम्भावि[त][वि]वु[ध]वीथीम् ।
शुचिपक्षैकप्रणयी हरिणोपेतान्तरो [रा]जा ॥ ४० ॥
इत्थं सर्व्वाशानां तासां परिपालकत्वमातन्वन् ।
राजत्यसकृत्[1] सुकृतमुदितं चैषणो लोकपालानाम् ॥ ४१ ॥
अथवा रामस्यायं साक्षात् पुरुषोत्तमावतारस्य ।
पुत्रः पुरुषोत्तम एव आत्मा वै जायते पुत्रः ॥ ४२ ॥
स तथा हि सदानन्दकरः परपाञ्चजन्यमुद्वहति ।
सहितसुदर्शन एकः कलयति कौमोदकीं देवः ॥ ४३ ॥
त्राता दोषश्चतुरस्तु तादृक्शास्त्रधारिणो विभ्रत् ।
सततं विनतानन्दन आरूढोऽयं विभुर्जयति ॥ ४४ ॥
कलधौतच्छायाधारयशोभिरतिप्रकर्षतः शश्वत् ।
अयमम्बरं पिधत्ते हृदि विबुधरमोमा[म]पि ॥ ४५ ॥
सरसीरुहनयनो विष्णुस्तेन(नः) सोदरः सुरेन्द्रस्ये[व] ।
लक्ष्मीसरस्वतीभ्यां निश्रितो[2]यमच्युतो भगवान् ॥ ४६ ॥
अमुनोत्क्षिप्तो त्रामवता गोवर्द्धनो धरित्रीभृत् ।
प्राप्य कलिङ्गफणभुजमपि कं स जीवयेन्नायम् ॥ ४७ ॥
इति मदनोदितवृत्तान्त[ः] सन्देशतो[3] बनकुशोदकशयः सततम् ।
दाता चिराय राज्यं राजा कुरुतां चितोरुतरकीर्त्तिरयम् ॥ ४८ ॥

इति रामोत्तरचरितं नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

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[1] T. राजत्यसः ।

[2] T. निश्रितमय ।

[3] T. दन्सतो ।

कविप्रशस्तिः।

वसुधाशिरोवरेन्द्रीमण्डलचूड़ाम[१]णिः कुलस्थानं।
श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनपुरप्रतिवद्धः पुण्यभूः वृहद्वटुः ॥ १ ॥
तत्र विदिते विद्योतिनि नन्दिरत्नसन्ताने।
समजनि पिनाकनन्दी नन्दीव निधिर्गुणौघस्य ॥ २ ॥
तस्य तनयो मतनयः करणानामग्रणीरनर्घगुणः।
सान्धिश्रीपदासम्भाविताभिधानतः प्रजापतिर्जातः ॥ ३ ॥
नन्दिकुलकुमुदकाननपूर्णेन्दुर्नन्दनोऽभवत्तस्य।
श्रीसन्ध्याकरनन्दी पि(श)शुनास्कन्दी सदानान्दी ॥ ४ ॥
काव्यकलाकुलनिलयो गुणमणिमेरुर्मणीषिणामीशः।
सीमा साहित्यविदामशेषभाषाविशारदः स कविः ॥ ५ ॥
स्तोकैस्तोषितलोकैः श्लोकैरक्लेशनश्लेषैः।
घटनापरिस्फुटरसैः गम्भीरोदारभारतीसारैः ॥ ६ ॥
कलिसीम्नि धर्म्मराजः कृतानुगम् तद्युगं विभूषयतः।
भर्त्तुः समस्तजगतामभिनवनारायणावतारस्य ॥ ७ ॥
रामस्येदं चरितं रुचिर[मर]चि रचनाविरिञ्चिरतिचित्रम्।
अनवद्यशब्दविद्याकोविदवृन्दारकोऽवादीत् ॥ ८ ॥
रामस्यास्तामास्थिरमाजलमाज्ज्वलनमापवनमागगनं।
कीर्त्तिः सन्ध्याकरकविसूक्तिसुधासिन्धुराजमणिराजिरियं ॥ ९ ॥
गौरीहितास्तु मुक्तावलिरघिगुणरूपजात्यलङ्कारासौ।
प्रियदृष्टिरघा(धा)धानकलाभङ्गिरीशकण्ठैकगतिः ॥ १० ॥
अवदान(ना)म् रघुपरिवृढगौड़ाधिपरामदेवयोरेतत्।
कलियुगरामायणमिह कविरपि कलिकालवाल्मीकिः ॥ ११ ॥
यः पुनरत्र खलोस्मादभूततद्भावतः खलीकारः।
अखलस्येति विलसितम् साधुत्वस्यैव किमिह करवाम ॥ १२ ॥

---

[१] T. ममणिः।

सोऽस्तु खलोयदनुगमे विगुणेन ग(गा)वा कृतप्रबन्धानां।
बहुलीकृते हितफलः सञ्चारो[१]लोकधान्यतो दृष्टः ॥ १३ ॥
अवरञ्चि[२] कौर्षत्युच्चैर्दोषाशयेन यो भान्तं।
उपरि कलानिधिमन्धः साक्षाद्देष स्वमेव मलिनयति ॥ १४ ॥
क्वापि क्वाप्यास्माभिर्जड़मन्तरगाधं(धां) पङ्कमभिशङ्क्य ।
गुणनिवहनिविड़बन्धा गुप्तासीत् गौ रसस्रवन्तीयं ॥ १५ ॥
रसनागवशा च निरगात् पदगत्या चित्रपाठबन्धेव।
तामुद्धर्तुमितस्ते शतशः स्वयमासते सन्तः ॥ १६ ॥
एत सत एव(वा) हृदयाद् ये सारस्वतमवन्त्ये(न्ता)नं।
शूराः स्वरादपि सुधां यन्त्ररसनापूतेन सिञ्चन्ति ॥ १७ ॥
शुचिरुचिरवक्रिमकलामयमिदमुदितं ग(गा)वामधिप ते रत्नं।
शब्द(ब्दा)गुणभूषणाद्भुतमुत्तंसयते सते गिरीशाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
योयं गदितो नागस्कन्धक्षितिभृन्मया विदितगोसारः।
परमविलासिनमेन[ ] हरिमिव हरिकेतनम् कथमिव स्तौमि ॥ १९ ॥
सारस्वतं किमपि तज्ज्योतिरुपाद्धं बुधा यदभ्यासमृतां किमिवोद्धारा[ः]।
[३]द्वैतं चिति किमच किमच कामभिनते भावाः ॥ २० ॥

इति श्रीसन्ध्याकरनन्दिविरचितं रामचरित नाम काव्यं समाप्तम्।

यथादृष्टेत्यादि श्रीशीलचन्द्रस्य।

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[१] T. ०रो। [२] T. वाश्चि। [३] Some letters lost here.

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OF THE

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AN ALCHEMICAL COMPILATION OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, A.D.

BY

H. E. STAPLETON, B.A. B.Sc. (Oxon), M.R.A.S., *Indian Educational Service, and* R. F. AZO,
Instructor in Arabic, Board of Examiners' Office, Fort William.

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and R. F. AZO, *Instructor in Arabic, Board of Examiners' Office, Fort William.*

A. INTRODUCTION.

In a previous paper an account was given of an Eleventh Century treatise on Alchemy that had been found at the end of a collection of manuscript tracts on this science in the Library of His Highness the Nawab of Rāmpūr (*Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* Vol. I, No. 4, pp 47—70). Since then some considerable progress has been made in the study of the contents of the volume, but from a variety of reasons—chiefly the absence of one of us from Calcutta—our progress has been slow, and we have, therefore, considered it advisable to publish a preliminary statement regarding the various items of this important collection of alchemical treatises.

MS. No. 16 is a volume of 133 folios measuring in its present state 22·8 × 15·2 mm., the area of actual writing varying between 17·0 × 9·5 mm. and 14·5 × 7·5 mm. There are 19 lines to the page. For the first 52 folios the MS. is written in a 9th Century (A.H.) *Nask̲h̲ī* hand, then follow 32 in neat *Nasta'līq* of the same date; after which follow 9 of the same *Nask̲h̲ī* hand-writing as at the commencement of the book. The rest of the book seems to have suffered badly by replacement. Folios 94 to 100 are in a careless and very recent *Nasta'līq,* then follow 27 folios of the original *Nask̲h̲ī* and the volume concludes in the middle of the treatise entitled the *'Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan'ah* with 6 folios of the careless *Nasta'līq* previously mentioned.

Only an incomplete index is found at the commencement of the MS., but it is sufficient to show that a considerable number of pages have disappeared from the end. The fragment runs as follows, omitting certain numbers which apparently have no connexion with either present or former pagination :—

(1) The first process of the 'Great Gate' of the *Ta'wīd̲h̲u-l-Ḥākim* (Amulet of Ḥākim).
(2) A Chapter from the Abridgment of the *Ta'wīd̲h̲u-l-Ḥākim.*
(3) A Chapter on 'the preparation of the 'Water of Eggs' by our Master, the holy Imām Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq. Peace be on him!'
(4) The Book (entitled) the *'Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan'ah.*
(5) (Extract) from the Book *Mujarradāt* (Aphorisms) of Plato.[1]

---

[1] There is a *Kitābu-l-Mujarradāt* of Jābir recorded in the 10th Sect. of the *Fihrist* (Flügel's edition, p. 356, l. 8), and later there is mention of a monograph by Jābir, entitled *Kitāb Muṣaḥḥaḥāt Aflāṭūn,* the 'Beliefs of Plato,' presumably with reference to alchemy.

(6) (Extract beginning) " Jābir says in the *Kitābu-l-'Ibar* " (Book of Examples).[1]

(7) Treatise on the Exposition of the Book of [2 words illegible] on the compounding of ' Bodies' and the Elixir.

(8) Treatise on the Making of the ' Black Stone' from the book of Abū 'Abdillāh Al-Bākawī (?)

As the first treatise on the list begins at the 6th line of Folio 116 *r*. of the MS., it will be seen that the index of 115 folios has been lost, but, on the other hand, what remains is sufficient to prove that four complete treatises or parts of treatises have disappeared from the end of the book. The treatise of the ' Black Stone,' however, has been preserved in another manuscript of the Rāmpūr Library (Arabic Alchemy, No. 17), so that with the exception of the treatises numbered 5, 6 and 7 in the list just given, the book is practically complete.

As previously stated, many of the treatises appear to have been the work of a copyist travelling in Asia Minor and in Mesopotamia in the year A.D. 1283 (682 A.H.), who seems in several cases to have utilized MSS. formerly in the possession of Aṭ-Ṭugh̲rā'ī, the celebrated alchemist of the 11th Century of the Christian era, whose criticism of Ibn Sīnā's views will be found in the Vol. III of the *Prolegomena* of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (De Slane's translation, pp. 255 and 256), but no part of the existing MS. can be said to be of an earlier date than the 15th Century.

The importance of the MS. chiefly lies in the range of alchemical treatises that are found in it. The more important of these, arranged in chronological order, are :—

(*a*) The Treatise of Jāmās (Jāmāsp) for Ardas̲h̲īr, who founded the Sassanian dynasty of Persia in A.D. 226.

(*b*) An Arabic translation in 6 books of an extended work by Zosimus, the pseudo-philosopher of the 3rd Century A.D.

Both these Treatises promise to throw much light on the origins of Arabic alchemy.

(*c*) Two Treatises ascribed to K̲h̲ālid ibn Yazīd, the Umayyad prince, who lived at the end of the 7th Century.

(*d*) Two short Treatises ascribed to Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq, the S̲h̲ī'ite Imām, as well as several extracts from books by Jābir, Ja'far's reputed disciple in alchemy.

(*e*) { Ar-Rāzī's *Al-Madk̲h̲alu-t-Ta'līmī.*
Ar-Rāzī's *As̲h̲-S̲h̲awāhid.*

Two of the hitherto lost works on alchemy by this distinguished Persian philosopher who flourished *c.* 900 A.D. The first Treatise, as its name implies, is a general introduction to alchemy. The second is a volume of extracts from the works of more ancient authors, which Ar-Rāzī considered as the evidences on which the Art was based. Both treatises (which are without doubt authentic) afford the clearest idea of the alchemical beliefs of Western Asia in the 9th and 10th Centuries A.D.

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[1] This book cannot be traced in the *Fihrist.*

(*f*) Lengthy extracts from a Treatise entitled *Ta'widhu-l-Ḥākim* and ascribed to the Fāṭimid Khalīfa who ruled in Egypt from A.D 996—1020.

And (*g*) A short précis of practical alchemy by Ibn Sīnā, the well-known philosopher of the 10th Century.

The work of preparing annotated translations of the more important of these treatises is proceeding, and we trust that their publication will not be long delayed.

B. ANALYTIC INDEX OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MS.

I. "The Treatise of Jāmās Al-Ḥakīm to Ardashīr the King, on the Hidden Secret: it is a wonderful treatise translated from Persian into Arabic" (Folio 1 *v.*, top, to f. 7 *v.*, l. 10). Begins: "From Jāmās, the Sage, to Ardashīr, the King, crowned with wisdom. O God, I ask Thee for truth in word and deed, and for bestowal of complete grace and the gift of thankfulness. Know, O King," etc

The treatise is an explanatory discourse, similar in phraseology to several of the Greek treatises published by Berthelot in his *Anciens Alchemistes Grecs*, but clearer in its treatment. In the middle occurs a saying of Democritos in which he refers to Ostanes as his teacher. From internal evidence there can be little doubt that it is the treatise referred to on p. 354 of the *Fihrist*, nor is it improbable that the book actually dates from the time of Ardashīr.[1] Ḥājī Khalīfa duly catalogues it in his *Kashfu-dh-Ḍhunūn* and quotes the first lines (Flügel's trans., III, p. 384, No. 6068).

Ends: "I have explained to you, O King, the work of the Sages in its fulness, stating what none other has ever ventured to state, for which I fear I may be cursed in the Council of the Sages. And God is the dispenser of mercy and the giver of success, the liberal and generous!

"Praise be to God alone, and His blessings be on Muḥammad, His Prophet, and on his pure family. And God is our support and best protector! I have transcribed this treatise from a copy in the handwriting of the Master Mu'ayyidu-d-Dīn Abū Ismā'īl Al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Aṭ-Ṭughrā'ī Al-Iṣfahānī.[2] May God sanctify his noble spirit! I transcribed it letter by letter and finished copying it towards the end of Muḥarram of the year 682 *Hijræ* at Sīwās[1]—May God guard it! And to God be praise and thanks!"

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[1] Another example of an authentic Persian work dating from the early years of the Sassanian dynasty is Mānī's *Shābūrqān* composed for Shāpūr ibn Ardashīr (*vide* Al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Sachau's trans., p. 121). For the connexion between Ostanes and Democritos, *vide* p. 25 Note, *infra.*

[2] This is the Vizier of the Saljūq Sultan Mas'ūd of Mosul, who, according to Ibnu-l-Athīr (Book X, Tornberg's edition, pp. 395 and 396) rebelled against his brother Maḥmūd of Hamadhān in 415 A.H. (=A.D. 1120), the same year in which Aṭ-Ṭughrā'ī became his Vizier. Aṭ-Ṭughrā'ī was put to death after being captured in a battle between the two sovereigns, the date, according to a contemporary historian As-Sam'ānī, being 515 A.H. (Ibn Khallikān, De Slane's trans., I, pp. 462-464). He was then about 60 years old. Ibnu-l-Athīr remarks that he was much given to alchemy and composed "several alchemical works which have been the ruin of many." Among these the chief one appears to have been the *Ḥaqā'iqu-l-Istishhād*, in which he opposed the arguments of Ibn Sīnā (in the *Shifā*) that, as we do not know the specific differences between the metals, successful alchemy is impossible (*vide* Ibn Khaldūn—*Prolegomena*—De Slane's trans., III,

II. Treatise entitled *Fi-ṣ-Ṣan'ati-sh-Sharīfah wa-khawāṣṣihā* (On the Noble Art and its Principles), ascribed to Khālid ibn Yazīd.[2] (Folio 7 *v.*, l. 13, to f. 12 *v.*, l. 4). Begins after the Basmalah :

"Khālid ibn Yazīd says: To proceed. God the Most High and Exalted has created everything in due proportion, and formed everything in pairs, lovely and varicoloured, some green, some black, some white, and some red, etc."

The treatise is written with the same extravagant phraseology of the Greek alchemists previously referred to, *e.g.*, "if the Moon, Saturn and Jupiter be placed on the tincture of the red chrysolite, the Jews will flee from that town; and were a Jew to enter he would swell up, his belly would burst and he would die.[3]"

The treatise, however, is a forgery, as the writer makes a statement that by a certain remedy "I treated Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaidi-llāh." Ṭalḥah however was killed at the Battle of the Camel in 656, *i.e.*, probably before Khālid was born, as the latter was only a youth at the time that his kinsman Marwān usurped the throne in A.D. 683.

Other names mentioned in the treatise are Asmās, the maternal uncle of the son that Khālid is addressing; Ptolemy, who killed enemies at the distance of a *parasang* by means of a mirror[4]; Hermes the alchemist; and one Budhail ibn Warqā', whom the author states he also treated successfully.

Ends: "Understand that Saturn is the Ashes, and the Earth, and the Black Bile, and in it the philosophers have concealed the Secret. Hence for him who does not work thoroughly with it, everything that he takes up will be spoilt, while its rectification can only be brought about by (alchemical) operations. The Moon is Mercury, and Water, and Spirit. Jupiter is the Red Sulphur, and it is the Air, and the Soul.[5] In it are all the various ingredients, so that he who does not employ it in the work, fire will consume him. The Sun is the Salt of Sal-Ammoniac, and it is Fire and Yellow Bile.

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p. 255; Ḥāji Khalīfa's *Kashfu-dh-Dhunūn*—Flügel's trans., V, p. 27). For other books by him, *vide* Brockelmann—*Geschichte*—Vol. I, p. 248. From the fact that in the present collection of treatises (which was made 167 years after At-Tughrā'ī's death) two out of the three references to his name are associated with Persian books, it is probable that he chiefly derived his alchemical beliefs from Persian authorities.

[1] The ancient Sebasteia, a town in Armenia, 170 miles S.W. of Trebizond. For Sīwās being a literary centre at the time this collection was made, *cf.* the note in the Brit. Museum Addl. No. 7697, Al-Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm*, a treatise on astronomy, which states that a former owner purchased it at Sīwās in 732 A.H.

[2] *Vide* for his life, *Fihrist, ed. cit.*, pp. 224 and 354, and Ibn Khallikān, *trans. cit.*, I, p. 481; also *Mem. A.S.B.*, I, 4, p. 52, note (4).

[3] وان وضع القمر وزحل والمشتري (في زبرجد احمر) هرب اليهود من ذلك البلد ولو دخله يهودي انتفخ وانشق بطنه ومات *

[4] A variation of the story of Archimedes and the Roman ships at Syracuse. For an account of other variations, *cf.* Berthelot, *Archæologie et Histoire des Sciences*, pp. 256 and 257.

[5] The passage is not very explicit, but in the list of metals at the beginning of the *Mafātiḥu-l-'Ulūm* Saturn is stated to signify lead, while the alchemical principle is certainly the same as that indicated in the '*Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan'ah*, *viz.*, the combination of 'Body', 'Soul' and 'Spirit' (*cf. Mem., Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, pp. 54 and 55).

"I have written this treatise on Friday, the 3rd of the 2nd Rabīʿ, of the year 607 *Hijræ*. I have found it stated at the end of the copy from which this has been transcribed the following words:—'At the end of the treatise from which this book has been copied, the following words occur. 'Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān wrote this at Damascus at the house of Khālid ibn Maslamah ibn Zaid in the year 101.[1] He worked before me wonders of the kind described, and tested all the bodies in order that there might be formed new copper excellently made. Peace!'''

III. Another Treatise by Khālid ibn Yazīd Al-Umawī, similar to the preceding pamphlet, but expressed in more sensible language. (Folio 12 *v.*, l. 5, to f. 16 *v.*, bottom.) It apparently consists of two separate extracts, the first six and a half pages in length, describing how the author learnt from Stephanos, the Monk, and the knowledge he acquired from him; and the second an account, extending over two pages, of a process of manufacturing gold. There is nothing to show that the work is a forgery, and the couplet quoted at the commencement of the second part is a type of verse such as Khālid might be expected to have written.

Begins: "Saith Abū Hāshim Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān : 'In the name of God I begin and on Him I rely. I saw that people have sought the Art of Wisdom [*i.e.*, Alchemy] in every age, but I observed that the Sages have ever been averse to publishing it, etc.'"

The following is the account given of Khālid's visit to Stephanos[2]:—

"I had read many of the books of the philosophers and searched their writings and compared one with another, but I was perplexed and could not ascertain the meaning of their allusions. I was therefore forced to journey to Stephanos the Monk, out of desire for the Art and seeking to comprehend it. I went to him, but concealed my identify and acted as his servant. When he saw my knowledge and good address, he began to explain the Art to me in the simplest manner. After I had mastered everything I informed him that I was a Muslim and the son of the King of the Arabs." Stephanos then sent him away, saying that he had attained his desire of learning the Art.

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[1] There is nothing inherently impossible in the statements made in this colophon, as Khālid might have lived for 37 years after Marwān's usurpation, while in 101 A.H. (A.D. 719) Yazīd II had just succeeded his cousin ʿUmar II as Umayyad Khalifa at Damascus. They are, however, contradicted by Ibn Khallikān's statement (*trans. cit.*, I, p. 481) that Khālid died in 85 A.H. As the date given by the copyist differs from those of the other dated colophons in the collection a suggestion may be made that the year 607 (=A.D. 1210) indicates the date of the forgery of the treatise.

[2] This Stephanos must not be confused with the Alexandrian alchemist who wrote a short Greek treatise dedicated to Heraclius, Emperor of Constantinople from A.D. 610—641. The only definite statement made in the *Fihrist* regarding the teachers or assistants of Khālid is that Istifānul-Qadīm (the Old) translated chemical and other works for him (*ed. cit.*, p. 244), but another Stephan "the Monk," who was an alchemist, is referred to on p. 359. No date is given, but he is said to have been a priest at Mosul in the Church of St. Michael. An-Nadīm quotes the names of 7 of Stephan's books, which were only published after the latter's death. It would, therefore, appear likely (if the treatise be not a forgery) that the monk referred to by An-Nadīm is the teacher of Khālid, though it is somewhat strange that he makes no reference to this being the case. The phrase *ibnu Maliki-l-ʿArab* would confine the date of the meeting of Khālid and Stephanos to narrow limits, if it could certainly be translated "son of the king of the Arabs," for Yazīd only reigned from A.D. 680-683. Seeing, however, that Khālid was speaking to a subject of the Khalīfa (such as Stephan, the Monk of Mosul, presumably was) it is more likely to mean merely "a prince of the royal house," as if his father had been alive he would probably have said *ibnu-l-Khalīfa*.

The concluding portion of the first part and the couplet at the commencement of the second read as follows:—

"Finished. The beginning of the work is like its end, and the commencement is like the finishing.[1] What spoils it is the very thing that mends it. Its work is two-fold. Let them begin by the second before the first. Everyone of them has referred to the way of entering into the work by mystical words. The finishing of the work in its most perfect degree comprises four operations in four years.

" And among his writings on the Art is the following:—

'It is the stone of little value that is found in every country and is common in the market place.[2]

'Yet were a generous man to learn its real value, he would not part with it even to his own brother.' "

The treatise ends: "Then coagulate it in the Qarʿah and Blind [Ambīq][3] by means of a gentle fire, if it please God, etc." (the usual benedictions).

IV. "A Treatise ascribed to Shāh Razīn,[4] transcribed from the autograph copy of the Master Mu'ayyidu-d-Dīn Abū Ismāʿīl Al-Munshī. May God sanctify his noble spirit!" (Folio 17, *r.*, the whole). A secret of the Art is described in enigmatical language.

V. A Treatise ascribed to Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣādiq.[5] (Folio 17 *v.*, top, to f. 21 *v.*, l. 14). An incoherent compilation of receipts and quotations.

Begins: " Take of *ṭalq* as much as you wish and add to it a like quantity of *qaṣdīr* (tin) that has been purified by melting."

Ends: " Then it is taken out and the process repeated, until the mercury becomes as red as blood."

Incidentally the names of Heraclius,[6] Jaʿfar An-Naṣṣāb (the conjurer) of Baghdād " the master of the Art in our age," and finally a contemporary of the copyist called the Imām Jamālu-d-Dīn Aḥmad (*cf.* No. IX later) are found. The mention of the second name suggests that the treatise, though ascribed to Jaʿfar

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[1] This phrase is ascribed by Olympiodorus, the 5th Cent. alchemist, to Agathodemon. (Berthelot, *Coll. des Alchimistes Grecs.*, trans., I, p. 87).

[2] A similar phrase is ascribed to Asṭūs in Ar-Rāzī's *Shawāhid, vide infra.*

[3] *Cf.* the *Mafātīḥu-l-ʿUlūm* (Van Vloten's ed., p.257). "And among their experimental apparatus is the *Qarʿ* (gourd) and *Ambīq* (ἄμβιξ, cup). These are the two instruments used by the makers of rose water. The lower is the *Qarʿ* and the upper, which is shaped like a cupping glass, is the *Ambīq*. The Blind *Ambīq* is that which possesses no delivery tube."

[4] No other reference can be found to this Persian alchemist, whose short treatise has been preserved by the care of Aṭ-Ṭughrā'ī.

[5] The sixth Shīʿite Imām, who is also said to have been an alchemist. Ibn Khallikān (*trans. cit.*, I, p. 300) gives the following account of his relation to Jābir: "He composed a discourse on alchemy, augury and omens, and the Sūfi Abū Mūsā Jābir i-Haiyān . . . . compiled a work of 2000 pages in which he inserted the problems of his master, Jaafar as-Sadik, which formed 500 treatises. Jaafar was born in A.H. 80 A.D. 699) . . . or A.H. 83. He died . . . A.H. 148 (A.D. 765) and was buried in the Cemetery of al-Bakī at Medīna." From the absence of any reference in Brockelmann, it appears that no trace of Ja'far's alchemical work has hitherto been recorded.

[6] The Emperor of that name, *cf.* Note (2), preceding page.

Aṣ-Ṣādiq is really a compilation from the writings of this more modern inhabitant of Bag͟hdād.

VI. A Persian treatise, without title, and apparently in three parts. (Folio 21 *v.*, l. 15, to f. 35 *v.*, bottom. End of first part, f. 23 *v.*, l. 8; and of second part, f. 29 *v.*, l. 15, bottom.)

Begins (after cryptic figures and letters): "Of yellow Sulphur 30 dirhams" Similar cryptic figures occur at the end of several of the receipts. (*Vide* also below.)

Ends: "If you project 1 *mit͟hqāl* over 500 of copper the latter will turn into pure gold, if it please God. *Kā, Sā, Mahmā, Lasā, ʻAjjā, Mā, Bābat, Ḥalha.* Finished.

The treatise is mainly one of prescriptions. The only names mentioned are Saʻdu-l-Mulk, Bu-l-K͟haṭṭāb, and Ḥākim—Peace be on him!

VII. An Arabic fragment on alchemy containing 2 prescriptions, the first on the making of Red Water, and the second on the Water of Immortality. (Folio 36 *r.* et *v.*).

VIII. A second Persian treatise, without title, containing prescriptions, and several accounts of operations (Folio 37 *r.*, top, to f. 45 *r.*, l. 6). No names occur.

Begins: "Chapters on Animal Waters, Water of Hair. When you distil hair with yellow Sulphur," etc.

Ends: "Here ends this treatise. It has been written with great care and I counsel that it should be kept hidden from the undeserving and that the work should be performed with due care, lest the reader should fall into error and blame the author."

IX. A Compendium in Arabic of many extracts and prescriptions. (Folio 45 *r.*, l. 8, to f. 55 *r.*, l. 15). There is no title or definite conclusion, but the whole is of great importance, both from the number of names mentioned, and from the various extracts quoted from works by Jābir. The following list includes all the persons and books referred to:—

(*a*) Three-line quotation of a saying of Plato to his son.

(*b*) Three-line quotation taken from the note-book of Al-Imām Jamālu-d-Dīn Aṭ-Ṭarqī.[1]

(*c*) Prescriptions of Abu-l-Ḥasan;
Al-Qarāṭīsī;
Aḥmad (referring to Al-Anṭākī);
and Abū Ṭayyib.[1]

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[1] The alchemists mentioned in (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) cannot be traced. Aḥmad and Al-Anṭākī appear, however, to be the same people as those mentioned later in the treatise called the *Taʻwīd͟hhu-l-Ḥākim*, while both Jamālu-d-Dīn and Zainu-d-Dīn were evidently contemporaries of the 13th Century copyist.

(*d*) Six lines of poetry "by the Imām Zainu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Ḥasan ʻAlī ibn ʻAbdi-r-Raḥmān ibn Ḥaidar Al-Ḥalabī. May God give us many like him He is the Master of the High Art!"

(*e*) Two-and-a-half pages of extracts from the 'Second Book of the Blood' by Jābir. It includes references to Jābir's *Kitābu-sh-Shaʻar* (Book of the Hair), and the "Second Book of Eggs that precedes this.[1]"

(*f*) Extract from the treatise of the Monk, the author of Al-Farfīr (*Ṣāḥibu-l-Farfīr*).[2]

(*g*) Sayings of Rūsam (probably Zosimus);
Māria, the sister of Moses;
and Democritos.[3]

(*h*) A 5-line "extract from a chapter written in the hand-writing of the Master Mu'ayyidu-d-Dīn who states that he copied it from an ancient MS.[4] This reference, compared with the colophon of the first treatise in the Rāmpūr MS., appears to prove that the compilation now under discussion was made by the original 13th Century copyist of the whole MS.

(*i*) Extracts "from the Great Book of *Tarākīb* (Combinations) on the Art by Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. May God sanctify his noble spirit!" The quotation is 4 pages in length, and includes a two-thirds of a page description of the Combination of Occidental and Oriental Mercury.[5]

(*j*) Prescriptions from the writings of

Imām Muʻīnu-d-Dīn, "speaking on the authority of 'the Man' and believing in it (the reddening process)"[6];

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[1] وفي كتابنا البيض الثاني الذي قبل هذا الكتاب The 23rd on the list of Jābir's largest collection of alchemical tracts is a *Kitābu-d-Dam* (Book of the Blood), but no Second Book is mentioned (*cf. Fihrist, ed. cit.*, p. 356, l. 1). As however there are several Second Books included in the list, *e.g.*, Book of "Eggs," "Animals," "Salts," "Stones," etc., and only 104 treatises are catalogued out of the 112 making up the entire volume, it may have dropped out. The Second Book of Eggs is mentioned next to the *Kitābu-l-Mujarradāt* (*cf.* p. 57, note, *supra*) on l. 8 of the same page of the *Fihrist*, and the *Kitābu-sh-Shaʻar* in l. 1 follows next to the *Kitābu-d-Dam*, which in turn is preceded by the *K. u-l-Baiḍh* (*i.e.*, The First Book of Eggs). This may be the origin of the remark that the Second Book of Eggs precedes the Book of the Hair, or else the Second Book of the Blood has dropped out after the Second Book of Eggs.

[2] or "the wearer of the purple," *i.e.*, a Bishop.

[3] Zosimus, Mary and Democritos were constantly quoted together as authorities in the early centuries of the Christian era (*cf.* B., *Coll. des Alchimistes grecs*, *passim*), where also many works ascribed to first and last named will be found). Mary and Democritos were regarded by Zosimos himself as his chief authorities. An analysis of more extensive treatises from Syriac and Arabic MSS. is also given in Berthelot's *La Chimie au Moyen Âge*, Tome III.

[4] من فصل مكتوب بخط الاستاذ مويد الدين قال هو من رسالة قديمة, *i.e.*, Aṭ-Ṭughrā'ī.

[5] There are two treatises on combination (*Tarkīb*) recorded among the 112 (*op. cit.*, ll. 5 and 10), but none with the precise title of *Kitābu-t-Tarākībi-l-Kabīr*. Berthelot, however, gives in Vol. III of his *La Chimie* the translation of two short treatises on Oriental and Occidental Mercury respectively, which may have been included in the work referred to.

[6] التحمير الذي حكى الامام معين الدين عن الرجل معتقداً فيه ـ. The name of this alchemist cannot be traced.

Abu-l-Ma'ālī;[1]
Mihyār the Magian;[2]
Kamāl Al-Judhānī (?) who quotes Ḥusām
the Jurist[3] (Persian).

This Kamāl Al-Judhānī seems to have been a contemporary of the compiler.

(*k*) Short quotations of a few lines from a work of Heraclius, and the *Kitābu-l-'Ain* (Book of the Eye) of Jābir.[4] In the latter Socrates is referred to.

X. The Book of Rīsamus Al-Ḥakīm (Zosimus).[5] Folio 55 *r.*, l. 17, to f. 76 *r.*, l. 17).

Begins: "I have called these Sections 'the Sulphurs'[6] because the precious secret is attained through them, since there is nothing in the world more potent than Red Sulphur."[7]

The following is an index of the entire treatise:—

Books I and II.

1. Introductory remarks.
2. Section on the Tin (*Raṣāṣ*) from *Kuḥl*,[8] which is produced from the *Kuḥl* of

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[1] Abu'l Ma'ālī, Imāmu-l-Ḥaramain, the celebrated Shāfi'ī professor of the Nidhāmiyya College of Naisābūr, who lived from 419 to 478 A.H. (=A.D. 1028-1085)—*vide* Ibn Khallikān, *trans. cit.*, II, pp. 120-123. Ibn Khallikān says nothing about his being an alchemist, but the fact is mentioned by Ḥājī Khalīfa (*trans. cit.*, V, p. 27) on the authority of Ṣafadī, a biographer who died in A.D. 1363.

[2] The celebrated Shī'ite poet of whom a long account will be found in Ibn Khallikān, III, pp. 317-320. He was a native of Dailam, a district on the S.-E. of the Caspian Sea, and in early life was a Zoroastrian. He died in A.D. 1037, the same year as Ibn Sīnā.

[3] Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn 'Umar ibn 'Abdi-l-'Azīz Aṣ-Ṣadr Ash-Shahīd Al-Bukhārī, a distinguished jurist who was born in 483 (1090) and died in 536 (1141); *cf.* Brockelmann, I, p. 374.

[4] This is catalogued in the *Fihrist* as one of the 4 books written by Jābir on the Finding of Hidden Treasure by Divination (*Maṭālib*); *ed. cit.*, p. 357, l. 25.

[5] According to Berthelot, the alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis (the modern Ikhmīm, a town 60 miles N.-W. of Thebes in Upper Egypt) probably flourished about the end of the 3rd Century A.D. The *Fihrist* (*ed. cit.*, p. 353) gives the following account of him: "Another alchemist was Dhīsimūs who pursued similar methods to Ostanes. Among his books is one which he termed 'The Keys of the Art.' This treatise contains a number of books and essays arranged in numerical order, *e.g.*, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. The book is known as 'The Seventy Treatises.'"

The treatise now brought to light is probably 'The Book of Dūsīmūs (Zosimus) to all wise men, on the Art,' catalogued on p. 354 of the *Fihrist*, as among the books still extant in An-Nadīm's time. It appears very similar in character to the original Greek treatises ascribed to Zosimus and published by Berthelot in Vol. II of his *Coll. des anciens Alchimistes grecs* as well as to the Syriac treatise of Zosimus (in 12 books) described by Berthelot (*La Chimie au moyen Âge*, II, pp. 210--266), but is not addressed, as the latter are, to a woman (Theosebia). An intimate connexion can also be traced between the contents of the new treatise now brought to light and the Greek and Syriac treatises ascribed to Democritos and published by Berthelot in Vol. I of his *Collection* and Vol. II of his *La Chimie* respectively (*vide* notes below).

[6] A chapter entitled 'The Sulphurs' is also found in the Greek text of Zosimus (B., *Coll.*, trans., p. 173).

[7] *Cf.* the fabulous stories regarding Red Sulphur quoted by Ibnu-l-Baiṭār (Leclerc's trans., III, p. 139): "IBN SAMJŪN (†A.D. 1001)—On dit que le soufre rouge est une pierre précieuse, qui se trouve derrière la montagne, dans la vallée des fourmis où a passé Salomon, fils de David, que ces fourmis creusent profondément le roc et en font sortir le soufre rouge. ARISTOTLE:—Le soufre rouge quand il est dans la mine, donne, la nuit, une lueur de feu, qui se voit à la distance d'une parasange. Enlevé de la mine il perd cette propriété. On le fait entrer fréquemment les ouvrages d'or, dont il modifie la couleur rouge en la tempérant de blanc." Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi-l-Malik in the 2nd Chap. of the *'Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan'ah* also refers to Red Sulphur being used in the making of Gold (*cf.* Stapleton and Azo in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 56).

[8] Ar-Rāzī in the *Madkhalu-t-Ta'līmī* (*cf.* later in MS.) states that *Kuḥl* differs from other stones in being metallic in appearance and that it is the stone from which lead is extracted. Hence it was either lead sulphide or, in this case more probably, antimony sulphide.

Anṭākia (Antioch), an island (!) of Rūmia (Asia Minor) in the country of Qīṭa'ūn,[1] or the *Kuḥl* of Iṣfahān.

3. Section on the whitening of *Martak* (litharge).[2] The writer quotes Democritos and Māria.

4. "Section on the copper that has no shadow, and this is the copper of physicians, that is, Burnt Copper. It is the Sulphur that enters into Tinctures." [3]

5. On Mercury.

6. On purified Iron.

7. On *Būrītīs* "which I think is *Marqashīthā*" (Pyrites).

8. On the *Athālī* (ἰθαλια, vapours) of sulphur.[4]

9. On the *Athālī* of *Arnūk* (lead).

10. On *Qalqand* (χάλκανθον).[5]

11. On Yellow Arsenic Sulphide.

12. On the preparation of the 'Mercury' of Arsenic Sulphide.

This is a preparation of metallic Arsenic, made by subliming an intimate mixture of Arsenic Sulphide and *Asīm*, which latter the copyist notes to be Tin (*Raṣāṣ*).[6]

13. On the whitening of Arsenic Sulphide.[7]

14. On *Kils* (Calx).

15. On the explanation of the term *Qinbārūn* (κινναβάρις, Mercuric Sulphide).[8] The author mentions a method of his predecessors, "from India to Greece."

16. On the *Shaḥīrah* (?).

"I have now fully described for you the processes of Whitening, without however giving the relative weights, for these are written in the Fourth and Fifth books. Study therefore these books, and commit the Fifth to memory. Be obedient to your God and do what pleases Him, if you desire that the work should be successful. Now

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[1] Cataonia, a district of the ancient province of Cappadocia in Asia Minor, the chief town of which was Tyāna. The district lay immediately to the north-west of the Anti-Taurus Mountains and was drained by the Sarus River.

[2] *Cf.* B., *Coll.*, tr., p. 239, where the method given is apparently to dissolve the litharage in vinegar.

[3] باب النحاس الذي لا يكون له ظل وهو نحاس الأطباء وهو النحاس المحرق وهو الكبريت يدخل في الأصباغ

Cf. Zosimus (quoting Democritos): "Work therefore until the copper having become yellow and without shadow (ἄσκιος) tinctures everybody and becomes like the colour of gold" (*idem*, text, p. 126); also the Book of Sophe the Egyptian: "So that if you have made the copper without shadow, you whiten it with the drugs that whiten, and make it yellow with the drugs that produce yellowness, and tincture it with cadmia and cinnabar. (Thus) gold is made in the temples of Hephaistos (*i.e.*, the Egyptian god Phtha)" (*idem*, p. 214). For Democritos' preparation of Burnt Copper, *cf.* B., *La Chimie* II, trans., p. 31.

[4] *Cf.* Zosimus' chapter on the subject, B., *Coll.*, trans., pp. 240-242; and Democritos B., *La Chimie*, II, trans., p. 28.

[5] *Cf.* *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 56, note (6).

[6] *Cf.* the receipt found in the treatise ascribed to Democritos (Berthelot, *Coll.*, Trans., p 53): "*Fabrication de l'Asèm.* 20. Fixez suivant l'usage le mercure tiré de l'arsenic ou de la sandaraque ou préparé comme vous l'entendrez ; projetez-le sur le cuivre et le fer traité par le soufre et le métal deviendra blanc." Fuller discussions of this Mercury of the alchemists will be found in the Syriac treatises (*La Chimie*, II, Democritos, pp. 82-84, and Zosimns, pp. 244-250). Also *vide* B, *Introd.*, p. 257: "Le mot asèm designait un alliage metallique particulier imitant l'or et l'argent et spécialement ce dernier métal. Il a été traduit en grec par les mots ἄσημος, ἄσημον, ἀσήμη, lesquels signifiaient d'abord l'argent sans titre, et ont pris en grec moderne, le sens complet de l'argent. La confusion entre ces mots est l'une des origines des idées de transmutation." Berthelot also earlier in his *Introduction* (pp. 62-92) gives an essay on Asīm, and the method of preparing it in the early centuries of the Christian era.

[7] *i.e.*, its conversion into Arsenious oxide (*cf.* Zosimus *apud* B., *Coll.*, trans., p. 140).

[8] For methods ascribed to Democritos for making cinnabar, *cf.* B., *La Chimie*, II, trans., pp. 31 and 94.

I have fully completed for you the First and Second Books, and there follows the Third Book in which I shall explain to you, O philosophers, the reddening of substances that have been already whitened and will also reveal to you secrets in my explanation.'[1]

BOOK III (Folio 61 *v.*, l. 13).

1. The Reddening of *Raṣāṣ* (Tin).
2. Explanation of Red Arsenic.
3. On the preparation of *Arnūk*.
4. Mercury and its reddening.
5. On the explanation of Red Copper[2] (includes reference to *Abūlūn*—Apollonius[3]—and his 'Precious Secret'). Also the following disconnected note as concluding sentence. "These books were translated during the Governorship of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān in the Second Rabī' of the year 38 *Hijræ*."[4]
6. On reddened Iron, and its preparation.
7. '*Būrītīs*, which is *Marqas̲h̲īt̲h̲ā*.' (Another reference to Apollonius, the Sage).
8. On Yellow Arsenic.
9. On the *At̲h̲ālī* of Sulphur.

BOOK IV (Folio 64 *v.*, l. 15).

"The Fourth Book which deals with the 'Water of Sulphurs'[5] and the making of *Qinbārūn*."

1. On the 'Water of Sulphurs.'
2. On *Qinbārūn*.
3. Description of the proper strength of fires.[6]
4. Reddening of *Raṣāṣ*.
5. Conclusion of the section on Fires.
6. On *Farfīr* (preparation from urine).[7]

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[1] For Arabic text, *cf.* later, X (*b*).

[2] *Cf.* for another preparation of red copper by Zosimus, B., *La Chimie*, II, p. 227.

[3] Apollonius of Tyāna, who lived from B.C. 4 to *c.* A.D. 96, and who (according to the *Fihrist*, p. 312) was the first to give any account of talismans. Philostratus, who published a so-called life of Apollonius in A.D. 218, does not specially refer to Apollonius being an alchemist, but several quotations from his works are made by Ar-Rāzī in the *S̲h̲awāhid* (*vide infra*), including the aphorism quoted by Zosimus at the beginning of the 6th Book of the present treatise.

[4] For Arabic text, *vide* later, X (*c*). Mu'āwiyah was certainly Governor of Damascus in 38 A.H., but it is hardly probable that translation work into Arabic had started at such an early date. The fact may, however, be recalled that it was precisely at this time that Stephanos of Alexandria was composing his alchemical treatise for Heraclius (*vide* p. 5, note (2), *supra*.

[5] Another 3rd Century receipt for the preparation of 'Water of Sulphur' (Calcium polysulphide) is to be found in Berthelot's translation of the Leyden Papyrus X (*Introd.*, p. 46; and *Arch. et Hist. des Sciences*, pp. 299-301; *cf.* also *infra*, p. 20).

[6] For another chapter by Zosimus on Fires, *cf. Coll.*, trans., p. 240. Olympiodorus also bears witness (B., *Coll.*, p. 85) to the importance Zosimus and Democritos paid to the proper strength of the fire in alchemical operations.

[7] For early methods of making such purple solutions for alchemical use *cf.* B., *Introd.*, pp. 48 and 49 (quoting from the 3rd Century Leyden papyrus), and *Coll.*, trans., I, pp. 43 and 44 (quoting from a treatise assigned to Democritos). In the latter urine was also employed.

Book V (Folio 68 *r.*, top).

1. On the Duplication (تضعيف)[1] of Gold.
2. On the Duplication of Silver.
3. On *Zinjār.*[2]
4. On a Wonderful Secret.
5. On the making of *Naṭrūn.*[3]

Book VI (Folio 72 *r.*, l. 8).

"The Sixth Book. In it are contained all the principal operations, and the crown of Princes. Fortunate therefore is he into whose hands this translation falls. This book is the crown of the five books previously given, and in it will be found the explanation of the Saying of the Sage,[4] 'Nature conquers nature, Nature confines nature, and Nature follows nature.'

1. Four processes for the making of silver from whitened drugs, to which a 5th section is added describing how the silver prepared in the last process is made to lose its brittleness. (Refers to the necessity of weighed quantities being used).
2. On Iron.
3. Two more processes for making silver from whitened drugs.
4. A process for making silver from whitened copper by means of Cadmia (قدميا).[5]
5. Whitening copper by Cadmia.
6. Four processes for making gold by combination.
7. Dissolution (*Ḥall*) of *Ṭalq* (Mica), and the coagulation of Mercury.
8. Sublimation of Glass.

The book ends abruptly with "And it will become transparent water, clearer than tears. Then coagulate it. One dirham may be projected on to 700 dirhams of any body you desire, [and will turn it into gold] if it please God!"

XI. The *Kitābu-sh-Shawāhid* (Book of Evidences). One of the lost treatises of Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā Ar-Rāzī, the well-known Persian physician of the latter half of the 9th Century A.D. (Folio 76 *r.*, l. 17, to f. 92 *v.*, l. 14). (*Cf. Fihrist*, Flügel's ed., p. 358).

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[1] *Cf.* B., *Introd.*, p. 60: "(Parmi les orfèvres égyptiens) le mot *diplosis* impliquait autrefois, tantôt la simple augmentation de poids du métal précieux, additionné d'un métal de moindre valeur—qui n'en changeait pas l' apparence; tantôt la fabrication de toutes pièces de l'or et de l'argent, par la transmutation de nature du métal surajouté; tous les métaux étant au fond identiques, conformément aux théories platoniciennes sur la matière première. L'agent même de la transformation est une portion de l' alliage antérieur, jouant le rôle de ferment." For a similar reference by Zosimus to *diplosis*, *cf.* B., *La Chimie*, II, trans., p. 222.

[2] Verdigris; *cf. Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 57, n.(6).

[3] *Cf.* ditto, p. 58, n.(6). The 'oil of Nitron' is constantly referred to by Zosimus as being used in alchemical operations: *vide, e.g.*, B., *Coll.*, trans., pp. 130, 136 and 137.

[4] Apollonius, according to Ar-Rāzī in the *Shawāhid* (present MS. *infra*), but from its occurrence in a work ascribed to Democritos (B., *Coll.*, I, trans., p. 45) it would seem to have been ultimately derived from Egypt.

[5] For other references to Cadmia in works by Zosimus *cf.* B., *Coll.*, trans., p. 201; and *La Chimie*, II, pp. 297 and 298.

The preface, which may be quoted *in extenso*, fully describes the object of the book.

"Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds,
And blessings be upon His messenger Muḥammad and all his family!

"Saith Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā:—'Seven books have already preceded this our Eighth Book, the First[1] being *Kitābu-l-Ithbāt* (Book of Confirmation), in which the truth of the Art has been confirmed. The Second, *Kitābul-l-Ḥajar* (Book of the Stone), in which is explained the thing by means of which the Work is done. The Third, *Kitābu-t-Tadbīr* (Book of the Operation), which shows whether or not any treatment of the Stone is necessary, and, if so, what is the proper treatment. The Fourth, *Kitābu-l-Iksīr* (Book of the Elixir), in which is shown how and what Elixir is. The Fifth, *Kitāb Sharafi-ṣ-Ṣinā'ah* (Book of the Nobility of the Art), which treats of the Excellence of this Art and the superiority of its followers over all other men [and others]. It also contains a refutation of those who believe in the Unlawfulness of striving after Gain. The Sixth, *Kitābu-r-Rāḥah* (Book of Rest),[2] in which are stated the claims of the Principal men of the Art and their different views regarding it. It further contains the method of work that should be followed by Experimenters, and an elucidation of the phrases occurring in the *Kitābu-r-Raḥmah* (Book of Mercy).[3] The Seventh, *Kitābu-t-Tadābīr* (Book of Operations), which describes the operations of which the Experimenter stands in need, such as those alluded to in the *Kitābu-r-Rāḥah*. As for this our Eighth Book which is entitled *Kitābu-sh-Shawāhid* (Book of Evidences), it contains a Selection of the Mystical and other sayings of the Sages, including those in which they spoke the deliberate truth. We did not undertake the labour of writing this book for the reason that previous books needed a supplement in order to complete the Work, but that we might make it a witness to prove the agreement of former Masters with ourselves and that we have not deviated from their path. These Mystical sayings are nothing but Evidences of the Art and in no wise impart instruction.

"For the Sages themselves have borne witness that they have used obscure language in their books and filled them with superfluous words, the really essential matter being but little. They have also said, 'Let none of you imagine that when he has acquired some knowledge of the Art, the prolixity of our conversation will appear anything more than a detail compared with even a fragment of what he has learnt, for that is only intended as a confusion to the ignorant.'

"Now that we have explained our object in compiling this book and also the character of the books of the Sages, we will proceed to quote the choicest of the sayings contained in them. These we shall divide into two classes, the first giving those which include an account of what the 'Stone' is, and the second giving those dealing with its Preparation. We shall select the clearest from amongst them, and those that least need annotation, to prevent our book from being overladen with explanations of the obscure. Nor shall we give many of these quotations, seeing that the few will dispense with the need for more. It should be noted, however, that owing to our not having been able to procure—much less read—all the works composed by alchemists, we have not found ourselves in a position to make a more thorough compilation of the obscure passages in which the Sages have faithfully revealed their mysteries."

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[1] The omission from this catalogue of the first two treatises of Ar-Rāzī's *magnum opus*, *viz.*, the *Madkhalulu-t-Ta'līmī* and *Madkhalu-l-Burhānī* (*vide Fihrist*, *loc. cit.*, and text *infra*), probably indicate that they were written by way of preface after the last 10 books mentioned in the *Fihrist* and the *Madkhalu-t-Ta'līmī* had been completed.

[2] This is an alternative title, as both in the list given in the *Fihrist*, as well as in that found at the end of the *Madkhalu-t-Ta'līmī* (*vide infra*), it is called *Kitābu-t-Tartīb* (Book of Progression).

[3] For a translation of this book of Jābir, *cf.* B., *La Chimie*, III, pp. 163–190. Though mentioned in the *Fihrist* as being the only book acknowledged by all to be written by Jābir, it cannot be found in the list of his works subsequently given by An-Nadīm—a striking proof of the mutilation this special list has undergone.

The treatise includes excerpts from the writings of the following authors:—

Hermes [1] (the Chief of the Sages).	Māria the Sage.[3]
Ostanes.[2]	Aristotle.[4]

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[1] The author of the *Fihrist* (*ed. cit.*, p. 353) writes as follows regarding Hermes:—

"The people who practise Alchemy, that is to say, the art of manufacturing gold and silver from other metals, state that the first who gave an account of the science of the Art was Hermes the Sage, a native of Babel (Babylon), who removed to Egypt after the dispersion of the peoples from Babel. He reigned in Egypt, and was a wise man and a philosopher. He succeeded in practising the Art and composed several books on the subject. He studied the properties of substances and their spiritual virtues, and thanks to his researches and work, he succeeded in establishing the Art of Alchemy. He also discovered how to make Talismans and wrote many books on the subject. Those, however, who ascribe to everything great antiquity allege that this science existed thousands of years before Hermes.

……

Hermes the Babylonian.

"Opinions differ regarding this man. According to some he was one of the Seven High Priests appointed to guard the Seven Temples, and was in charge of the Temple of Mercury. Hence his name; for Mercury in the Chaldæan language is Hermes. According to others, he removed, for various reasons, to the land of Egypt and reigned over that country. He had several children Ṭāṭ, Ṣā, Ashmūn, Ithrīb, and Qufṭ, and he was the wisest man of his age. After his death he was buried in the monument in the town of Miṣr (Cairo), known under the name of Abū Hermes, which the common people call 'The Two Pyramids.' One of them was his tomb, and the second that of his wife, or—as others say—of his son, who succeeded him after his death.

……

Books of Hermes on the Art.

"The book of Hermes to his son on the Art; the Book of Liquid Gold; the Book for Ṭāṭ on the Work; the Book of the Making of the Bunch (of grapes); the Book of Secrets; the Book of Al-Hāriṭus; the Book of Al-Malātīs; the Book of Al-Astamākhis; the Book of As-Salmātīs; the Book of Armīnus, disciple of Hermes; the Book of Nilādūs, disciple of Hermes, on the opinion of Hermes; the Book of Al-Adkhīqī; the Book of Dimanūs addressed to Hermes."

Thanks to Egyptologists, *e.g.*, Maspero, we know now, however, that Hermes was simply the Greek name of the Egyptian God Thoth who was worshipped at Hermopolis (the present Eshmunên, north of Asyūṭ); *cf.* note (6), next page.

[2] The *Fihrist* (*loc. cit.*) gives the following account of this alchemist: "Among the philosophers who practised the Art and who were celebrated as alchemists and who wrote books on the Art is Ostanes, the Greek, a native of Alexandria. He composed, as he mentions in one of his treatises, a thousand books and pamphlets, each with a separate name. The books of all these people are full of enigmas and riddles. Among the works of Ostanes is 'The Book of the conversation of Ostanes with Tauhīr, King of India.'"

From An-Nadīm's silence, the books of Ostanes seem to have become very rare in Arabic times, and Berthelot only refers to one Arabic book ascribed to Ostanes as being now extant (*La Chimie*, III, pp. 116-123), while only the merest fragment attributed to him is found in the 9th Cent. Greek MS. collection of alchemical treatises in the St. Mark's Library, Venice (B., *Coll.*, III, pp. 250-252). For his relation to Democritos, *vide* p. 25, note, *infra*.

[3] This woman alchemist was prior to the time of Zosimus, by whom she is constantly quoted (*cf.* B., *Coll.*, Trans., II, *passim*). An-Nadīm mentions the 'Great Book of Mary' (*loc. cit.*, p. 354), and the reference in the same place to the 'Book of Mary the Copt with the Sages, when they had met together,' shows that in Islamic times she was confused by Arabic alchemists with one of the wives of Muḥammad, just as in Christian times she was called 'the sister of Moses.'

[4] An-Nadīm apparently did not believe that Aristotle was an alchemist, as he quotes no books by him on the subject, while at the same time he indicates Ar-Rāzī as the author responsible for alleging that Pythagoras, Democritos,

Asṭūs.[1]
Alexander.[2]
Baṭrūs [1] (addressing a King).
Bālīnūs, (Apollonius)[3]—the quotation including a reference to Democritos.
Bīlūs (?).[4]
Sergius Rāsu-l-ʻAinī.[5]
Aflāṭūn (Plato).
The Wazīr (addressing the King in the *Kitābu-l-Wuzarā'*).
Khālid, 'one of the Moderns,' in his poem beginning "O seeker after knowledge."
Hermes, in the "Book of Thoth."[6]
Rīsamūs (Zosimus).[7]
Hiraql (Heraclius).[8]
Jālīnūs (Galen).[9]
Saqdīs the Sage.[10]
Balākhus.[11]
Rūsam ((?) Zosimus).

Plato, Aristotle, and, in more modern times, Galen, practised the Art (*ed. cit.*, p. 352). Jābir may have aided the spread of the idea, as he wrote a series of treatises with the general title 'Beliefs of Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Democritos,' etc., (*id.*, p. 357), but the Latin alchemical treatises ascribed to Aristotle and Plato are almost certainly forgeries of the Middle Ages (*cf.* B., *La Chimie*, I, p. 248).

[1] Nothing is known about either of these alchemists, though the name of the first also occurs in the *Fihrist* among the philosophers who have spoken of the Art (p. 353, l. 23).

[2] Probably either Alexander Aphrodisiensis, the Carian philosodher who flourished *c.* 200 A.D., or Alexander Trallianus, the eminent physician of Lydia, who wrote in the 6th Cent. A.D.; the latter being more likely, as A. Trallianus laid great stress on the use of charms and amulets in medicine.

[3] Cf. p. ii, note (3), *supra.*

[4] A Greek treatise of an alchemist called Nilūs is found recorded in the Index to the St. Mark's MS. (*vide* B., *Introd.*, p. 175). He was apparently a priest who lived at the same time as Zosimus (B., *Coll.*, Trans., II, p. 187).

[5] The following brief account of this distinguished Syrian translator is quoted from B. Jungmann's ed. of Fessler's *Institutiones Patrologiæ* (1896, Innsbruck ed., II, p. 654).

"Memorandus etiam hic est illustris presbyter et medicus Sergius Rhæsinensis, qui primus inter monophysitas libros Aristotelis e græco syriacos fecit, et post multas peregrinationes in Antiocham et Romam, Constantinopoli obiit paulo post annum 535. Servantur in codd. M. Br. ejus translatio *Isagogis Porphyrii*, *categoriarum et logicae Aristotelis et de mundo ad Alexandrum* quem tractatum edidit P. de Lagarde, Analecta syriaca, p. 134 sqq.; ejus tractatus *De Anima*, *De causis Universi*, *De genere*, *specie et individuo*, *De lunae influxu* aliaque nonnulla (*vide* W. Wright, Catalog. 1154 sqq.; 1187-1188; et 'A Short History,' pp. 99-103)." Rāsu-l-ʻAin (lit. "the Spring Head") is in Northern Mesopotamia on the Nahru-l-Khābūr, a branch of the Euphrates. An-Nadīm records an alchemical book by this Sergius, dedicated to Bishop Quiri of Edessa, as well as one by 'the Monk Sergius' (*loc. cit.*, p. 354).

[6] Cf. Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 130 and 131.

"The god of Hermopolis was Thoth, the Egyptian Deḥuti (= he who is attached to the ibis). Thoth seems to have been at the outset the Moon, which was thus, as in Babylonia, of the male sex . . . . The first month of the year was his, and he was the measurer of time, who had invented arithmetic and geometry, music and astronomy, architecture and letters. He knew the magic formulae which could bind the gods themselves, and, as minister of the Pharaoh Thamos, had introduced writing and literature into Egypt. Henceforward he remained the patron of books and education, on which the culture of Egypt so largely rested. He was, in fact, the culture-god of the Egyptians to whom the elements of civilisation were due."

See also previous note on Hermes *supra.*

[7] Cf. p. 65, note (5).

[8] The Index at the head of the St. Mark's MS. ascribes four alchemical treatises (now unfortunately disappeared) to the Emperor Heraclius (B., *Introd.*, p. 174), and under the name of Hercules his opinions passed into the alchemical writings of the Middle Ages. An-Nadīm mentions (p. 354) the 'Great Book of Heraclius in 14 books.'

[9] The celebrated physician, A.D. 130-200.

[10] An-Nadīm refers to this man as Safīdas (*op. cit.*, p. 353), and perhaps also when he mentions the "Book of Saqras on his philosophy to the Emperor Adrian" (*op. cit. idem*). In the latter case, the writer's date would lie between 117 and 138 A.D. On the other hand, this alchemist may be the same as Sophe the Egyptian, two of whose treatises are given by Berthelot in Vol. II of his *Coll.*, pp. 205-208. Another variation of the name is found on p. 129 of the same Volume, where Ostanes is quoted by Zosimus as referring to Sophar, a former inhabitant of Persia.

[11] An-Nadīm (p. 354) mentions an Epistle of Balākhus on the Art, and the alchemist referred to may be Pelagius, one of whose works will be found at the beginning of Vol. III of Berthelot's *Coll.*, and who is also quoted by

Afrāṯīs and Afrāṭun.[1]
Mahrārīs.[2]
Sergius Rāsu-l-'Ainī, in his *Kitābu-l-'Adad* (Book of Numbers).
Abū Zufair.[3]
Sālim Al-Ḥarrānī.[4]
Andria.[5]

In the majority of cases only short extracts are given, followed by a few explanatory remarks by Ar-Rāzī, but a conspicuous exception is the quotation from Sālim Al-Ḥarrānī which extends from f. 86 *r.*, l. 9, to f. 90 *r.*, l. 5. It is quoted by Ar-Rāzī without comment and appears to include the passage from Al-Ḥarrānī quoted by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muqaddamah* (*vide* De Slane's trans., Vol. III, p. 218).

The following quotations will indicate sufficiently well the character of the treatise and its connexion with other alchemical writings, whether in Arabic, or the Latin of mediæval Europe.

(*a*) " *Arisṭāṭālīs* (Aristotle) said to *Zā'ūsh*, ' Take the Egg, and cause separation between its ' Soul,' ' Spirit ' and ' Body.' When you have brought about the separation of the water from the salt, the salt from the oil, and the oil from the earth, then the work will be possible.'[6]

" He then adds: ' I do not mean, O Zā'ūsh, the Egg of the Hen—the name of which is deceptive—but I mean the Egg of the Philosophers wherein is found the Hot and the Cold, the Moist and the Dry. This is the ' Black Stone,' known to the Philosophers.'

" By the word ' deceptive ' (*kādhibah*) he simply wishes to belittle the egg in comparison with the ' Stone,' not to reject it altogether."

(*b*) " Sergius Rāsu-l-'Ainī says : ' Look at the small mountain which has two caves, one on its right and the other on its left. Ascend it, for there is in it, and in a mountain that is opposite to it, all the *'Aqāqīr* (Substances).' This points to the Hair, the two caves being the two ears."[7]

Olympiodorus, the Theban historian and alchemist who wrote in the first half of the 5th Cent. (*idem*, I, p. 96). It is noteworthy that Pelagius apparently differentiates between two alchemists of the name Zosimus, just as also there is a clear distinction in the *Shawāhid*.

[1] Perhaps only a variation of Aflaṭūn (Plato).

[2] An alchemist mentioned by An-Nadīm as Mahdāris (p. 353), who was probably also a doctor. Leclerc (*Histoire de la Médicine arabe*, p. 343) states he is quoted in Ar-Rāzī's *Ḥāwī* as well ; while Ibn Abī 'Uṣaibi'ah's ' *Uyūnu-l-Anbā* ' (A. Müller's ed., p. 21) says he was a relative and disciple of Asclepios but denounces him as untrustworthy for alleging in his first book that he had once met David. Under the title *Tractatus Micreris suo discipulo Mirnefindo*, one of Mahrāris' alchemical treatises passed into the hands of European alchemists (B. *La Chimie*, I, p. 236).

[3] No reference can be found elsewhere to this alchemist.

[4] The alchemist referred to in Flügel's ed. of the *Fihrist* as Ḥarbī. Flügel mentions on p. 190 that in the margin of the Leyden MS. of the *Fihrist*, a note is found stating that ' Ḥarbī Yamānī ' was companion to Jā'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq and that Jābir ibn Ḥayyān before he entered Ja'far's service read philosophy under him.

[5] An alchemist of perhaps the 9th Cent. A.D. (*Cf.* Stapleton and Azo in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 52, note (2).

[6] This is an exact epitome of the longer directions of Aristotle to Rūfūs, son of Plato, quoted in the Arabic treatise of *Al-Ḥabīb* (B., *La Chimie*, III, pp. 96 and 97).

[7] The fact that a bad translation of this saying is found ascribed to Rasis in the treatise entitled *Rosinus ad Sarratantam Episcopum*, on p. 317 of the *Artis Auriferae* which was published in 1593, supplies a direct proof that the *Shawāhid* was translated into Latin or Greek in the Middle Ages.

(*c*) "He (Apollonius) also says: 'In 'Bodies' the strength of the *Alif* grasps the *Jīm*, and thus the *Jīm* becomes a Male Power, and the spirit of the *Jīm* rejoices in the *Dāl*, and so the *Dāl* becomes a spiritual body.'[1]

"He means by all this that the Work is from a single 'Stone,' and that the several constituents are derived from it. In 'the Male' there are three combinations, which is actually the case, the first being the combination of the Water and the Tincture, the second the combination of the Air and the Earth, and the third the combination of both Water and Tincture, with the Oil and the disaggregated (*maḥlūl*) Body. These are therefore three combinations."

The value of the *Shawāhid* for the study of the origins of chemistry can hardly be over-estimated. It may be summed up by the same phrase as has been applied by Leclerc to the *Ḥāwī*, a similar compilation made by Ar-Rāzī for the science of medicine. Both are rightly defined as 'precious mosaics.'

The conclusion of the book is as follows: "We have now mentioned as many of the principal Mystical Sayings as are sufficient to demonstrate what we set out to prove, and having attained our object, let our book come to an end. And God—Glory be to Him!—is all-deserving of praise. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, and His blessings and eternal peace on the best of created beings, Muḥammad, and on his pure family! Here ends the *Kitābu-r-Rumūz*.

XII. The Chapter ascribed to the King of the Greeks, on the fixation of Yellow Fire, which is yellow Sulphur.[2] (Folio 92 *v.*, l. 15, to f. 93 *r.*, l. 16).

A solution of calcium and sodium arseno-sulphides is successively mixed with sulphur, urine of children,[3] white of egg, colocynth, and water of sal-ammoniac. The resulting product, "a beautiful white disc, which is unaffected by fire," is so potent that if one *dirham* be thrown on a *raṭl* of freshly prepared mercury, it turns it into refined silver.

XIII. The *Kitābu-l-Madkhali-t-Ta'līmī* (Elementary Introduction), another of the lost alchemical works of Ar-Rāzī (Folio 93 *r.*, l. 17, to f. 97 *v.*, bottom). It appears in the *Fihrist*, as well as in the list given at the end of the treatise itself, as the first of an encyclopædia of 12 books on Alchemy written by the author. The treatise is in fact a complete introduction to the Art, all the substances and apparatus employed in alchemy being briefly described, while further interest attaches to its discovery from the fact that it appears (with perhaps the missing second volume of the encyclopædia) to be the source from which the 9th Section of the *Mafātīḥu-l-'Ulūm* was compiled *c.* A.D. 976, *i.e.*, about half a century after Ar-Rāzī's death.

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[1] *Cf.* Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, De Slane's trans., III, p. 189 (Section on '*Les propriétés occultes des lettres de l'alphabet*'), where it is stated that the Ṣūfīs believe in the following equivalence and arrange all the letters under one or other of these 4 letters. *Alif*=Fire, *Jīm*=Water, *Bā*=Air, and *Dāl*=Earth.

[2] *Cf. infra* (*Ta'wīdhu-l-Ḥākim*), p. 79; and *supra*, p. 65, n 6). The three Emperors of the Greeks referred to in the St. Mark's MS. as being interested in alchemy are Heraclius (610—641 A.D.), Justinian (I, 527—565; II, 658—711 A.D.), and Theodosius (II, 408—450; III, 716—717 A.D). The title suggests a reference to the *Liber Ignium* of Marcus Graecus, described by Berthelot in Chapter V, Vol. I, of his *La Chemie*, but no such prescription is to be found in this mediæval work.

[3] For this, *cf.* B., *Arch. et Hist. des Sciences*, p. 301, note (1).

The text printed by Van Vloten being practically an epitome of the *Madkhalu-t-Ta'līmī*, it is only necessary at present to quote the introductory and concluding passages of the new MS.

Begins: "This treatise is called *Al-Madkhalu-t-Ta'līmī* (Elementary Introduction). In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Vouchsafe Thy help, O Gracious One!

"Know that for each art there are instruments, and these instruments have names which people who use them know, but which others are ignorant of.

"Now for the Art known as *Al-Kīmiyā* there are instruments and substances, and these have names which its followers know and others are ignorant of. Anyone who desires to study it to any extent, must needs be acquainted with their names, and (characteristic) appearance, and be able to tell whether they are of good or bad quality. All this if the student can ever learn, it will only be after long study of their properties, and thorough investigation.

"I have here given such an account of these things as will enable a student who masters it to be as one of the adepts (of the Art) and to fully comprehend their sayings. And God is the giver of success by His favour and power."

Ends: "The student should make himself perfectly familiar with every thing that we have mentioned in those of our books that follow this one, in their proper order, book by book. He should first read *Al-Madkhalu-l-Burhānī* (Introduction to the Theory of the Art) which we have also termed *Kitāb 'Ilali-l-Ma'ādin* (Book of the Diseases[1] of Minerals), so that he may have an exact knowledge of the genesis of the 'Spirits,' 'Bodies,' Stones, and Minerals. Next, the *Kitāb Ithbāti-ṣ-Ṣan'ah wa-r-Radd 'alā munkirīhā* (Book of Confirmation of the Art and Refutation of those who Deny it). Next, the *Kitābu-l-Ḥajar* (Book of the Stone), which explains of what 'the Stone' is made. Next, the *Kitābu-t-Tadbīr* (Book of the Operation), which shows by what process 'the Stone' is made. Next, the *Kitābu-l-Iksīr* (Book of the Elixir), which explains by what power it imparts the (required) colour to the Medicine, and why, and how. Next, the *Kitāb Sharafi-ṣ-Ṣinā'ah* (Book of the Nobility of the Art), so that he may know the Nobility of the Art and of its followers, its Excellence, and the Superiority of the man who Strives over him who (only) relies upon Providence. Next the *Kitābu-t-Tartīb* (Book of Progression), so that he may know the claims of the Masters of this Art, and the method of experimenting. Next, *Kitābu-t-Tadābīr* (Book of the Operations), so that he may know why the Sages have adopted these processes, and what compelled them to do so, and how to carry on any process that is required. Next, the *Kitābu-l-Miḥan* (Book of Tests), so that he may have a correct knowledge of the (differentiation by) tests of Gold and Silver from all other bodies. Next, *Kitābu-sh-Shawāhid* (Book of Evidences), so that he may know that the ancient Sages were of similar opinions to ourselves. Next *Kitāb Sirri-l-Ḥukamā' wa Ḥiyalihim* (Book of the Secret of the Sages and their Devices), so that he know how to ward off the common herd, and especially his own family and dependents; and how to save himself if he is vexed either by the rulers or the common people. When he has become well-versed in all this, his initiation into the Art will be complete.

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[1] *Cf.* Stapleton, in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 2, p. 36.

"He who studies these our books must also have some skill in Dialectic, for without this, he can scarcely attain the highest limit of the Art, nor will his profit be complete.

"Here ends *Al-Madkhalu-t-Ta'līmī* (Elementary Introduction) which deals with Instruments and Substances. There follows it, forming the second Treatise, *Al-Madkhalu-l-Burhānī*, which is also called *'Ilalu-l-Ma'ādin.*[1]

"To God alone be praise, and may blessings rest upon His messenger, Muḥammad, and upon his family, 'God is our support, and best Protector. He is an excellent Master and Aid.'"

XIV. A duplicate Arabic prescription for making gold to one found previously at the end of some prescriptions ascribed to Ja'far An-Nassāb (*vide* No. V). From the copyist's note at the beginning it would seem that Jamālu-d-Dīn was a contemporary of the 13th Century copyist.

"A good receipt for making gold from lead by projection. Copied from the MS. of Al-Imām Jamālu-d-Dīn Aḥmad. May his life be long! Before these treatises, a prescription was given corresponding to this one, but there it was ascribed to another man. Take of purified lead as much as you wish," etc. (Folio 98 *r.*, ll. 1-10).

XV. A Chapter from the Second Part of the *Sirru-l-Maknūn*[2] (Hidden Secret). Folio 98 *r.*, l. 10, to f. 98 *v.*, l. 15).

Begins: "We therefore state that the oils which distil from all things are of various colours, red, yellow, green, blue, and other colours akin to these. The water that is obtained from the oil is what is called 'Spirit,' and the Tincture that is in the water thus obtained, whether it be red, yellow, green, or blue, is called 'Fire,' 'Tincture,' etc."

Incidentally the author mentions that many hints for successfully conducting the desired operations are to be found in the Books on Weights that form part of the *Sirru-l-Maknūn.* He also states that only a prophet could have discovered the operation he is describing, and that the members of the family of the Prophet have handed down this knowledge to each other. After mentioning Sal-ammoniac and Camphor as 'Spirits,' the extract ends: "Alchemists prefer the salt of alkali to all other salts for purifying the 'Spirits,' since this salt purifies but does not fall in love with them. The 'Spirits' alone are desired" (etc., benedictions).

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[1] A useful comparison may be made between the lists of the treatises contained in Ar-Rāzī's *magnum opus*, as given in the first 2 books of the series, and the list given in the *Fihrist*, which runs as follows:—

1. *Kitābu-l-Madkhali-t-Ta'līmī.*
2. *K.-l-Madkhali-l-Burhānī.*
3. *K.-l-Ithbāt* (إثبات for Flügel's ابيات *abyāt*, verses).
4. *K.-t-Tadbīr.*
5. *K.-l-Ḥajar.*
6. *K.-l-Iksīr.*
7. *Kitāb Sharafi-ṣ-Ṣinā'ah.*
8. *K.-t-Tartīb.*
9. *K-t-Tadābīr.*
10. *Kitāb Nukati-r-Rumūz*
11. *K.-l-Miḥnah* (محنة for Flügel's محبة *maḥabbah*, affection).
12. *K.-l-Ḥiyal.*

The result of the comparison is to confirm the strict accuracy of An-Nadīm's work, the only alterations being that No. 5 would seem more rightly to precede No. 4. Similarly in the *Madkhalu-t Ta'līmī* list, the sentence describing No. 11 has been misplaced in front of that describing No. 10.

[2] The author of this book cannot be traced.

A disconnected prescription of 4 lines (apparently to fill up the remaining lines of the page) occurs after this.

XVI. An alchemical Treatise by Ibn Sīnā, the well-known philosopher, for his master Al-Barqī (Folio 99 *r.*, top, to f. 100 *r.*, bottom).

The object of the treatise, and the circumstances under which it was written, are explained in the Title and Introduction.

"This is the treatise of the most excellent of the Moderns, As͟h-S͟haik͟h
Ar-Ra'īs Abū 'Alī Al-Ḥusain ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Sīnā Al-Buk͟hārī—
May God give peace to his tomb and sanctify his spirit!
For the Imām Abū 'Abdillāh Al-Barqī—May God have mercy on him!

ON THE SUBLIME ART.

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Vouchsafe Thy aid, O Gracious One!

"May God incline thee to pious deeds, guide thee into the paths of righteousness, and protect thee from being led astray by the spirits of Evil, both in affairs of the world, and in matters of religion!

"You have asked—May you never cease to investigate the truth of things!—that I should explain to you the truth regarding the Elixir made from Yellow Sulphur. I have therefore answered as one who has your pleasure at heart, and who is ever zealous to comply with your desires.

"To begin. The chief aim of the process is to extract the Red Tincture from the Yellow Sulphur by strong water. After separating it from that water, you treat the Tincture in such a way that it shall not become corrupt and burnt. The Residue in a similar manner should be whitened to the highest degree, so that it may melt without combustion. Next you calcine the Gold or the Copper—but preferably Gold—and separately dissolve the reddened Mercury and the whitened Sulphur. Finally you compound the Tincture with the dissolved Mercury, and having mixed together all these dissolved substances, you coagulate them. The product is an Elixir, which imparts the properties of Gold, colouring and conferring density, while it is recovered (unchanged) when the work is accomplished."

Brief accounts of the following 12 operations are then given:—

1. The preparation of a certain Water which is employed in the Art.[1]
2. The preparation of a certain Water called *Zādu-r-Rag͟hwah.*[2]

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[1] A solution of Sodium Hydrate.

[2] A solution of Calcium Polysulphide.

3. The method of coagulating Mercury for 'the Red.'
4. The method of carrying out the process of *Takhnīq*[1] with the coagulated mercury that is employed in making 'the Red.'
5. The Calcination of Gold or Copper.
6. The dissolution of Vitriol and other salts.
7. The extraction of the Tincture from Sulphur.
8. The manipulation of the Tincture.
9. The treatment of the Dregs, or the preparation of White Sulphur.
10. The process of Dissolution.
11. The process of Coagulation.
12. How the work is finished.

Several of the processes are similar to those given in the mediæval Latin treatise '*De Re Recta*,'[2] ascribed to Ibn Sīnā, and though the present work is not mentioned by the 13th Century bibliographer, Ibn Abī 'Uṣaibi'ah, there appears no reason to doubt its authenticity, as Ibn Sīnā was a pupil of an Abū Bakr Al-Barqī, about the year 1005 A.D.,[3] and is recorded to have written for his master a work of 20 volumes, in which this treatise might well have been included.

The text is found both in MS. No. 16 and MS. No. 17 of the Rāmpūr Library. In the former the conclusion runs as follows: "Finally the mixture is coagulated. If these dissolved substances are filtered before being combined, the greater will be the potency of the Elixir for the work. This is the Elixir prepared from Sulphur."

> "Finished in the city of Mauṣil (Mosul)—
> May God guard it!—on the last day
> of the 2nd Jumāda in the year 682.
> Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds,
> the praise of those who are thankful!
> And May His blessings and everlasting peace
> be on Muḥammad and his holy family!"

In the more modern MS. No. 17, the colophon giving the date on which our 13th Century copyist finished his work, is replaced by several phrases of laudation to God and the Prophet.

XVII. A Persian extract, giving three prescriptions. No names occur. (Folio 100 *v.*, top, to f. 101 *r.*, bottom).

XVIII. The *Ta'wīdhu-l-Ḥākim*, ascribed to Al-Ḥākim, Fāṭimid King of Egypt, who ruled from A.D. 996 to 1020 (Folio 101 *v.*, top, to f. 120 *r.*, l. 1). The story of how the *Ta'wīdh* is said to have come into the possession of one Aḥmad ibn Sa'dullāh Al-'Abbāsī, or Al-Hāshimī, as well as its prior history, is given at length in the two prefaces (of which the first, and the Introduction to the second, are quoted below), but from internal evidence it would appear that Aḥmad ibn Sa'dullāh is probably the real author. Dubais ibn Mālik, whose name is prominently introduced, is otherwise unknown to fame. The Testament and Admonitions of Al-Ḥākim's father Mu'izz (referred to below) appear moreover to be omitted, a fact which seems to have led the 13th Century copyist, by way of compensation, to quote another chapter he found elsewhere in an abridgment of the *Ta'wīd̲h̲u-l-Ḥākim* (Folio. 120 *r.*, l. 2, to f. 120 *v.*, bottom).

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[1] A variety of sublimation; *cf. Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 62).

[2] *Cf. Theatrum Chemicum*, Vol. IV (Zetzner's 1659 Strasburg ed.), pp. 863-875.

[3] *Op. cit.* (A. Müller's ed.), II, p. 4; Carra de Vaux's *Avicenne*, p. 136.

(*A*). Prefaces (Folio 101 *v.*, top, to f. 104 *v.*, l. 6).

Begins after the Basmalah:

"Saith Aḥmad ibn Sa'dullāh Al-'Abbāsī (May God's mercy be on him!). 'This is the copy of the *Ta'wīd̲h̲* which was in the amulet of Al-Ḥākimu-bi-amri-llāh, Commander of the Faithful and Ruler of Egypt. I discovered at Iṣfahān inside another book this copy in the handwriting of Dubais ibn Mālik. In the *Ta'wīd̲h̲* were found the two operations which Al-Ḥākim used to practise according to the actual words of Mu'izz, who related them on the authority of his ancestors and forefathers as far back as the Commander of the Faithful and the Chief of the Muslims, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣādiq—Peace be on him![1] In addition were found the Testament and Admonitions of Mu'izz. In the former he explains for Al-Ḥākim the principles of the Art, its rules, and observances, all this being plainly given in the very words of Mu'izz, without any allusion, or obscurity. At the beginning of the *Ta'wīd̲h̲* was the following chapter in the handwriting of Dubais ibn Mālik in his own words, giving the earlier incidents of his career, and how he came by the *Ta'wīd̲h̲* of Al-Ḥākim.'"

After the Basmalah "Saith Dubais ibn Mālik Al-Anṭāki. I was living at Antioch, where I had settled, and there I had a friend, who was a jeweller by profession, to whose shop I often resorted. Now as we were talking together one day, a man came in, and having saluted, took his seat. After a while he removed from his arm an armlet which he handed to my friend. It was set with four jewels, and an amulet of red gold was fitted into it. On the amulet was inlaid a clear inscription in green emerald which read as follows: '*Al-Ḥākimu-bi-amri-llāh yat̲h̲iqu bi-llāh*' 'Al-Ḥākimu-bi-amri-llāh puts his trust in God.' I was astounded at the fineness of those jewels, the like of which I had never before seen, nor had I ever thought to see the like in the world, and it occurred to me that this amulet must have been stolen from the treasury of Al-Ḥākim, or it might have fallen from his arm, and this man had picked it up, since such jewels can only be found in the treasuries of Kings, or among their heirlooms."

It was ultimately purchased by Dubais for 3,000 *dīnārs* (2,000 red Greek *dīnārs*, and the other thousand, partly in worked silver made by himself—he was also a jeweller—and partly in *dirhams* of the town, 50 or 60 to the *dīnār*). Inside the amulet was found a MS., pronounced by Dubais, who was acquainted with the shaky handwriting of Al-Ḥākim, to be the autograph of that King, containing an account of two processes (‘Gates’) for making the Red Elixir, according to the method of Moses and the rest of the Prophets as handed down by Ja‘far Aṣ-Ṣādiq, the forefather of Mu‘izz. Dubais was successful in carrying out the operations both of the ‘Small Gate,’ whereby an elixir was made capable of converting 500 times its own weight of base metal into gold, and those of the ‘Greater Gate,’ whereby an elixir was prepared, of which only 1 *mithqāl* was required for the conversion of 3,000 *mithqāls* of base metal. This success led to correspondence with a certain King of the Greeks at Constantinople,[1] in whose letter the Greek methods of alchemy were detailed and to whom Dubais replied stating the substance of what is given in the *Ta‘wīdh*, the letter being accompanied by the gift of a small quantity of the Elixir. Dubais states that copies of this correspondence, written in Hebrew, were made, and could be procured in Aleppo, and Shaizar,[2] another town of Syria. Three copies were also made, in Arabic, but Hebrew script,[3] of the *Ta‘wīdh*, one for his daughter, one for his son-in-law (a manumitted Greek slave), and the third for himself, to which copy alone the history of how the *Ta‘wīdh* reached him was prefixed.

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[1] The Fāṭimid rulers of Egypt claimed a more than doubtful descent from Ismā'īl, the son of Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq (*vide* pedigree on p. 72 of Lane Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*). Al-Ḥākim claimed to be an incarnation of God and is still accepted as such by the Drūzes of Syria, who owe their name to "Al-Ḥākim's minister and abettor, the Persian Ḥamza Ad-Durūzī" (Browne, *Hist. of Persian Literature*, I, p. 339, note 3). The Isma'īlī doctrine, of which an exhaustive account will be found in Chap. XII of Prof. Browne's *History* just referred to, has much resemblance to alchemy in its symbolism.

(*B*). The *Ta‘wīdhu-l-Ḥākim* (Folio 104 *v.*, l. 6, to f. 116 *r.*, l. 6).

Begins: “ This is the copy of the *Ta‘wīdh* of Al-Ḥākim, Ruler of Egypt, on the Sublime Art.

“ In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Vouchsafe Thy aid, O Gracious One! In the name of God, the King, the Manifest Truth! Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, and blessings be on the servants He has chosen, especially on the Chief of the Prophets and the elect, Muḥammad, and on his pure family. This copy Mu‘izz publishes on the authority of his noble ancestors and great forefathers as far back as the Commander of the Faithful and the Leader of Pious men, Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣādiq. The blessings of God be upon them all!

“ Know, O my son, that this Art is not from a fixed thing unaccompanied by a thing that flies, nor from something that flies, unaccompanied by the fixed, nor from a Male without a Female, nor from a Female without a Male, etc.”

The writer proceeds to state that the Art consists of the combination of the three ‘Pillars,’ ‘Body,’ ‘Soul’ and ‘Spirit,’ for in them are the four elements of which every created thing is formed. The following operations are described:

(1) Calcining the ‘Body’ (Gold is the ‘body’ chosen[4]) by heating repeatedly a mixture of the amalgamated metal with the distillate of vitriol, alum, and sal-ammo-

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[1] *Cf.* p. 73, note (2). Constantine IX reigned from 976—1028 A.D. and was followed by Romanus III, who died in 1034 A.D.

[2] The ancient Larissa (founded by Seleucus Nicator), two marches N.W. of Ḥims (Emessa); *cf.* Le Strange, *Description of Syria by Mukaddasi* (Palestine Pilgrims Text Soc., 1896), p. 9.

[3] *Cf.* the British Museum alchemical MS. described by Duval (B., *La Chimie*, II, pp. XLIV-XLVI) which are in the Arabic language, but Syriac script.

[4] *Cf.* the ‘*Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan‘ah* (*Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 59, note 3), of which the *Ta‘widhu-l-Ḥākim* might well be regarded as the commentary. The processes adopted in the latter are evidently very similar to those followed by Ibn Sīnā, when working for Al-Barqī. The use of gold and silver was probably introduced into Arabic alchemy by Jābir, who also states in the 31st of the “ Seventy Books ” the reason why they were used. “ Plerique dixerunt quod tinctura non est nisi ex auro et argento; et aurum est ad faciendum rubeum et argentum ad faciendum album. Et hoc est corpus quod dicitur fermentum ” (Latin trans. quoted by B. in his *Arch. et Hist. des Sciences*, p. 341).

niac, in an *uthāl*.[1] The metal is said to be thus robbed of its 'spirit,' the residue being 'dead like earth' and refusing to melt when heated. Subsequently the calcined 'body' is 'tortured' with a 'sharp water' in order to purify it further.

(2) Manipulation of the 'Spirit' of which the 'Body' is supposed to have been deprived (some remarks occur which tend to show that the copyist had more than one MS. before him of this treatise). The actual process is the reddening of the sublimate of Mercury, Sal-ammoniac, and Iron salt from the previous operation, by an impure solution of Calcium polysulphide. "This therefore is the method of treating the 'Spirit,' reddening, torturing, purifying, and refining it, precisely (or approximately) as you have done to the 'Body.' This, O my son, is the all-important process, by which the 'Spirit' is so treated as to be unaffected by fire. Generation after generation have failed to accomplish this. Realise therefore the value of what you have received. This is the 'Second Pillar,' and it is of this that Dhu-n-Nūn Al-Misrī[2]—May God's mercy be on him!—has spoken in his poem:

> 'This is one of the 'Pillars,' which gives rise to much labour in the Process:
> 'If you desire to complete the Work, then purify the 'Soul' from the diseases that affect it.
> 'Finally, if you are sufficiently expert, unite the whole in the bonds of matrimony.'[3]

"Dhu-n-Nūn Al-Misrī was undoubtedly aware of the method and the means of carrying it out. Now, O my son, I have taught you the proper treatment of the 'Body' and the 'Spirit,' the result being certain, and achieved without any trouble or labour of your own in the discovering of the process. There now remains the manipulation of the 'Third Pillar,' which is the 'Soul,'—its treatment, whitening, and purifying. When this is done, the union of the 'Three Pillars' can be easily effected, for the true weights which the Sages keep secret, as well as the method of combination, never alter."

(3) The Treatment and Whitening of the 'Soul' (apparently Sulphur). A mixture of substances is treated in various ways until the final product melts and flows over a heated sheet of silver without blackening it, or itself being vapourised.[4] The silver is only coloured yellow.

(4) The combination of the 'Three Pillars' to form the 'Smaller Elixir' by means of the 'Red Water' subsequently described, together with a description of the signs by which the operation is known to have succeeded.

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[1] *Cf. Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, pp. 62 and 63.

[2] The well-known alchemist and Ṣūfī. "His name was Abu'l Faidh Dhū-n-Nūn ibn Ibrāhīm. He professed Ṣūfiism and made himself a name in alchemy. He has written many books (on the latter science), among these being 'The Book of the Great Pillar'; 'the Book of Certainty about the Art'" (*Fihrist*, *ed. cit.*, p. 358). "Ibn Yūnus says in his History that he was acquainted with philosophy and spoke with elegance. His father who was a native of Nubia, or of Ikhmīm (in Upper Egypt), was a slave enfranchised and adopted by the tribe Koraish . . . He died in the month of Zu'l Kaada, A.H. 245 (Feb., A.D. 860), or according to others, A.H. 246 or 248, in Misr, and was interred in the lesser Karâfā (one of the cemeteries in old Cairo)." Ibn Khallikān, I, pp 291 and 293.

[3] *Cf.* the words of Mary, quoted by Olympiodorus (B., *Coll.*, Text, p. 102): "Unite the male and the female and what is sought will be found; for without effecting this union, nothing can succeed. For Nature is charmed by Nature, etc."

[4] *Cf.* Stapleton, in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 2, p. 39.

(5) Coagulation of the Elixir, including a poetical description by one of the Sages of the Elixir.

(6) The method of Projecting the Elixir.

(7) The making of the ‘Great Red Water’ which unites the ‘Three Pillars.’ This is mainly a solution of Vitriol in acetic acid, reddened by the addition of small quantities of Iron oxide, Arsenic sulphide, etc.

Ends: “This is the ‘Great Red Water,’ which we use in the ‘Smaller Gate.’ It also occasionally enters into the works of the ‘Great Gate’, (as we shall mention) if it please the Great God!”

(*C*). The First Process of the ‘Great Gate’ of the *Ta‘wīdh* of Al-Ḥākim.

(Folio 116, l. 7, to f. 120 *r.*, l. 1).

Begins: “Take of the calcined ‘Body’ 1 part, of the reddened and volatised ‘Spirit’ 9 parts, of the whitened and purified ‘Soul’ 3 parts. These weights are according to Ostanes the Greek, and his pupil Democritos,[1] and the Egyptian Sages who came after them. They differ from our weights, especially in the ‘Smaller Gate.’”

The operations described are:

(1) The compounding of the ‘Greater Elixir.’
(2) Its coagulation.
(3) How this Elixir is projected.
(4) The making of the ‘Divine Water,’ which enters into the ‘Great Gate,’ and is known as the ‘Water of Life.’ (Apparently a solution of mercuric chloride).
(5) The making of the ‘Water of Alum’ by which the Elixir is freed from unctuosity.
(6) The making of the ‘Oil of Eggs’ which enters into this ‘Gate.’

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[1] The relation of Ostanes to Democritos is thus described in the letter of Synesius of Cyrene, the Alexandrian contemporary of Hypatia, who flourished *c.* A.D. 400 (B., *Coll.*, trans., I, p. 61): “Démocrite était un très savant homme (d’Abdère, une ville de Thrace) qui venu en Egypte fut initié aux mystères par le grand Ostanès dans le sanctuaire de Memphis par lui et ses disciples, prêtres d’Egypte. Tirant de lui ses principes, il composa quatre livres de teinture, sur l’or et l’argent sur les pierres et sur la pourpre. Par ces mots ‘tirant ses principes,’ j’entends qu’il écrivit d’après le grand Ostanès. Car cet (écrivain) est le premier qui ait émis ces axiomes “la nature est charmée par la nature”; et “la nature domine la nature” et “la nature triomphe de la nature,” etc.

The most authentic, as well as the earliest, account of Ostanes and Democritos is found however in Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, Book XXX, Cap. II), from which the following is extracted. Pliny, it will be seen, differentiates between two magicians of the name Ostanes, and does not appear to regard the more ancient one as having been the direct teacher of Democritos.

“Primus quod exstet, ut equidem invenio, commentatus de ea Osthanes, Xerxem regem Persarum bello, quod is Græcia intulit comitatus; ac velut semina artis portentosæ sparsisse, obiter infecto, quacumque commeaverat, mundo. . . . Quod certum est hic maxime Osthanes ad rabiem, non aviditatem modo scientiæ ejus, Græcorum populos egit. . . . . Democritus Apollobechen Coptiten et Dardanum e Phœnice illustravit: voluminibus Dardani in sepulcrum ejus petitis; suis vero ex disciplina eorum editis: quæ recepta ab aliis hominum atque transiisse per memoriam, æque ac nihil in vita, mirandum est. In tantum fides istis fasque omne deest, adeo ut ii qui coetera in viro illo probant haec ejus esse opera inficientur. . . . Non levem et Alexandri Magni temporibus auctoritatem addidit professioni secundus Osthanes, comitatu ejus exornatus, planeque, quod nemo dubitet, orbem terrarum peragravit.” (Harduin’s Paris ed., 1685). It may be added that Xerxes was defeated at the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C., while Democritos was born in 460. Alexander started for his conquest of Asia in 334 B.C.

Ends: "'These are therefore the 'Three Waters' that enter into the 'Great Gate.' And God, the most High, knows best (what is true), Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, the praise of those who are thankful, and may His blessings be on the best of created beings, Muḥammad and on his pure family! Finished at Madīnatu-s-Salām (Baghdād)[1] on the 15th of Shawwāl in the year 682, by the hand of Muḥammad ibn Abi-l-Fatḥ ibn Abī Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad Al-Kāshī.[2] May God pardon him and his parents!"

(*D*). "A Chapter I (the copyist) found in an Abridgment of the *Ta'wīdhu-l-Ḥākim* at the end of the 'Smaller Gate.'" (Folio 120 *r.*, l. 2, to 120 *v.*, l. 13).

Begins: "Know, O my son, that the Sages, one and all, have differed in no wise about the 'Three Pillars.' They only differ as regards" (14 operations are then mentioned).

The writer emphasises the importance of the 'Great Red Water' described at the end of the 'Smaller Gate,' which he states was first discovered by his ancestor Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq.

Ends: "If you repeat the addition to it of water, and its roasting, and trituration, it becomes accustomed to torture, and you will have attained your object. Be also certain about changing the dung,[3] for by this change, the 'Natures' are mollified. Peace!"

Four lists of reddening agents follow, which, the copyist points out, are given elsewhere in the book on the authority of Khālid ibn Yazīd, and not Al-Ḥākim. They occupy the remaining lines of f. 120 *v.*

XIX. Chapter on the preparation of the 'Water of Eggs' by our Master Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq: Peace be on him! (Folio 121 *r.*, top, to 124 *r*, l. 17).

Begins: "Take of eggs, as many as you desire, and boil them. When they are done, remove them and place them in cold water."

The title appears to be a misnomer, as the 'Water of Eggs' is only incidentally mentioned in the first process given (for making silver), while the rest of the treatise is taken up by descriptions of other operations. Towards the end a quotation is given from the 'Book of the Sun and Moon,'[4] besides a story commencing as follows, regarding some method for preparing silver. "The Prince of Poets, Al-Mashīdī known as Khāqānī,[1] relates as follows: 'Abdu-l-Masīḥ, the Monk, went in before Ja'far Al-Asbāṭī and said, 'I hear that you are interested in the Art. Have you ever succeeded in accomplishing anything?' 'Yes,' he answered, 'I melted silver with the like quantity of silvery *Marqashīthā*', etc."

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[1] The tour of the copyist during the year 682 A.H. is clear from this and previous dated colophons in the Rāmpūr MS.
(*a*) Completed the Risālah of Jāmāsp at *Sīwās* towards the end of *Muḥarram*, *i.e.*, the *first* month of the year.
(*b*) Completed the Risālah of Ibn Sīnā for Al-Barqī at *Mosul* on the last day of the *2nd Jumāda* (*Sixth* month).
(*c*) Finished the *Ta'wīdhu-l-Ḥākim* at *Baghdād* on the 15th of *Shawwāl* (*Ninth* month).

[2] The copyist was apparently a native of Kāhān, a town of Sīstān, situated on the River Farah, N.-E. of the Zarah Lake, and W. of Kandahar.

[3] Used in the operation of *Ḥall* (Dissolution)—*vide* Stapleton and Azo, in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 61: and *infra*, p. 27.

[4] A 'Great Book of the Sun' and a 'Great Book of the Moon' are mentioned among the 10 books written by Jābir according to the ideas of Apollonius, the maker of talismans (*Fihrist*, *ed. cit.*, p. 357, l. 22), but a direct reference to a 'Book on the Sun and the Moon' by Jābir is to be found in his 'Little Book of Balances,' a translation of which is given by Berthelot in Vol. III of *La Chimie* (*vide* p. 147). Two books on the Sun and the Moon respectively are also mentioned on p. 360 of the *Fihrist* as being written by Abu-l Ḥasan Aḥmad Al-Khanshalīl, a contemporary of An-Nadīm, *i.e.*, *c.* A.D. 975.

XX. The '*Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan'ah wa 'Aunu-ṣ-Ṣana'ah.* (Essence of the Art and Aid to the Workers) by Abu-l-Ḥakīm Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi-'l-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥī-al-Khwārazmī Al-Kāthī (Folio 124 *r.*, l. 17, to f. 133 *v.*, bottom—end of MS.)

Begins: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Vouchsafe Thy aid, O Gracious One!

"The first thing by which speech should be commenced, and the worthiest thing by which paper can be ornamented, and the best thing by which one's object may be attained, and the fittest thing with which to receive divine gifts, is the praise of God for His past benefits, and thankfulness for His customary favours, etc."

Chapter I (Folio 127 *v.*, l. 13, to f. 128 *v.*, l. 15).
Chapter II (Folio 128 *v*, l. 16, to f. 130 *r.*, l. 7).
Chapter III (Folio 130 *r.*, l. 7, to f. 130 *v.*, l. 14).
Chapter IV (Folio 130 *v.*, l. 15, to f. 131 *v.*, l. 5).
Chapter V (incomplete. Ends abruptly at Folio 133 *v.*, bottom).
[*Vide Memoirs, As. Soc. Bengal,* Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 51-64).

XXI. "The Treatise on the making of the 'Black Stone,' copied from the Book of Abī 'Abdillāh Al-Bākawī."[2]

Begins, after the Basmalah: "You take in the name of God, and relying on His help and generous aid, some of the 'Black Stone,' and let it be of the 'Stone' of youths. Wash it clean with pure clay, *Ushnān*[3] cooked with water, and soap, cold water being used in summer and tepid water in winter. Then dry it on a piece of cloth, protecting it from dust. Collect 10 or more *ratls* of it, and having cut it into very small pieces, store it in a jar to protect it from dust."

The author describes the treatment of the 'Black Stone,' by which Black Hair is apparently meant.[4] It is first broken up by distillation into water, oil and residue. "This is the water which the Sages have named 'Spirit.' The oil they call 'Soul,' and the residue 'Body.'" The residue is calcined, and the oil coagulated, by the application of a gentle heat. The tincture is dissolved from the coagulated oil by the 'Spirit' (the water previously obtained), and the residue then extracted by acid waters to remove its unctuosity.

"The different products are separately dissolved by placing them in vessels buried in moist dung for 45 days. They are finally mixed, and a substance is produced which is not burnt by fire nor dissolved by water, and which possesses the power of imparting a colour. This is the desired Elixir."

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[1] Born at Sh rwān in the Caucasus A.D. 1106: died at Tabrīz in A.D. 1185 (*vide* Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, II, pp. 391-399). No reference to alchemy appears however to be found in any of Khāqānī's extant poetry.

[2] No reference can be found elsewhere, either to this author, or his book.

[3] Or rather the ashes of the plant, from which sodium carbonate can be extracted by water (*cf. Mem. A.S.B.*, 4, p. 53, note (5).

[4] *Cf. supra* p. (*b*).

The whole treatise much resembles Chapters VII to X of the mediæval Latin treatise '*De Re Recta*' ascribed to Ibn Sīnā.[1]

Ends: "Throw 1 *mit̲h̲qāl* of it on 1,500 *mit̲h̲qāls* (of silver) and it will tincture them by the Grace of God, the most High. Here ends the Chapter taken from the copy of As̲h̲-S̲h̲aik̲h̲ 'Abdullāh [*sic*] Al-Bākawī—May his soul be sanctified, and may the peace and blessings of God be on Muḥammad and on his family, and may God honour and glorify them! Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds!"

C. Arabic Text.

كيمياء عربي

نمبر ١٦

مجموعة رسائل للشيخ الرئيس وغيره

قلمي

Fragment of Index (Folio 1 *r*.).

١١٩ رساله اول تدبير الباب الكبير عن تعويذ الحاكم	١١٢ فصل في مختصر تعويذ الحاكم	١١۴ باب صفة ماء البيض لمولانا حضرة الامام جعفر الصادق عليه السلام
١١٢ كتاب عين الصنعة	١۴١ من كتاب المجردات لافلاطون	١۴٩ قال جابر في كتاب العبو
١٦١ رساله في شرح كتاب السميn الموارييه (sic) في تركيب الاجساد والاكسير		١۴٦ رساله في صفة الحجر الاسود من كتاب ابي عبد الله الباكوي

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[1] *Cf. supra* p. 21, note (2).

I. (*a*) Folio 1 *v*., top to l. 7.

رسالة جاماس الحكيم الى اردشير الملك في السرّ المكتوم وهي عجيبة [[1] فيها] منقولة من الفارسية الى العربية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

عونك يا لطيف من جاماس الحكيم الى اردشير الملك المفتوح بالحكمة

اللهم اني اسالك الصدق قولا وفعلا وتمام النعماء وتمام الشكر اعلم ايها الملك المؤيد بالخيرات *

I. (*b*) Folio 7 *v*., ll. 2-10.

قد شرحت لك ايها الملك عمل الحكماء تاما وقلت ما لم يجترئ عليه احد واخاف ان اكون ملعونا عند الحكماء والله وليّ الرحمة ومسهّل[2] الخير وهو الجواد الكريم والحمد لله وحده وصلواته على نبيه محمد واله الطاهرين وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل نسخت هذه الرسالة من نسخة بخط الاستاذ مويد الدين ابي اسمعيل الحسين بن علي بن محمد الطغرائي الاصفهاني قدس الله روحه العزيز نقلتها حرفا بحرف وفرغت من نسخها في اواخر محرم سنة اثنتين وثمانين وستمائة هجرية بسيواس حماها الله تعالى ولله الحمد والمنة *

II. (*a*) Folio 7 *v*., ll. 13-17.

رسالة لخالد بن يزيد بن معوية في الصنعة الشريفة وخواصها

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

قال خالد بن يزيد اما بعد فان الله تبارك وتعالى خلق كل شيءُ بمقدار وجعل من كل زوج بهيج مختلف الالوان فجعل منها الاخضر والاسود والابيض والاحمر *

II. (*b*) Folio 12 *r*., l. 9, to f. 12*v*., l. 4.

فافهم زحل هو الرماد وهو الارض وهو المرة السوداء وفيه كتمت الفلاسفة السر فمن لم يحكمه فسد عليه كل شيءُ وصلاحه لا يكون ابدًا الا بعمل - القمر هو الزيبق وهو الماء وهو الروح - المشتري [هو] الكبريت الاحمر وهو الهواء وهو النفس وفيه الاجزاء كلها فمن لم يعمل بعمل اكلته النار - الشمس هو الملح النوشادري وهو النار وهو المرة الصفراء وكتبت هذه الرسالة يوم الجمعة الثالث من ربيع الاخر سنة سبع وستمائة هجرية وقد وجدت

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[1] Unnecessary.

[2] MS. has وتسهيل

في اخرِ المنتسخ منه وكان في الصحيفة التي منها نسخ هذا الكتاب في اخره وكتب خالد بن يزيد بن معوية بن ابي سفيان بدمشق في دار خالد بن مسلمة بن زيد في سنة احدى ومائة وعمل قدامي العجائب من هذا الجنس سبر الاجسام كلها ان يكون نحاس جديد قد احكمت صنعتها والسلام تمت - والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على خير خلقه محمد واله الطاهرين الابرار وسلم تسليما دائمًا كثيرًا *

III. (*a*) Folio 12 *v.*, ll. 6-10.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

رسالة اخرى لخالد بن يزيد الاموي

قال ابوهاشم خالد بن يزيد بن معوية بن ابي سفيان

بسم الله ابتدئ وعليه توكلي وبه نستعين (استعين.*l.*) اني رايت الناس طلبوا صنعة الحكمة في كل عصر ورايت الحكماء قد كرهوا اذاعتها *

III. (*b*) Folio 12 *v.*, l. 19 to f. 13 *r.*, l. 5.

فاني قد قرأت كثيرا من كتبهم وفتشت كلامهم وقست بعضه ببعض فتحيرت ولم اجد السبيل الى فهم ما اشاروا اليه حتى احوجني ذلك الى الخروج الى استفانس الراهب رغبة فيها والتماسًا لمعرفتها فاتيته وكتمته نفسي ولزمت خدمته فلما راى معرفتي وحسن ادبي ابتدأ [1] بكشف قريب والفاظ بينة تقرب من الفهم فلما فعل ذلك وظهر لي معاني الفوز اخبرته [2] باني مسلم واني ابن ملك العرب *

III. (*c*) Folio 15 *v.*, ll. 12-17.

كملت اول العمل كاخره وبدايته [3] كتمامه والذي يفسده هو الذي يصلحه وعمله عملان ليبدؤا بالثاني قبل الاول وما منهم الا من ذكر المدخل الى العمل الابرمز خفي [4] وامر التمام على اتم الاعمال اربعة اعمال اربعة اعوام *

و من قوله فى الصنعة

هو الحجر المصاب بكل ارض * وفي الاسـواق تلقاه حقيرا
يضن به الجـواد على اخيه * اذا اضحى به يوما خبيـرا

III. (*d*) Folio 16 *v.*, l. 16 to bottom.

ثم اعقدها في القرعة والعمياء بنار لينة ان شاء الله تعالى وحده وهو حسبنا ونعم المعين والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على نبي الرحمة محمد واله الطاهرين *

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[1] MS. اهدا

[2] MS. اخبر

[3] MS. والبدايه

[4] Read من وجه خفي

IV. (*a*) Folio 17 *r.*, top, to l. 7.

رسالة منسوبة الى شاه رزين نقلت من خط الاستاذ مؤيد الدين
ابي اسمعيل المنشي قدس الله روحه العزيز

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

قال بعد حمد الله والتشبيب قد رايت ايها المؤمنون ارشادكم *

IV. (*b*) Folio 17 *r.*, ll. 17 and 18.

فاكتموه بالله عليكم من اهل الفجور والجهل والفسق والسلام تمت الرسالة *

V. (*a*) Folio 17 *v.*, top to l. 3.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

رسالة لجعفر بن محمد الصادق عليه السلام

خذ من الطلق ما شئت واضف اليه مثله تصديرا [وهو المشتري In margin] منقى بالسبك

V. (*b*) Folio 21 *v.*, l. 14.

ثم يخرج ويفعل به مثل ما فعل حتى يحمر الزيبق مثل الدم *

VI. (*a*) Folio 21 *v.*, ll. 15 and 16.

١٣١ ب و ا ب م ب ص له
كبريت زرد سي درم

VI. (*b*) Folio 35 *v.*, ll. 17-19.

ومثقالي بر پانصد نحاس طرح كند شمس خلاصي ابد ابريزي ان شاء الله تعالى
كا سا محما لسا عححا ما با ب كلها تمت

VII. [Quotation unnecessary.]

VIII. (*a*) Folio 37 *r.*, top to l. 4.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

الحمد لله رب العالمين حمد الشاكرين وصلواته على محمد واله الطاهرين باب آبها كه در حيوانات
است آب موى چون موى را مقطر كني با كبريت زرد الخ *

VIII. (*b*) Folio 45 *r*., ll. 4-6.

این است آخر این رساله باحتیاطی هرچ بلیغ تر نوشته شد وصیت آنست که از نا اهلان دریغ دارد وعمل باحتیاط کند تا در غلط نیفتد واز کاتب بیند والسلام *

IX. [Quotation unnecessary.]

X. (*a*) Folio 55 *r*., ll. 17-19.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

نسخة كتاب ريسموس الحكيم قال الحكيم سميت هذه الابواب الكباريت لانه انما يكون السر النفيس منها فلذلك سميت كباريت لان ليس في الدنيا شيءٔ اعز من الكبريت الاحمر *

X. (*b*) Folio 61 *v*., ll. 9-13.

وقد فرغت لكم من التبييض تاما ولم ابين فيه تسوية الموازين والموازين مكتوبة في الكتاب الرابع وفي الخامس فاستظهروا هذه الكتب والكتاب الخامس فاحفظوه وعليكم بطاعة ربكم والعمل بما يرضيه ان اردتم ان يتم لكم وقد اتممت لكم الكتاب الاول والثاني تاما وهذا الكتاب الثالث افسر لكم ايها الحكماء تحمير المبيض واظهر لكم الاسرار في التفسير *

X. (*c*) Folio 63 *v*., ll. 7 and 8.

وقد ترجم هذه الكتب في ولاية معوية بن ابي سفيان في ربيع الاخر سنة ثمان وثلاثين للهجرة *

X. (*d*) Folio 72 *r*., ll. 8-12.

تفسير الكتاب السادس وفيه رؤس كل الاعمال وفيه تاج العملية فمن هذا الذي طوبى له ان يظفر بهذه الترجمة وهذا الكتاب والتفسير هو تاج الخمسة الكتب التي كتبناها في هذا الكتاب وفيه تفسير امثال الحكيم حيث يقول ان الطبيعة تغلب الطبيعة وان الطبيعة تحبس الطبيعة وان الطبيعة تتلو الطبيعة *

X. (*e*) Folio 76 *r*., ll. 16 and 17.

فانه يصير ماء رائقا اصفى من الدمعة فاعقده يلقى درهم على سبعمائة درهم [من] اي جسد شئت ان شاء الله تعالى *

XI. (*a*) Folio 76 *r*., l. 17, to f. 76 *v*., l. 15.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله اجمعين قال محمد بن زكريا قد سبق لنا قبل كتابنا هذا سبعة كتب اولها كتاب الاثبات فيه اثبات الصناعة والثاني كتاب الحجر فيه التبيين عن الشيء الذي يكون منه العمل والثالث كتاب التدابير فيه هل يحتاج الى تدبير ام لا وما التدبير الحق والرابع

كتاب الاكسير فيه كيفية الاكسير وماهيته والخامس كتاب شرف الصناعة فيه فضل هذه الصناعة وفضل اهلها على سائر الناس وعلى غيرهم والرد على القائلين بتحريم المكاسب والسادس كتاب الراحة فيه دعاوى روساء اهل الصناعة وتنازعهم فيها وترتيب العمل للمجربين وتفسير الجمل التي في كتاب الرحمة والسابع التدابير التي يحتاج اليها المجرب لما في كتاب الراحة فكتابنا هذا الثامن المسمى كتاب الشواهد فيه نكت رموز الحكماء وغيرها وما قصدوا فيه للحق من قولهم ولم نتكلف هذا الكتاب لحاجة من الكتب المتقدمة اليه في اتمام الصناعة ولكن جعلناه شاهدًا لنا على موافقة الاولين واننا لم نتخط طريقتهم وان الرموز انما هي الشواهد للعالم فاما ان تكون معلمة للصنعة فلا واذا قد شهدت الحكماء في كتبهم انهم خلطوها وحشوها بالكلام الذي لا يحتاجون اليه وان المحتاج اليه قليل منها وقالوا لا يتوهم احدكم كثرة كلامنا اذ عرف شيئًا في بعض ما عرف فان ذلك ملبسة على الجهال اذ قد شرحنا غرضنا في كتابنا هذا وشرحنا حال الكتب فنحن ذاكرون عيون اقاويلهم فيها ونجعل ذلك فنبين فنا يدل على الحجر وفنّا على التدبير ونتحرى من ذلك اوضحها واقلها الى التفسير حاجة لئلا يطول الكتاب بشرح الغامض ولا نكثر منها ايضا اذ كان القليل منه ينوب عن الكثير وان عجزنا عن جمع كل كتبهم فضلا عن قراءتها والتقاط النكت الصادقة فيها ذكر دلالات الحكماء على حجابها *

XI. (*b*) Folio 77 *v.*, ll. 5-9.

وقال ارسطاطاليس لزاوش خذ البيضة ففرق بين نفسها وروحها وجسدها فاذا عزلت الماء عن الملح والملح عن الدهن والدهن عن التراب فافعل واصنع ثم يقول ولست اعني يا زاوش بيضة الدجاجة الكاذبة لكني عنيت بيضة الحكماء التي فيها الحار والبارد والرطب واليابس وهو الحجر الاسود المعروف عند الحكماء فاما قوله الكاذبة فانما يريد تصغيرها الى الحجر لا طرحها *

XI. (*c*) Folio 78 *v.*, ll. 2-4.

وقال السرجس راس العينى انظر الى الجبل الصغير الذي عن يمينه[1] وشماله كهفان فاصعده فان فيه وفي جبل قبالته جميع العقاقير هذا يدل على الشعر والكهفان هما الاذنان *

XI. (*d*) Folio 82 *r.*; ll. 15-19.

قال في الاجساد تمسك قوة الالف بالجيم فيصير قوة مذكرة ويفرح روح الجيم بالدال فيصير جسدا روحانيا يريد بقوله كله ان العمل من حجر واحد وان العدد انما هو يفصل منه وان في المذكر ثلثة تراكيب وهو كذلك الاول تركيب الماء والصبغ والثاني تركيب الهواء والارض والثالث تركيب الماء والصبغ بالدهن والجسد المحلول فهذه ثلثة تراكيب *

XI. (*e*) Folio 92 *v.*, ll. 11-14.

قد ذكرنا من نكت الرموز وعيونها ما فيه كفاية لك استشهادًا على الذي اردنا واذ قد بلغنا من ذلك غايتنا فليتم كتابنا والله سبحانه محمود والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على خير الخلائق محمد وآله الطاهرين وسلم تسليما دائما كثيرا تم كتاب الرموز *

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[1] MS. عز يمنه

XII. (*a*) Folio 92 *v*., ll. 15-19.

الباب المنسوب الى ملك الروم في تقويم النار الاصفر

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

خذ زرنيخ اصفر ومن القلي الازرق الحاد ومن النورة التي لم تطفأ اجزاء سواء فاسحقه نعما وانخله بحريرة الخ *

XII. (*b*) Folio 93 *r*., ll. 15 and 16.

ثم اخرج القرصة تجدها بيضاء حسنة مقومة وهذا الكبريت المنقى يقع درهمه على رطل زيبق عبيط يقيمه في الروباس باذن الله عز وجل *

XIII. (*a*) Folio 93 *r*., l. 17, to f. 93 *v*., l. 4.

هذه الرسالة المسماة بالمدخل التعليمي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

اعلم ان لكل صناعة الات ولتلك الالات اسماء يعرفها اهلها ويجهلها غيرهم والصناعة المعروفة بالكيمياء الات وعقاقير ولها اسماء يعرفها اهلها ويجهلها غيرهم ولا بد لمن يريد الدخول في شيء منها من معرفتها باسمائها واعيانها وجودتها ورداءتها وهذا كله فان عرفه الداخل فيها فبعد مدة طويلة بعد اكتيا جواهرها وافتاء (sic) ما في ذلك وقد جمعت من ذلك ما اذا عرفه العارف كان فيها كاحدهم وفهم عنهم والله الموفق للخير بمنه وقدرته *

XIII. (*b*) Folio 97 *v*., the whole.

فاذا كمل ذلك له وعرف جميع ما ذكرنا في كتبنا بعد هذا الكتاب على الترتيب كتابا بعد كتاب وجعل اول نظره في المدخل البرهاني الذي سميناه كتاب علل المعادن ليعرف تكوين الارواح والاجساد والحجارة والمعادن معرفة صحيحة ثم في كتاب اثبات الصنعة والرد على منكريها ثم في كتاب الحجر الذي فيه من اي شيء يكون ثم في كتاب التدبير الذي فيه باي تدبير يكون ثم في كتاب الاكسير الذي فيه باي قوة يصبغ الدواء ولم وكيف ثم في كتاب شرف الصناعة ليعرف شرف الصناعة واهلها وفضلها وفضل المكتسب على المتكل ثم في كتاب الترتيب ليعرف دعاوى روساء اهل الصناعة وطريق التجربة ثم في كتاب التدابير ليعرف لم دبرت الحكماء ما دبرت وما اضطرهم اليه وكيف تدبير ما يحتاج اليه ثم في كتاب المحن اليعرف محن الذهب والفضة من غيرهما من الاجساد معرفة حقيقية ثم في كتاب الشواهد ليعرف ان الحكماء والماضين اجمع كانوا لنا موافقين في راينا ثم في كتاب سر الحكماء وحيلهم ليعرف كيف يدفع عامة الناس خاصة اهله واللائذين به وكيف يتخلص ان هو بلي بالملوك او بعوام الناس فاذا عرف ذلك جميعه فقد تمت حكمته في هذه الصناعة وينبغي ان يكون للناظر[2] في كتبنا هذه حظ من الكلام الجدلي لانه ان

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[1] MS. للناظرين

لم يكن له ذلك لم يكد يبلغ اقصى نهايتها ولا يكمل نفعه بها ثم المدخل التعليمي وهو في الالات والعقاقير يتلوه في الجزء الثاني المدخل البرهاني ويعرف بعلل المعادن والحمد لله وحده والصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله وهو حسبنا ونعم الوكيل ونعم المولى ونعم المعين وتم *

XIV. Folio 98 *r.*, ll. 1-3.

حملان الذهب جيد من الاسرب نقلت من نسخة الامام جمال الدين احمد طال عمره وكتبت قبل هذه الاجزاء نسخة تقابل هذه النسخة غير انها تنسب الى رجل اخر خذ من الاسرب المنقى ما شئت الخ *

XV. (*a*) Folio 98 *r.*, ll. 10-14.

فصل من الجزء الثاني من السر المكنون - فيقول ان الادهان التي تقطر من جميع الاشياء تكون على الوان شتى حمر وصفر وخضر وزرق وغير ذلك الى ما يشاكل هذه الامور الماء المائع منه هو المسمى الروح والصبغ الذي في ذلك المائع من الحمرة والصفرة والخضرة والزرقة هو الذي يسمى النار والصبغ وامثال ذلك *

XV. (*b*) Folio 98 *v.*, ll. 13-15.

الا انهم جودوا ملح القلي على كل الاملاح لتنقية الارواح اذ كان ينقيها ولا يتعشقها وهي المعنية ان شاء الله تعالى والصلوة على رسوله محمد واله الطاهرين *

XVI. (*a*) Folio 99 *r.*, top, to l. 13.

رسالة الشيخ الرئيس افضل المتاخرين ابي علي الحسين بن عبد الله بن سينا البخاري روح الله رمسه وقدس نفسه الى الامام ابي عبد الله البرقي رحمه الله في الصنعة العالية *

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

هداك الله الصالحات واهدى لك السير المرضيات وصانك عن تضليل الشياطين في امور الدنيا والدين سالت لا زلت سائلا عن الحقائق ان اكشف لك عن حقيقة الاكسير المتخذ من الكبريت الاصفر فاجبتك اليه اجابة مؤثرٍ لرضاك متبعٍ لهواك فاقول ان الغرض الكلي فيه ان يوخذ الصبغ الاحمر عن الكبريت الاصفر في ماء حاد ثم يخلص عن ذلك الماء ثم يدبر الصبغ لئلا يفسد ويحترق وكذلك الثفل يبيض غاية التبييض حتى يذوب ولا يحترق ثم يكلس الذهب والنحاس والذهب خير ويحل الزيبق المحمر ويحل الكبريت المبيض ويركب الصبغ في الزيبق المحلول وتمزج المحلولات ثم تعقد فيكون الحاصل بعد ذلك اكسيرا يفعل الذهبية ليصبغ (sic) ويرزن ويعود عند الخلاص *

XVI. (*b*) Folio 100 *r.*, ll. 15-19.

ثم يعقد وان قطرت المحلولات قبل المزاج كان الاكسير اعمل في الكبير فهذا هو الاكسير المتخذ من الكبريت م م *

تمت الرسالة ببلدة الموصل حماها الله تعالى سلخ جمادى الاخر سنة اثنتين وثمانين وستمائة والحمد لله رب العالمين حمد الشاكرين وصلواته على محمد وآله الطاهرين وسلم تسليما دائما كثيرا *

XVII. Folio 100 *v.*, top, to f. 101 *r.*, bottom.

(Persian.—Quotation unnecessary.)

XVIII. (*a*) Folio 101 *v.*, ll. 1-19.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

قال احمد بن سعد الله العباسي رحمة الله عليه هذه نسخة التعويذ الذي كان في معضد الحاكم بامر الله امير المومنين صاحب مصر ظفرت بالنسخة باصفهان بفرع من خط دبيس بن مالك وكان في التعويذ الجابان اللذان كان الحاكم يعملهما من لفظ المعزّ يرويهما عن اسلافه واجداده حتى يرفع اسناده الى امير المومنين وامام المسلمين ابي جعفر محمد الصادق عليه السلام ووصيته وموعظته ويشرح له في الوصية اصول الصنعة وقوانينها وفروعها من لفظ المعز كل ذلك مشروحًا من غير رمز ولا تعليق وكان في اول التعويذ هذا الفصل بخط دبيس بن مالك من لفظه وشرح قصته ومقدمته وكيف وقع اليه تعويذ الحاكم وسبب ذلك *

بســـــم الله الرحـــمــن الرحــيـــم

قال دبيس بن مالك الانطاكي كنت مقيما بانطاكية قاطنها وكان لي صديق جوهري كنت اكثر الجلوس في دكانه فبينما نحن في بعض الايام نتحدث اذ قد تقدم اليه رجل فسلم وقعد هنيهة[1] ثم اخرج من عضده معضدة فدفعها الى صديقي وكان فيها اربعة احجار جوهر وتعويذ من ذهب احمر مدفونا فيه نقش بالزمرد الاخضر مكتوبا بينا الحاكم بامر الله يثق بالله فتحيرت من نفاسة ذلك الجوهر الذي لم اشاهد مثله قط ولا ظننت ان مثله يكون في الدنيا وحدست في خاطري انها تكون مسروقة من خزانة الحاكم او قد سقطت من عضده فالتقطها هذا لان مثل هذا الجوهر لا يكون الا في خزائن الملوك وذخائرهم *

XVIII. (*b*) Folio 104 *v.*, ll. 6-14.

وهذه نسخة تعويذ الحاكم صاحب مصر في علم الصنعة العالية

بســـم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

بسم الله الملك الحق المبين والحمـد لله رب العالمين وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى خصوصًا على سيد الانبياء والاصفياء محمد واله الطاهرين ويروي هذه النسخة المعز عن اسلافه الكرام واجداده العظام حتى يرفع اسناده الى اميرالمومنين وامام المتقين جعفر بن محمـد الصادق صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين

---

[1] Corrected from MS. No. 17. MS. 16 reads و قد هينه

اعلم يا بني ان هذه الصناعة ليست من ثابت لا طيار معه ولا من طيار لا ثابت معه ولا من ذكر لا انثى معه ولا من انثى لا ذكر معها *

XVIII. (*c*) Folio 111 *v.*, ll. 6-18.

فهذا تدبير الروح وتحميره وتعذيبه وتطهيره وتهذيبه مثل فعلك الجسد سواء او قريبا من ذلك فهذا يا بني امر عظيم في تدبير الروح وقيامها على النار فقد عجز عن هذا التدبير القرون بعد القرون فاعرف ما صار اليك وهي الركن الثاني وهو الذي يقول فيه ذو النون المصري رحمة الله عليه في شعره * شعر *

فهذه من احد الاركان   متعبة في امر هذا الشان
فان اردت ما بقي من العمل   فطهر النفس من افات العلل
ثم عد الان الى المزاوجه   ان كنت ممن تحسن المعالجه

وقد كان ذو النون المصري رحمة الله عليه واقفا على هذه الطريقة وعملها لا شك في ذلك يا بني قد اوقفتك على تدبير الجسد وتدبير الروح بطريق الحق وحصل بذلك يقينا من غير تعب ولا عناء في استخراجه بقريحتك وقد بقي عليك تدبير الركن الثالث وهي النفس وتدبيرها وتبييضها وتطهيرها وبعد ذلك يكون المزاج بين الاركان الثلاثة فالاوزان الحق المكتومة عند الحكماء وخلطها اخلاطا لا تفرق ابداً *

XVIII. (*d*) Folio 116 *r.*, ll. 4-6.

وهذا الماء الاحمر الكبير الذي نستعمله فى الباب الاصغر ويدخل في اعمال الباب الكبير ايضا في مواضعها ان شاء الله العزيز *

XVIII. (*e*) Folio 116 *r.*, ll. 7-12.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

اول تدبير الباب الكبير من تعويذ الحاكم رضي الله عنه خذ من الجسد المكلس جزءا واحدا ومن الروح المحمرة المرتفعة تسعة اجزاء ومن النفس المبيضة المطهرة ثلثة اجزاء وهذه الاوزان لاسطانيس الرومي وتلميذه ذومقراط ومن بعدهما من الحكماء المصريين وهو مخالف لاوزاننا خاصة في الباب الاصغر *

XVIII. (*f*) Folio 119 *v.*, l. 16, to f. 120 *r.*, l. 1.

فهذه المياه الثلثة التي تدخل في الباب الكبير والله تعالى اعلم [blank of 1½ inches] والحمد لله رب العالمين حمد الشاكرين وصلواته على خير الخلائق محمد واله الطاهرين تيسر الفراغ بمدينة السلام منتصف شوال سنة اثنتين وثمانين وستمئة على يد محمد بن ابي الفتح بن أبي منصور بن محمد الكاشي غفر الله له ولوالديه *

XVIII. (*g*) Folio 120 *r.*, ll. 2-6.

فصل وجدته في مختصر من تعويذ الحاكم اخر باب الاصغر - قال واعلم يا بني ان عامة الحكماء وخواصهم لم يختلفوا في الاركان الثلثة وانما اختلفوا فى التونيس والتقرير والالزام والتشوية والاسجار

والتعفين والحل والعقد والتشبيب والطرح وطول الزمان في الحل وقصره وتكرار الحلول والعقود كما تقدم القول في ذلك *

XVIII. (*h*) Folio 120 *v.*, ll. 12 and 13.

واذا كررت تسقيته وتشويته وسحقه فانه يعتاد العذاب وقد فزت بالمطلوب واحكم امرك في تغيير الزبل فبالتغيير تليين الطبائع والسلام *

XIX. (*a*) Folio 121 *r.*, ll. 1 and 2.

باب صفة ماء البيض لمولانا جعفر الصادق عليه السلام مجرب - تاخذ من البيض ما شئت فاسلقه بالماء فاذا نضج اخرجه واجعله في ماء بارد *

XIX. (*b*) Folio 124 *r.*, ll. 3-6.

نقل عن امير الشعراء المشيدي المعروف بخاقاني قال دخل عبد المسيح الراهب على جعفر الاسباطي قال بلغني انك تطلب الصنعة فهل اصبت منها شيئًا قال نعم اذبت الفضة بمثلها مرقشيشا فضية *

XX. Folio 124 *r.*, l. 17, to f. 133 *v.*, bottom—end of MS.

(*cf. Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 65-70.)

XXI. (*a*) (From Rāmpūr Alchemical MS. No. 17.)

رسالة في صنعة الحجر الاسود كتب من كتاب ابي عبد الله الباكوي كان له[1]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

تاخذ على اسم الله وعونه وحسن توفيقه من الحجر الاسود وليكن من احجار الاحداث واغسله بالطين الحر والاشنان المطبوخ بالماء والصابون غسلا نظيفا في الصيف بماء بارد وفي الشتاء بماء فاتر حتى يصير الى غاية النقاء ثم جففه على ثوب ووقه من الغبار واجمع منه عشرة ارطال او اكثر وقطعه صغارا صغارا واحرزه في جرة لئلا يدخلها غبار *

XXI. (*b*)

فألق منه مثقالا على الف وخمسمائة مثقال فانه يصبغها باذن الله تعالى تم الباب من نسخة الشيخ عبد الله الباكوي قدس سره وصلى الله على محمد وسلم وعلى آله وشرف وكرم والحمد لله رب العالمين *

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[1] Probably read كان الله له

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

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THE JOURNALS OF MAJOR JAMES RENNELL,

FIRST SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

T. H. D. La TOUCHE,
Geological Survey of India.

SIR·WILLIAM·JONES
MDCCXLVI-MDCCXCIV

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THE JOURNALS

OF

MAJOR JAMES RENNELL

FIRST SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

WRITTEN FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE GOVERNORS OF BENGAL
DURING HIS SURVEYS OF
THE GANGES AND BRAHMAPUTRA RIVERS
1764 TO 1767.

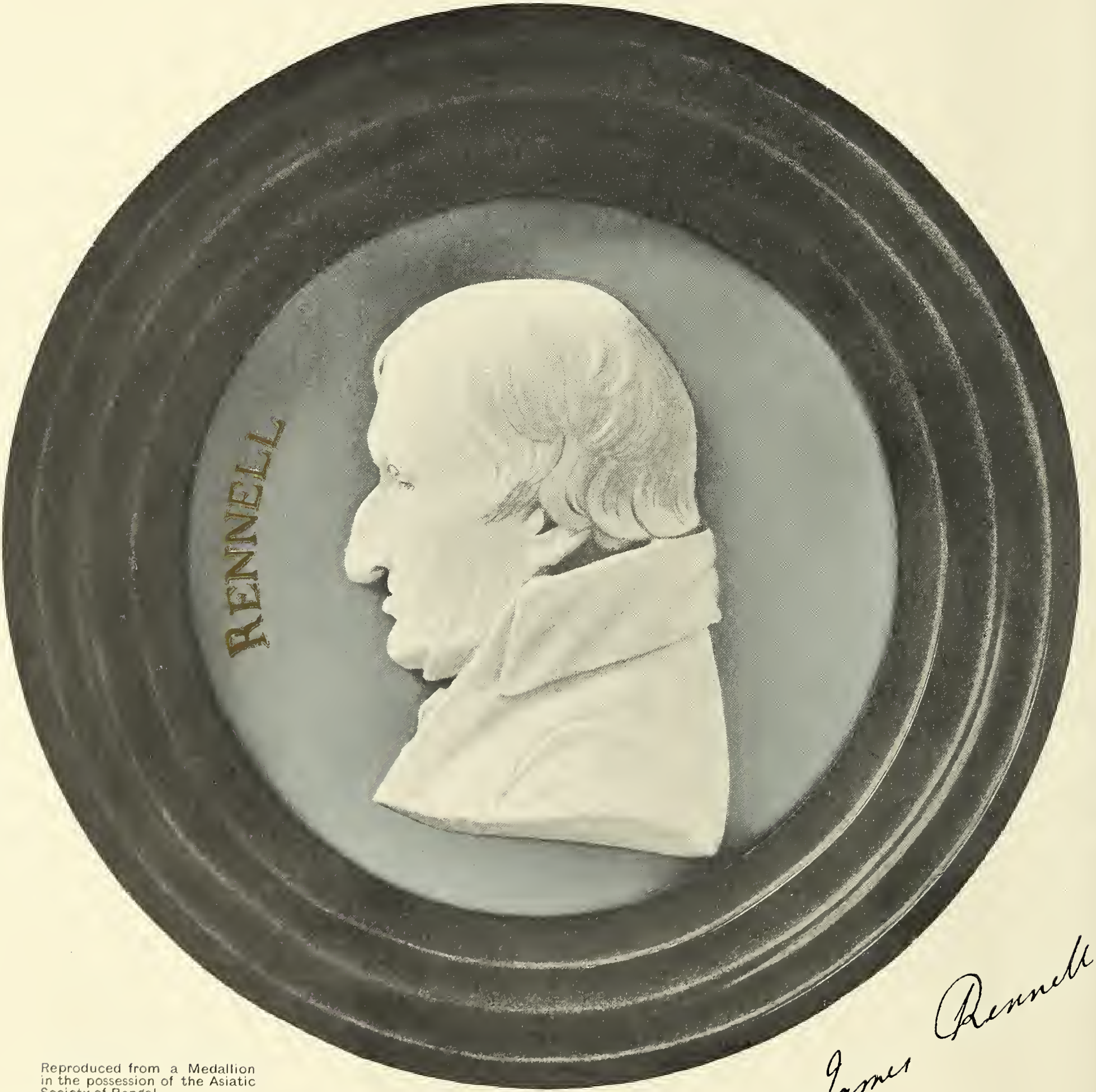
EDITED BY
T. H. D. LA TOUCHE,
Geological Survey of India.

BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL HISTORY

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, AND PUBLISHED BY
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.
1910.

Major James Rennell, F.R.S.,

'The first great English Geographer'.



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Society of Bengal.

James Rennell

Engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1910.

PREFACE.

The Journal of Major James Rennell now published is contained in a small quarto volume bound in parchment, and is written throughout by his own hand. Inside the cover is the book-plate, dated 1840, of his daughter Lady Rodd, who in 1809 was married to Admiral Sir J. Tremayne Rodd. The book was presented by her grandson, the Rt. Hon. Sir James Rennell Rodd, G.C.V.O., British Ambassador at Rome, to the Victoria Memorial Collection accumulated under the auspices of Lord Curzon in 1906, and came into my hands through Sir T. H. Holland, Director of the Geological Survey, who asked me to discover whether it contained any matter of geological interest. This I found not to be the case, except as regards the striking and important changes that have taken place, and are still in progress, in the courses of the rivers of Bengal since the Journal was written. But it is so different in many respects from the other contemporary records of that most interesting period of the British occupation of India that have been preserved, concerning itself not with the political and social events of the time, but with the physical aspects of the country, its climate, crops, and communications, that it seemed to me to possess a quite unique interest; and I am greatly indebted to the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for their permission, freely accorded, to edit the Journal as one of the Memoirs of that Society.

In many respects the picture of Bengal, as given in the Journal, differs very slightly from its aspect of the present day, in spite of the advance of Western civilisation, of our railways and our steam-boats. The first journey that I myself made in India was from Dacca to Maimensingh by way of the 'Luckya' river in a 'budgarow,' which might have been the very one, so far as appearance and construction went, in which Rennell made the passage. Since then I have travelled many a mile in the same unwieldy craft, which still remain the chief means of transport on the waterways of the delta. Still, on either side of the rivers, 'padda' fields stretch to the horizon; and the mat-built villages, with their groves of bamboos and betel trees, remain as they were. Notwithstanding the uniform flatness of the ground, the scenery is often charming; as Rennell more than once remarks in some such phrase as this :—"There is a very pleasant Prospect, the River being transparent and serpentine, and flowing through a Countrey made up of pleasant Meadows interspersed with Groves and Villages." The only innovations worth mentioning are perhaps the growing of jute, which now almost overshadows that of rice, and the nearly complete extermination of the 'Tygers,' which were so frequent a cause of apprehension to Rennell and his men.

I felt much hesitation in deciding how to deal with the mass of miscellaneous notes which follow the Journal; whether to arrange them under separate heads or to omit some that did not appear to possess much interest. But the topics dealt with are so varied that what seemed to myself to be superfluous might be the very subjects to which others might wish to devote particular attention. For this reason, and because I think that the notes, as they stand, give us some insight into Renneli's attitude of mind, testifying to his ardour in collecting every item of information that might assist him in the preparation of his 'Memoir' and other works, I have thought it better to make no alteration in the text.

In conclusion, I must express my gratitude to Mr. F. D. Ascoli, I.C.S., who as Assistant Settlement Officer in Faridpur has acquired an intimate knowledge of the vagaries of the great rivers in that neighbourhood since Rennell's time, and has kindly corrected many of the notes I had compiled from information which, though not many years old, is now quite out of date; to the Revd. W. K. Firminger, Editor of "Bengal, Past and Present," who has given me many valuable suggestions; and to Mr. J. T. Rankin, I.C.S., who has kindly identified several of the villages in the Dacca District mentioned by Rennell.

T. H. D. L.

CALCUTTA,
June 1910.

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INTRODUCTION.

A very complete biography of James Rennell, the writer of this Journal, has been published by Sir Clements R. Markham,[1] and it will therefore be sufficient to give only a brief sketch of his career in this place. He was born on the 3rd of December, 1742, near the village of Chudleigh in Devonshire, his father being John Rennell, a captain in the Artillery. In 1756 he entered the Navy as a midshipman on board the *Brilliant* frigate, under Captain Hyde Parker, and was present at the landing of the Duke of Marlborough's troops in Cancale Bay, near St. Malo, in June 1758, at the taking of Cherbourg in August, and at the disastrous action at St. Cast on the coast of Brittany, in September of the same year. During this action Rennell was employed in making a survey of St. Cast Bay, and prepared a plan dedicated to Lord Howe, a copy of which is still preserved.

At the end of 1759 Rennell volunteered for service in the East Indies under Captain Hyde Parker in the *Norfolk*, 74, but that ship having sailed before he could join her he went out to Madras in the *America* frigate, and after a six months' voyage joined Captain Parker on the *Grafton*, 68, in September. During the next two years he saw a good deal of service and spent his leisure time in making surveys of the harbours visited by the fleet.

In 1763 he entered the sea service of the East India Company, and went on a voyage to the Philippine Islands as surveyor. On his return to Madras he obtained his discharge from the Navy and received command of a ship, but on the 21st October, 1763, she was lost in a hurricane. Fortunately for himself Rennell was on shore at the time, and soon after was appointed to the *Neptune*, a small vessel owned by a merchant of Madras, in which he surveyed the Pamben Channel and Palk Strait.

Early in the year 1764 Rennell went to Bengal, where he met with friends through whose influence, chiefly that of Mr. Topham, who had been a midshipman with him on board the *Brilliant*, he received a commission as Probationer Engineer in the Fort and was ordered by Mr. Vansittart, then Governor of Bengal, to make a survey of the delta of the Ganges.[2] Sir C. Markham quotes a letter of Rennell himself, but without giving the date of it, in which he says that his friend Captain Tinker, in command of the king's squadron, "procured me a commission as Surveyor-General of the East India Company's dominions in Bengal," and alludes to the share that Mr. Topham took in promoting his interests[3]; but from the Journal now published it appears that he was not appointed Surveyor-General till the 1st January, 1767,[4] just before the departure of Lord Clive at the end of his second administration of Bengal.

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[1] Major James Rennell and the Rise of Modern English Geography, Century Science Series, Cassell & Co., London, 1895.

[2] Journal, p. 9.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

[4] Journal, p. 86.

There are two references to this appointment in the old Records of the Government of Bengal, which are interesting not only because they give further particulars regarding an event which may be described as epoch-making in the history of the British occupation of India; since from Rennell and his four assistants sprang that vast edifice the 'Survey of India', which now employs nearly 150 Europeans besides a veritable army of native Surveyors and servants, and has carried its labours far into the surrounding regions as well as throughout the whole of India; but also because they show clearly the estimation in which the services of James Rennell were even then held; and the expressions conveyed in them must have been the more gratifying, since the minutes of the Council at that period seem to have more often been directed towards the admonishment of their servants for lapses of conduct, than to rewarding them for zeal and industry.

The first of these extracts runs as follows [1]:—

Proceedings in Council, January 8th, 1767.

> "Mr. James Rennell having, in the surveys which have lately been carried on under his direction, given sufficient proofs of his abilities and assiduity in that branch, which may prove of great consequence to the Company's possessions under this Presidency,—It is agreed that he be appointed Surveyor-General, with the rank of Captain, and a salary of Rs. 300 per month in consideration of his merit and the labour of that employ."

The second extract gives, in a letter to the Court of Directors, the reasons of the Council for granting Rennell so high a salary, for though it may seem meagre enough according to modern ideas, it was exactly the same that Warren Hastings drew as a Member of Council in 1764.[2]

Letter to Court of Directors, March 30th, 1767.[3]

> "So much depends upon accurate surveys both in military operations and in coming at a true knowledge of the value of your possessions, that we have employed everybody on this service who could be spared and were capable of it. But as the work must ever be imperfect while it is in separate and unconnected plans, we have appointed Captain Rennell, a young man of distinguished merit in this branch, Surveyor-General, and directed him to form one general chart from those already made, and such as are now on hand as they can be collected in. This though attended with great labour does not prevent his prosecuting his own surveys, the fatigue of which with the desperate wounds he has lately

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[1] Rev. J. Long—Selections from the unpublished Records of Government for the years 1748 to 1767 inclusive, Calcutta, 1869, No. 940, p. 492.

[2] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxvii. It must also be remembered that the Company's servants in those days, above a certain rank, were allowed to participate in the profits derived from the trade in salt, betel, and tobacco; and it is probably for this reason that Sir C. Markham states (James Rennell, p. 45) that Rennell's allowances on his first appointment in Bengal were from £900 to £1,000 a year. The numerous references to these commodities in the Journal perhaps indicate the personal interest that the writer must have taken in their production.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 929, p. 487.

received in one of them have already left him but a shattered constitution. This consideration and his being deprived of every means of advantage while he is thus continually moving up and down a country unexplored by Europeans, to the utmost risk of his life, we hope will justify us for increasing his salary to Rs. 300 per month, which indeed may be considered as only a just reward for past services and sufferings. We beg leave to recommend it as a measure well worth your attention, the keeping your Corps of Engineers constantly supplied with young gentlemen properly instructed in that particular branch."

Rennell was first employed on the survey of the Ganges delta with the special object in view of finding a shorter passage suitable for large vessels from the Ganges to Calcutta, than that through the Sunderbans and the Meghna. The Journal gives a detailed account of this voyage and of three subsequent expeditions, during which he surveyed a great part of Northern and Eastern Bengal, penetrating beyond Goalpara on the Brahmaputra which was then on the frontier of the Assamese kingdom. It was while he was engaged on this duty on the frontier of Kuch Behar that he met with the accident referred to in the letter quoted above. He was surrounded by a party of Sunyasi Fakirs, a fanatic tribe then in rebellion, and was desperately wounded, barely escaping with his life. A full account of this skirmish is given in the Journal (p. 74), and further details in Sir C. Markham's biography.[1]

The Journal ends in March 1767, when Rennell was engaged in completing the survey of the rivers of the Ganges delta, but was forced to desist by a severe attack of fever, to which he was continually subject. An account of his further service in India will be found in Sir C. Markham's Biography. In 1771 he was sent in command of an expedition against his old enemies the Sunyasi Fakirs, with complete success; and a year later he married Miss Jane Thackeray, whose brother, William Makepeace Thackeray, grandfather of the novelist, was secretary to Mr. Cartier, the Governor at that time, an old Dacca friend of Rennell's.

Rennell retired from the service in 1776, shortly after being promoted to the rank of Major in the Bengal Engineers, with a pension granted to him by Warren Hastings.[2] He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1781 and took up his residence in London, where his house became a meeting-place for travellers from all

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

[2] Through the courtesy of Mr. B. A. Gupté, the officer in charge of the Victoria Memorial collection in Calcutta, I am enabled to transcribe Rennell's application for a pension, the original of which is preserved in that collection :—

To the Hon^{ble} Warren Hastings Esq^{r} President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William.

Honorable Sir and Sirs,

My Circumstances and Situation in Life reduce me to the necessity of making the following Application to You, in hopes that by the favor of your Patronage, my Case may be represented to my honorable Employers; from whose Justice and Humanity alone I may expect the accomplishment of my just Desires: namely, the being enabled to retire from this Country; where, by means of a painful and labourious Service of 13 Years, and by various Accidents of Wounds and Sickness, my Health is so bad, that I am advised by my Physicians to lose no Time in quitting a Place, in which I have experienced no tolerable degree of Health for these eight Years past: and in which, if hard Necessity compels me to stay, I can only expect to linger out a few Years longer.

Yet, however necessary it may be to change my Situation, the slenderness of my Means will not permit me to live in England, encumbered as I am with a large Family, and disabled from pursuing any active Employment parts of the world. The remainder of his life was devoted to the study of comparative geography and to literary pursuits. His first great work, the "Bengal Atlas, containing Maps of the Theatre of War and Commerce on that side of Hindoostan," was published in 1779, and a second edition in 1781.[1] This was followed by the first approximately correct Map of India, with a Memoir[2] containing a full account of the plan on which the map was executed and of his authorities. He conceived a great scheme for a comprehensive work on the geography of Eastern Asia, and published two volumes dealing with the geography of Herodotus. He also devoted much attention to the geography of Africa, and in 1790 constructed a new map of the northern half of that country for the African Association, accompanied by a Memoir. In 1791 he received the Copley Medal of the Royal Society. The study of winds and ocean currents also occupied much of his time, and in 1810 he began to reduce his collection of observations to one general system. He was the first to explain the causes of the occasional northerly set to the southward of the Scilly Islands, which has since become known as 'Rennell's Current.' On this subject he read two papers before the Royal Society in June 1795 and in April 1815. He was made an Associate of the Institute of France in 1800, and in 1825 received the Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Literature. He died on the 29th March, 1830, at the advanced age of 88, and was buried in the nave of Westminster Abbey.

A few words may be added on the methods employed by Major Rennell in carrying out his surveys. The construction of scientific instruments had made very little progress when he was at work in India: indeed it was not until 1761, the year after Rennell went out, that the chronometer was first used for the determination of longitudes; and his surveys were made with a compass and chain, supplemented by a Hadley's Quadrant for the determination of latitudes. So badly equipped was the Government of those days in the matter of instruments that even in 1787 it was necessary to borrow a sextant, a watch, and a quadrant from different officers in Calcutta who happened to possess them, in order to fit out a Government Survey expedition for determining the positions of the principal places in Bengal.[3] Among the notes at the end of the Journal (p. 125) will be found measurements of the chain used by Rennell, from which it will be seen how inaccurate was even so simple an instrument. In spite of such disadvantages, however, his surveys were wonderfully accurate; so much so that my friend Captain F. C. Hirst, of the Survey of India, while investigating the changes in the course of the river Kosi, found that many of the towns and villages marked in Rennell's Bengal Atlas coincided exactly with their

---

by reason of my Maims, & the ruined State of my Constitution; unless my honourable Employers would generously assist me.

I will not, Gentlemen, take up your Time with a Detail of my Misfortunes and Sufferings, as the Particulars are already well known to you: nor, as the hon^{ble} Court of Directors have been pleased to approve of my Services, shall I plead the Merit of having done my Duty.

I am with the greatest Respect, Gentlemen, Your most Obed Servant,

Fort William, 25th Septr. 1774. J. RENNELL, *Surveyor-General.*

[1] A reprint of this valuable work is now in course of preparation under the orders of the Surveyor General in India.

[2] Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, or the Mogul Empire, &c., London, 1783.

[3] Sir C. Markham, Memoir of the Indian Surveys, 2nd Edn., London, 1878, p. 56.

positions on the modern maps. It was perhaps the accuracy that Rennell had attained to, by his skill and constant care in checking his observations, that led him to look with little favour at first on the triangulation surveys that were started in India at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Colonel Lambton.[1] But long before his death he had become convinced of the superiority of Lambton's method.

Very few observations of purely historical or social interest will be found in the Journal. The fighting that was more or less continuously going on along the western frontier of Bengal during that period is not even mentioned, nor is the mutiny of officers on the occasion of the loss of double *batta*, which took place in May 1766. Rennell was at this time at Dacca recovering from the wounds he had received in February in the skirmish with the Sunyasi Fakirs, and he confesses in a letter quoted by Sir C. Markham[2] that it was only this circumstance that prevented his throwing in his lot with the discontented officers, for he felt very strongly on the subject. He concerns himself strictly with the day's work, observing each change of weather, of which the Journal gives an almost complete record for the whole period, and such incidents as immediately affected his surveys. It was no doubt this faculty for concentrating his attention on the matter in hand that, in an age unparalleled in Indian history for the unbridled luxury of the European population, enabled him to establish that character for assiduity and integrity which caused the Council, unaccustomed as it was to find such qualities displayed by its servants, to refer to him in such appreciative terms as they have placed on record.

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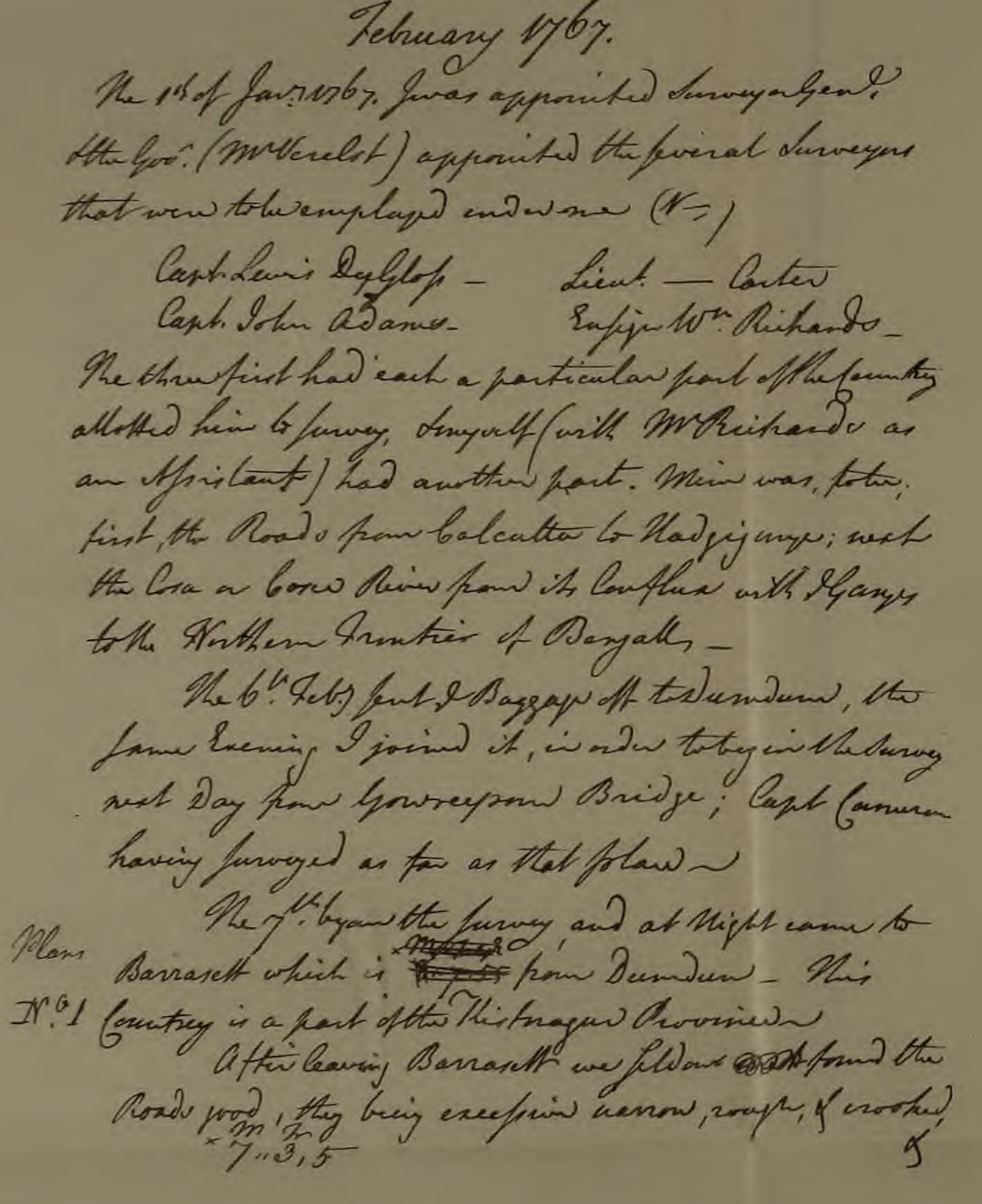
[1] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[2] James Rennell, &c., p. 52.



February 1767.

The 1st of Jan.y 1767. I was appointed Surveyor Gen.l
& the Gov.r (Mr Verelst) appointed the ſeveral Surveyors
that were to be employed under me (Viz)

Capt. Lewis Dygloſs — Lieut. — Carter
Capt. John Adams — Enſign W.m Richards —

The three first had each a particular part of the Country
allotted him to ſurvey, & myſelf (with Mr Richards as
an Aſsistant) had another part. Mine was, to wit;
first, the Roads from Calcutta to Nadgijunge; next
the Cosa or Cosse River from its Conflux with the Ganges
to the Northern Frontier of Bengall —

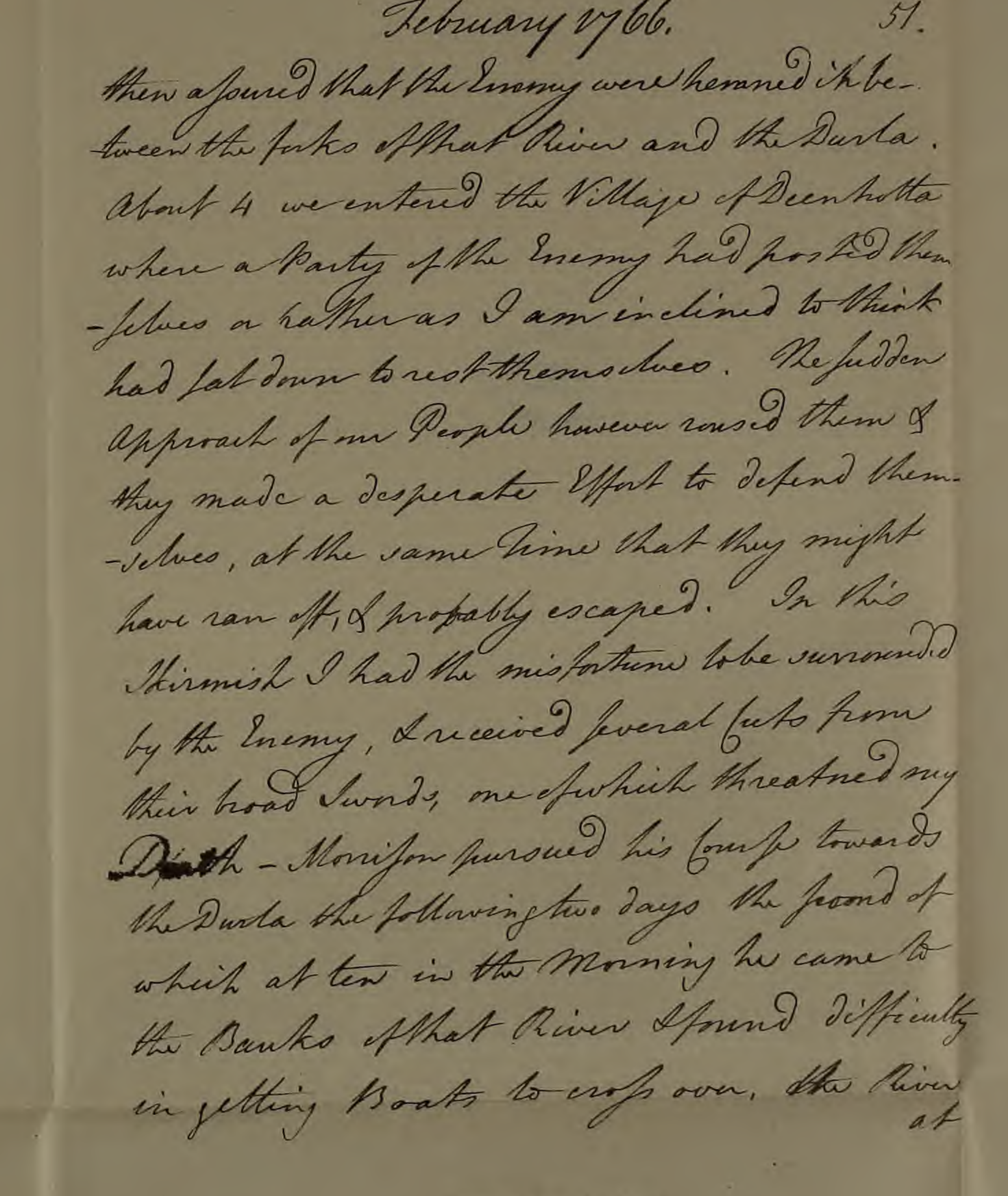
The 6th Feb.y ſent the Baggage off to Dumdum, the
ſame Evening I joined it, in order to begin the Survey
next Day from Gowreepore Bridge; Capt Cameron
having ſurveyed as far as that place ~

The 7th began the ſurvey, and at Night came to
Plans Barrasett which is ~~[illegible]~~ from Dumdum — This
No. 1 Country is a part of the Kistnagur Province ~

After leaving Barrasett we ſeldom [illegible] found the
Roads good, they being exceſsive narrow, rough, & crooked
× m f 7 " 3,5 &

Facsimile of a page of the Journal.

Sel. No. 2157 E. 10.—8—1,000.



February 1766. 51.

then aſsured that the Enemy were hemmed in between the forks of that River and the Durla. About 4 we entered the Village of Deenhotta where a Party of the Enemy had posted themſelves or rather as I am inclined to think had ſat down to rest themselves. The ſudden Approach of our People however roused them & they made a desperate Effort to defend themselves, at the same time that they might have ran off, & probably escaped. In this Skirmish I had the misfortune to be surrounded by the Enemy, & received ſeveral Cuts from their broad Swords, one of which threatned my Death — Morriſon purſued his Courſe towards the Durla the following two days the ſecond of which at ten in the Morning he came to the Banks of that River & found difficulty in getting Boats to croſs over, the River at

Facsimile of a page of the Journal.

Reg. No. 2157 E. 10.—8—1,000.

JOURNAL of the first Expedition for the discovery of the nearest Passage from y^e Ganges to Calcutta in the dry Season.

Copy of Orders from the Hon'ble Henry VanSittart[1] *Esq.*
Governor of Fort William.

Fort William, 6th. May, 64

Sir,

The first Service on which you are to be employed is the Survey of y^e great River (Ganges) to the Eastward of Jelenghee; & upon this Survey your Particular Object must be to find out the shortest & safest Channel leading from the great River to Channel Creek or Rangafulla.[2]

For this purpose you will coast along the South side of the great River & 2
examine every Creek or Nulla which runs out of it to the Southw$^{d.}$, tracing them as far as you find them Navigable for Boats of Three hundred Maunds Burthen & informing yourself by Enquiry from the Countrey People whether they are like Navigable all the Year; of which Circumstance you may yourself form a tolerable Judgment by the Appearance and steepness of the Banks.

You will keep a very particular Journal of your Proceedings, noting the Appearance and Produce of the Countries thro' which you pass; the name of every Village, & whatever else may seem remarkable, of which Journal you will give me a Copy along with the Drafts you are to make of the Rivers and Creeks.

I am Sir
Yr. most Obed Sert.
HENRY VANSITTART.

Monday May 7th. set out from Calcutta in order to proceed by way of Jelenghee 3
in a small Budgarow,[3] together with 5 small Willocks[4] to carry the People &c.

---

[1] Governor of Bengal, 1760 to 1764.

[2] Rangafulla. A creek connecting the Hugli with the Sandarbans. It leaves the Hugli at Mud Point, about 60 miles below Calcutta, and is at the present day the route taken by river steamers proceeding from Calcutta to Eastern Bengal and Assam.

[3] Budgarow. Sometimes also called Buggalow. "A travelling boat, constructed somewhat like a pleasure barge. Some have cabins 14 feet wide, and proportionably long; and draw from 4 to 5 feet water." (Rennell, Memoir of Hindoostan, *note* p. 360). The 'Bajra' is still one of the most common forms of boat employed on the rivers of the delta, both for cargo and passenger traffic, and no traveller on the great water-ways can fail to be struck by the picturesqueness of these craft, with their mediæval-looking high poops and bellying square sails, as they work up stream under the influence of a favouring breeze.

[4] Willock. A smaller boat having a long narrow bow overhanging the water. The name is spelled in various ways, such as Woolock, Oolock, Hooluck, Ulank, etc. The term now appears to be obsolete, but it is probably one of

Number of People as follows:

1 Assistant Surveyor
3 other Europeans
11 Lascars
11 Motias[1]
11 Sepoys
1 Interpreter
In all 39 with myself.

We left the new Fort[2] at 3 PM, but the Tide prevented our Proceeding up the River this Night, so came to at Calcutta. Fine Weather all this day.

The 8th. at one in y^{e} morning I was awakened by an alarm of y^{e} Budgarow's sinking, & indeed she was on the point of it, being 2/3 full of water. By this accident I had most of my Stationary spoiled, & likewise a great part of my Cloathes. Stayed at Calcutta this Day, & repaired the Leak. In y^{e} Evening proceeded up the River, & put ashore at Serampour[3] for the Night. A smart NW Squall this Afternoon.

4 The 9th. fair Weather. In y^{e} morning at 8 went to take a View of Ghyretty.[4] Dined at Chendanagore,[5] & went to view the Ruins of the Fort and Town. Passed by Chinsura[6] at 4 in y^{e} Afternoon and at Night put into Baunchbaria[7] Creek. This Creek is now 5 Cubits[8] deep at H. water, neap Tides. The River seems to be well described in Capt. Polier's[9] Map. The Night clear. Fresh Breezes from y^{e} Southw^{d}.

The 10th. variable Weather. Passed by Betwallera Nullah, which appears to be nearly the same breadth as that of Baunchbaria. At 4 P.M. a smart Squall from the Southward whilst we were in the Betwallera Reach. The Budgarow sprung another Leak. Lay at Berespour this Night.

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the forms known under the generic name of 'Dinghy.' It differed from the ordinary cargo-boat in having the planks laid edge to edge, and fastened by iron clamps (Hobson Jobson, p. 971).

[1] Motia. *Hind.* Motiya, a porter or cooly.

[2] The new Fort. This was the present Fort William, the building of which was begun by Lord Clive in 1757, to replace the old Fort, destroyed by Siraj-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal, eight years previously. The new Fort was not completed, however, till 1773, during the Governorship of Warren Hastings.

[3] At this time Serampur was a Danish settlement. It lies on the Hugli, about 13 miles above Calcutta.

[4] Ghyretty, or Ghiretti, about 6 miles above Serampur. Here was situated the magnificent residence of the French Governors of Chandernagore, supposed to have been built by Dupleix. Only the merest vestiges of the building now remain. (Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. i, No. 1, p. 68, Pl. 4). Bishop Heber gives a description of the building in his Journal (Vol. i, p. 85). A portion of the European garrison was stationed here in Rennell's time, at the cantonment of Champdani (Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. iii, p. 277).

[5] Chendanagore. This is a more correct spelling than the present Chandarnagar or Chandernagore. The name is properly Chandan-nagar = city of Sandalwood (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. iii, p. 356). It was bombarded by Admiral Watson in 1757, on the breaking out of war between England and France, and captured by Lord Clive. The fortifications and houses were afterwards demolished by Clive's orders, in retaliation for the conduct of Count Lally in Madras.

[6] Chinsura. A Dutch settlement on the Hugli, a short distance above Hugli town. It was ceded to the British in 1825.

[7] Bansberia. Noteworthy as the site of the first Native Church founded in Bengal, and for its Hindu temples (*see* Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. ii, No. 1, pp. 74, 105).

[8] A cubit = 18 inches, *see* p. 25.

[9] A Captain Polier is mentioned several times by Orme in his "History of Military Transactions in Indostan," but he appears to have been mortally wounded at the siege of Fort St. George in December 1758 (Vol. ii, p. 393). In his 'Memoir of Hindoostan' Rennell acknowledges in several places the assistance given him by "my friend Col. Polier" in obtaining material for the construction of his map. He was Chief Engineer at Fort William in 1762, but afterwards entered the service of the Nawabs of Oude, and of the Emperor of Delhi, and retired in 1788 (Buckland, Dict. Ind. Biography, p. 339).

The 11th. mostly fair Weather, having only one slight squall from y^{e} Southward. This Forenoon passed by Amboa,[1] which lies on y^{e} South side of the River in y^{e} long reach between Cutchoa and Culna.[2] I observe that this Place is remarked in some of y^{e} old maps of Bengall & therefore imagine that it must once have been a flourishing Village; however at present it contains only a few poor Huts Lay at Beldanga[3] this Night.

The 12th. fair Weather all day, the Evening heavy & threatning. At 8 in 5
the Morning entered the Jelenghee River[4] The Cossimbazaar River[5] at its conflux with the Jelenghee appears to be very narrow: I judge it cannot at this Season be above 50 yards over. The People inform me that it is now navigable for middle-sized Boats.

In the Evening at Hautnagore measured a Base & found the breadth of the River (Jelenghee) to be 150 yards now & 270 in the Rainy Season; its depth 13 foot in the deepest Place. It appears by the Banks that it will rise 13 foot more with the Rains.

The 13th. very fine Weather all day. Wind from the South. The River grows very shallow, & so crooked that though we have gone 22 miles thro' y^{e} River this Day, we have scarce advanced 10 in a right Line. Lay at Teegaree or Negarin this Night. At Sunset found y^{e} variation of the Needle to be 3°-3′ East^{ly} by an Amplitude.[6]

The 14th. the Forenoon fair; in y^{e} afternoon a hard Squall from the Westward with much Rain, Thunder, & Lightning. By reason of y^{e} bad Weather, we have proceeded only 16 miles this Day. At Notydungah, where we lie this Night, the River is only 2 Cubits deep.

The 15th. very squally Weather, & much Rain. This, together with y^{e} 6
shallowness & intricacy of the Channells of the River, retards our Passage much. In some Places the Channell is not five yards over. At Paunchdaddah measured the breadth & depth of the River, & likewise took y^{e} altitude of the Banks. The breadth is now 200 yards; the depth nowhere more than 5 Cubits. By the Banks the River will rise by the Rains 26 feet more. By this, & the former Experiment made at Hautnagore (the 12th.), it appears that the River swells much more in the neighbourhood of the great River (Ganges) than in Places remote from it, & that the difference is so much as 12 or 13 foot in y^{e} distance of 41 miles.

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[1] Amboa. Marked as a considerable village on Van den Broucke's map of 1660 under the name Ambowa. It is not shown in the modern 'Atlas of India.'

[2] Kalna, a town of considerable importance on the right bank of the Bhagirathi. A large fort existed here in Muhammadan times.

[3] Haldanga. A ferry a short distance below Nadiya.

[4] The Jalangi, one of the three 'Nadiya Rivers,' the other two being the Bhagirathi and the Matabhanga. It flows from Jalangi village on the Padma (Padda) or lower Ganges along an exceedingly tortuous course to the south-west to Nadia, where it joins the Bhagirathi. The united rivers form the Hugli. In the hot weather it is little more than a string of marshes connected by shoals and is fordable at many points. (Imp. Gaz., Vol. xiv, p. 16).

[5] The Bhagirathi.

[6] This variation of the compass is quite abnormal (*see* p. 121). At most of the places where it was determined by Rennell it varied within 0° and 2° *West*. It is now about 1° 30′ *East*, on the average.

This Evening lay at Gowgatty, having this day proceeded only 10 miles. Here are 19 large Salt Boats[1] sunk in y^e^ middle of the River. Some rain this Night.

The 16th. a fair Morning, the Afternoon & Evening wet & squally. This Morning we had much trouble in passing the Buxeypour Shoals on which there is now only 1½ Cubit water, so that the River here must be quite dry in y^e^ dry Season, as we are informed that it has rose just 1½ Cubit since y^e^ Rains began.

7 At noon passed Vheckery-Gunge,[2] where there are 9 or 10 Salt Boats sunk, & at Night put ashoar at Jagipour, having gone only 10 miles this Day. The River here is 4 Cubits deep. Much Rain this Night.

The 17th. fair Weather. This Day proceeded 11½ miles, but the River is so crooked, that we have gone only 6 on a strait line. The Country here is open, & extremely pleasant. This Night lay at a small Nullah near Sasteeapour. A fine Night.

The 18th. mostly fine Weather, the wind from y^e^ South. In the Morning sent my Sircar[3] overland to Jelenghee Village in order to procure necessaries &c. against my arrival. This Day proceeded only 11 miles, as the River here runs very rapid, altho' it is broader & deeper than before. Lay near Doolampour, about 6 miles below Jelenghee, this Night. Fair Weather.

The 19th. fair Weather all day, the Wind in fresh Breezes from the Southward. About 3 miles below the head of the Jelenghee we found the Water so shallow that the Budgarow was scarce *waterborne* for a quarter of a mile.

We came into the great Ganges before noon, & arrived at Jelenghee[4] at one in y^e^ Afternoon.

8 Before I left Calcutta the Governor informed me that a convenient Budgarow, together with as many Willocks as I should want, would be in waiting for me at Jelenghee; as the Budgarow I came up in, was the smallest that could be procured at Calcutta, in order that I might use all possible Expedition in proceeding up y^e^ Jelenghee at a season when y^e^ River was very low; but on my arrival at Jelenghee I found neither Budgarow nor Willocks. The People there indeed informed me that Capt. Widderborne (who lately went to Camp with the Voluntiers)[5] had pressed

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[1] Conveying salt from the sea-board to Patna and other towns on the Ganges, *see* pp. 18, 19.

[2] Bickarygunge in Rennell's Atlas.

[3] Sircar—applied in Bengal to a domestic servant who keeps accounts of household expenditure, and makes miscellaneous purchases for the family. (Hobson Jobson, p. 841.)

[4] Jalangi: the village is not now on the main stream of the Ganges, but is separated from it by a large island.

[5] Capt. Wedderburn is mentioned in a letter from Dr. Fullarton, the sole survivor of the Patna massacre of 6th October, 1763, to the Board. He says: "The 25th after giving money to a jematdar that had the guard to the westward of the Dutch Factory, by the riverside, I set out in a small pulwar, and got safe to the boats, under command of Capt. Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the city, on the other side of the river, and at 11 o'clock that night arrived at the Army, under the command of Major Adams, lying at Jonsy' (Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. iii, p. 378; Diaries of three Surgeons of Patna, 1763, Calcutta Hist. Soc., 1909, p. 70). Several references to him are to be found in the accounts of the loss of Calcutta in 1756 published in Wilson's Old Fort William (Vol. ii, pp. 57, 62, 81, 88, 143). The Volunteers consisted of the body of men raised from among the Company's writers who were thrown out of employment by the events of 1756 in Calcutta (*Ibid.*, p. 80). They are mentioned by Orme as having embodied themselves at Fulta, to the number of 70, on the arrival of Admiral Watson's squadron for the recapture of the city (History, Vol. ii, p. 121), and one of them, a Mr. John Johnstone, is recorded by the same historian as having "managed a field-piece" at the battle of Plassey, and having checked by its fire the advance of Mir Jafir's troops

all the Boats that he could find, & amongst them a large Budgarow; but whether that Budgarow was for me, I could never yet could get rightly informed. Certain it was, the Budgarow I came in was very unfit for me to do my Business in during y^e approaching wet Season, both on account of its smallness, & leakyness.

Finding however that I had no time to lose, as y^e River was daily rising, I set about getting some better Willocks for the Surveying People, but had little success, for during the three days I staid there, I could procure only 2; those were of 200 9
maunds each; besides these I kept 3 of the Calcutta Willocks, & sent the other two to Calcutta.

The 20th. we had fair Weather all day; the 21st. the forenoon the same, but in y^e Afternoon a fresh Gale from y^e SE, with frequent heavy Squalls, but no Rain. This Day wrote to the Governor, informing him of my Proceedings to this time, & enclosing a Copy of the Sections of the Jelenghee river.

The 22nd. all the Forenoon very fresh Gales from y^e SE, which prevented our proceeding on y^e Survey (as I intended) till y^e Afternoon, when we began surveying from the head of the Jelenghee River, eastwards, having surveyed the head of that River, & y^e Bank of y^e Ganges a mile above it, yesterday.

This Afternoon we had a Specimen of the Weather that we might expect in y^e great River at this Season; for in y^e Evening in crossing y^e River near Quemairree, a violent Squall from the SE drove all the boats ashoar on y^e Jelenghee Sand, where they continued beating all Night; 2 men were blown overboard during y^e Squall but 10
fortunately swam ashoar.[1]

The 23rd. a fine Morning. Employed in surveying the Southern Bank of the River, for the Particulars of which see the Map No. 1. This Day examined the Nullah of Mayescunda[2] which lies about 5 miles SE of Jelenghee & is the first Nullah (or Creek) that we have discovered. We found it only 2 Cubits deep at y^e inlet, & almost dry a quarter of a mile up. There is much Padda[3] & Cotton sown in this Neighbourhood. From this Place to near 8 miles to the Eastward the course of the River is nearly East, and full of dangerous Sands, the River also is excessive rapid.

(*Ibid.*, p. 176). In 1763 they were sent up to Murshidabad during the course of the operations against Mir Kasim Ali in charge of a fleet of store boats, and perhaps it was while on this duty that they 'pressed' Rennell's boats (Blechynden, Calcutta Past and Present, pp. 202—205).

[1] In his "Memoir of Hindoostan" Rennell gives a description of these squalls. He says: "The rivers are in a tranquil state, from the time of the change in the monsoon in October, to the middle of March; when the *north-westers* begin in the eastern parts of Bengal (though later as we advance westwards), and may be expected once in three or four days, until the commencement of the rainy season. These *north-westers*, which have their denomination from the quarter they usually originate in, are the most formidable enemies that are met with, in this inland navigation; they being sudden and violent squalls of wind and rain; and though of no long duration, are often attended with fatal effects, if not carefully guarded against; whole fleets of trading boats having been sunk by them almost instantaneously. They are more frequent in the eastern than in the western part of Bengal; and happen ofteuer towards the close of the day than at any other time. As they are indicated some hours before they arrive, by the rising and very singular appearance of the clouds, the traveller has commonly time enough to seek a place of shelter. It is in the great rivers alone that they are so truly formidable; and that about the latter end of May, and beginning of June, when the rivers are much increased in width" (p. 359).

[2] Maheshkunda. This creek is the head of the Matabhanga, also known for the first 40 miles of its course as the Kumar (Comer or Comare of Rennell).

[3] Padda—Paddy; rice in the husk, or growing rice.

At Paunchiferra 8 miles ESE from Jelenghee a Creek falls into the Ganges; this Creek as I am informed runs out of the same River near Surda.[1] This Evening the Weather threatning, we sheltered the Boats in a Creek of Beresgunge Sand.

The 24th. fair Weather all day. Employed surveying as yesterday. Passed the Villages of Horisongkor[2] & Callygunge. Here the River is divided into 2 Channels by a Sand Bank of 5 miles long: its Course is now NE and breadth in some places near 2½ miles in y^{e} wet Season. The Country here is very pleasant, being chiefly Meadows, well stocked with Cattle. The Banks are now near 30 foot high, 11 & are continually falling in, so that Boats should be careful to avoid coming too near them.[3] The Wind this day has been from the Southward, in light Breezes.

The 25th. the Forenoon excessive hot, the Afternoon stormy, and much Rain. This Evening came to Chocculo[4] a Village situated on y^{e} Point of the North Reach. From hence the River takes an ESE Course for 5 or 6 miles, & is all the way divided into 2 Channels by a large Sand Bank. The North Channell is the deepest & best.

The 26th. fair Weather. Surveying the ESE Reach.

The 27th. fair Weather. Finished y^{e} ESE Reach, & entered another whose Course is South for near 5½ miles,[5] the breadth not more than a mile & half in y^{e} wet Season, & now in some Places not more than a quarter of a mile. The Countrey People deserting the Villages on our Approach, occasions some Delay in getting the Names of the Places. This Evening betwixt the Villages of Malacola & Selah[6] (the space of 2½ miles) I counted no less than 400 fishing Boats. Variation of the Magnetic Needle by the Evening Amplitude 0°-36′ Easterly.

The 28th. the Forenoon fair, the Evening wet & stormy. The Wind has been at South these 3 days past. Finished the Survey of the South Reach & came to Damadure, a Village situated at the bottom of it. From hence the River turns 12 quick round to the NE & continues that Course 9 miles. Rain all this Night.

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[1] This creek is not shown on Rennell's Map. Surda is on the left bank of the Ganges, about 12 miles above Jalangi, near the mouth of the Baral river.

[2] Harisankra, shown in the Atlas of India about two miles south of the present bank of the Ganges, on the south side of the Sonakhundi lake, which is evidently an old bed of the Ganges.

[3] To this cause, the falling in of high banks along the rivers of the delta, has been attributed by some the phenomenon known as the 'Barisal guns' (Proc. As. Soc. Beng., 1888, p. 99).

[4] Chocula on the map. Close to the present village of Raita.

[5] This is the reach crossed by the E.B.S. Railway ferry between Damukdia and Sara, where it is now proposed to bridge the river. The N-S reach is much longer now, extending to at least 11 miles. The changes in the course of the river in this neighbourhood are of interest, in view of the importance of obtaining a suitable site for the railway bridge. If the river in Rennell's time ran through what is now the 'Sonakhundi Lake,' as seems probable from his speaking of passing the village of Horisongkor (Harisankra) two days before, it must have come very near cutting a channel through the base of the Damukdia peninsula. This, however, it failed to do, and it has since moved northwards, probably as a result of the easing-off of the bend higher up, opposite the mouths of the Jalangi and Matabhanga rivers. The base of the Damukdia peninsula is therefore probably safe for many years: but as shown in the Atlas of India, published in 1863, the position of the head of the peninsula at Raita was then much the same as it was in Rennell's time, whereas more recent surveys show that within the last 40 years considerable erosion of the point has taken place. This seems to indicate that there are (or were) hard beds in the alluvium at Raita point which checked the erosion, but that these are gradually being removed. If this erosion is allowed to proceed much further, it would seem that there is little hope of saving the remainder of the peninsula.

[6] Selah is probably a corruption of Sara. The village of Damadure is in the position now occupied by Damukdia.

The 29th. drizling Rain in ye Forenoon; the Afternoon several heavy Squalls from different Quarters of the Compass & much Rain, so that we could perform but little Business this Day. Much Rain this Night.

The 30th. tolerable Weather. Five Miles up the NE reach begins a large Island which extends to the Eastwd. & SE five Miles, making the River in some Places 3½ miles broad. The Southmost Channell is not navigable all the Year[1]; the Villages of Serampour & Gurgoree are situated at the extremities of it. The Country here pretty well cultivated, & mostly sown with Padda. This Day wrote to the Governor, informing him of my Proceedings &c.

The 31st. very fresh Gales of Wind all day from ye Southward. From the SE Point of the large Island the River proceeds with a South Course near 8 miles. The Western Bank is mostly covered with Jungle, but the Eastern one well cultivated & has 10 or 11 Villages on it. Custee Village[2] lies at ye end of this Reach.

June the 1st. & 2nd. fair Weather, the Wind fresh from the SSE. These 2 days
employed surveying the Western Bank of the South Reach, & in ye Evening of the 13
2nd. came to Custee, a large Village situated on the Western Bank opposite the turn
of the Reach.

The 3rd. a fair Morning. Came to the Head of Custee Creek[3] which runs out of the great River three quarters of a mile below the Village. We are informed that this Creek is navigable all ye year & that it communicates with that of Rangafulla[4]: if so, it seems likely to put a successful end to ye Expedition. The Creek is from 130 to 200 yards broad, & a ¼ of a mile up from 40 to 10 Cubits deep.

In ye Afternoon put over to ye East Side, in order to survey it from hence back to ye head of the Reach; in order should the Creek prove navigable it may be more readily found by Boats coming down the River.

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[1] From recent maps it appears that the main stream of the Ganges now flows to the south of this island.

[2] Kushtia, an important seat of river trade, especially jute, on the southern bank of the river. It was the terminus of the Eastern Bengal State Railway until 1870, when the line was extended to Goalundo.

[3] Custee Creek, now known as the Garai river. The development of this river is a striking example of the changes that have taken place in the course of the rivers of the delta within the last century. In 1764 Rennell found it so shallow within two miles of the head that only the smallest boats could pass during the dry season, whereas at the present time and for many years past it has been the main route for steamers plying between Calcutta and the upper Ganges. In 1828 it was only 600 feet broad at Kushtia, but in 1863 it had increased to 1908 feet. The change appears to have been a direct consequence of the alteration in the course of the Brahmaputra in the early years of the nineteenth century. This river, ponding back the waters of the Ganges, compelled it to deposit its silt in the reaches above the new confluence at Goalundo, and to seek another route to the sea for its waters, and for a time it seemed as if the Garai must become the main channel of the Ganges. So nearly did this happen, that in 1838 the Ganges itself was fordable at several places above the junction with the Brahmaputra. The causes that have prevented the complete desertion of the old channel were explained in 1863 by Fergusson. It happens that the Brahmaputra begins to fall at an earlier period than the Ganges, and that the silt deposited by the latter river when it is ponded back is thus swept out again every year. Otherwise Fergusson anticipated that the lower Ganges would become entirely silted up (Fergusson, Delta of the Ganges, Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc., Vol. xix, pp. 335-337). A position of equilibrium seems now to have been reached and the Garai is gradually silting up again. Lower down the Garai becomes the Madhumati, and discharges into the Bay of Bengal by the Haringhata estuary. The increase in the volume of water carried by the river was the cause of a succession of severe floods in the Jessor district in the early part of the last century.

[4] *See* note, p. 9.

At 4 a very hard Squall from the NNW which obliged us to bear away for Custee Creek, the long Reach affording no Shelter for Boats. Much Wind and Rain all Night.

14 The 4th. & 5th. fair Weather, the Winds variable. These 2 days employed in surveying the East Bank of the long South Reach, & in y^e^ Evening went into Custee Creek.

The 6th. 7th. & 8th. employed in reducing the Original Surveys to smaller Scales, and copying the Journal, to send to the Governor. During this time we had much Rain. Employed some Carpenters to stop y^e^ Budgarow's Leaks, & repair the Rudder.

The 9th. traced y^e^ Creek a mile & quarter below the head, where we find very shallow Water. Upon a strict Examination I found only 4 & 5 Cubits Water opposite the Village of Cupadin, & I am credibly informed that the River has rose 4 Cubits since the beginning of the Rains. Besides this Circumstance, several Boatmen inform me that they have passed here in Dingeys[1] during the dry Season, & that oftentimes there is not Water enough for a loaded Boat of 90 Maund. Boats of 300 Maunds loaded draw from 2 to 2¾ Cubits.

15 The 10th. in y^e^ Morning dispatched a Hircar[2] with y^e^ Maps & Journal; in the latter I acquainted the Govnr with every Circumstance relating to Custee Creek. Fair Weather all this Day. In y^e^ Afternoon began surveying to the Eastward of Custee Creek. The Course of the River is now NEBE for 8 or 9 miles.

The 11th. in y^e^ Morning fresh Gales from the Eastw^d.^ with hard Rain; the middle of the Day fair; the Evening Calm & Rainy. Employed on the Survey as before. From Custee Eastward, a large Dam is thrown up to keep y^e^ River from overflowing the Countrey in the height of the wet Season. This Dam extends more than 5 miles; it is about 12 foot high & 14 yards thick. The River here is only ¼ of a mile broad in some Places.

The 12th. in the Forenoon frequent Squalls of Wind and Rain; the remainder of the Day fair.

This Day came to the head of Pubna Creek,[3] w^ch^. runs out of the great River from y^e^ North side, & lies from Custee NE½E 8 miles This Creek falls into the Ganges again at Rottingunge, of which hereafter. 16

Pubna Village[4] lies on y^e^ East side of the Creek & very near y^e^ great River. At this place Boats are repaired & built.

From hence the River proceeds with a SEBS Course for near 9 miles; a Dam is thrown up on y^e^ East side & continues for several miles. By the breaking off of it in several Places, it appears that the River has gained very considerably on y^e^ East Bank since y^e^ Dam was made, but how long since it was made, I cannot learn.

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[1] Dingey—*Beng.* dingi, a small boat or skiff. The term is now used for any of the small passenger boats plying on the Hugli, and in the Navy and Merchant service as the name of the smallest ship's boat.

[2] Hircar—*Hind.* Harkārā, a messenger or courier; also a spy. (Hobson Jobson, p. 430).

[3] The Ichhamati, a large creek connecting the Ganges with the Harasagar, one of the branches of the Bramahputra.

[4] Pabna, the headquarters of Pabna district. In the Atlas of India, Sheet 120, it is shown as lying about 4 miles north of the main stream, but the river has now reverted to its old channel.

From the 12th. to ye 17th. employed in surveying the abovementioned Reach; there is little remarkable in ye Country on both sides of it, there are several Villages & much cultivated Land, particularly on ye West side, where there is much Paddy sown.

The Weather during this time was very turbulent, having every day hard Squalls from ye SEt. & much Rain.

From the end of the SEBS Reach the River turns quick round to the NNE & continues that Course 5 Miles; another Dam is thrown up on ye East side of this Reach also. **17**

The 17th. came to Oddygya,[1] a Village on ye East side of this Reach. Here the River divides into two Channells, of which the Northmost only is navigable during the dry Season. The Island which separates those Channels is about 3½ miles long, & is pleasant & well cultivated.

The 18th. fresh Gales of Wind all Day & continual Rain, which obliged us to lie by.

The 19th. fair Weather. Employed surveying the Southern Channel of the River.

The 20th. fresh Gales all day from ye Southward, but dry Weather. In ye Morning finished the survey of the Southern Channell, & came into the main River near Habbaspour. From hence the River proceeds with a South Course. There is much Padda sown in the neighbourhood of Habbaspour.

The 21st. a fair Morning, but ye Afternoon Squally & Rainy. At the end of the Reach from Habbaspour we perceived the inlet of a large Creek,[2] & in ye Afternoon examined the head of it. It is in general 250 yards over, & nowhere less than 6 **18** Cubits deep. Maudapour, a large Village, is situated a mile down ye Creek, on ye Western Bank. The Course of the Creek is to the SEt. & we are informed that it is navigable all the Year, to Sunderbound.[3]

The 22nd. went into the great River in order to survey it a few more miles Eastwards, & lay down a large Island that lies in ye turn of the Reach opposite the

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[1] Ajoodeea on more recent maps. The correct spelling is Ajodhya. The name is not an uncommon one; the most important is Ajodhya on the banks of the Gogra in Faizabad district, from which the province of Oudh takes its name.

[2] The head of the Chandna R. Fergusson explains (*op. cit.*, p. 335) how it happened that when the Brahmaputra changed its course, this creek, which was before that time the main route for boats travelling from the Sunderbans to the Upper Ganges, did not become the chief outlet for the Ganges. Its banks had become too much consolidated by the silt deposited on them to be readily eroded, and the surplus waters found an easier passage through the Garai channel.

[3] Sunderbound. The Sundarbans, the vast tract of forest and swamp extending along the sea face of the Ganges delta. The etymology of the name is doubtful. . Rainey (Proc. As. Soc. Beng. 1868 p. 265) thinks that the true name is Sundarban, or beautiful forest, as preferable to Sundriban, forest of *sundri* (*Heritiera littoralis*). Blochmann, in the discussion on Rainey's paper, proposed the derivation Chandabhanda, from a semi-barbarous tribe formerly living in this part of Bengal. He discussed the etymology of the word in a paper on the Geography and History of Bengal, (Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. xlii, pt. 1, p. 226), and says that the form 'Soonderbund', adopted by Europeans, is derived from Chandraband 'the embankment of the moon.' The application of the term to the whole sea-coast of Southern Bengal is modern. On the old Portuguese and Dutch maps no name is applied to the whole tract. It will be noticed that Rennell always refers to it as 'Sunderbound' without the article.

Creek: without this being done, the Map of the River would break off too abruptly to give a clear Idea of its Course from the inlet of the Creek, eastwards.

This Afternoon a smart Squall from the WNW with some Rain. Rain most of the Night.

The 22nd, 23rd. & part of y^{e} 24th. employed in surveying the great River 3 miles to the eastward of the Creek, & likewise the East Side from thence back to y^{e} Village of Sujanagore.[1] From the head of the Creek the Course of the River is nearly East for some Miles.[2] The 23rd. in y^{e} Afternoon another hard Squall from the NW^{t}. & the Morning of the 24th. we had fresh Gales, the remaining part of the
19 Day fine Weather. This Morning entered the Creek & continued the Survey of it a mile farther down; it is here very crooked. I allow at this time 5 Cubits for the rising of the Water, the Creek is now no less than 13 Cubits deep.

From the 24th. June to the 3rd. July, the Weather in general remarkably fine, having only a few slight Showers, & the Wind in moderate Breezes from the South East. During this time we traced the Creek upwards of 30 Miles; its Course in general SE, tho' these 2 days past we have found it very crooked, having gone the last 9 miles through 7 Reaches, & in that time have proceeded only $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a direct Line. The Face of the Countrey through which we passed has had various Appearances, sometimes thick Jungles continuing for some Miles, & at others fine open Countrey, tho' in general very little cultivated. In the neighbourhood of Sunapara,[3] about 9 miles down the Creek, are several Groves of Betel or Areca Trees[4]; & at Serampour $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther is a small white Pagoda, situated in a Peninsula formed by five small Reaches. This Creek abounds with Alligators & Turtle of both
20 of which we have seen great Numbers. The former are exceedingly shy, & dive under the Water upon hearing the least Noise.

This Creek is named by the Countrey People the Chunnunah,[5] & as we are informed, falls into the Comare Creek[6] four miles farther down. It is of a very regular breadth, of about 200 yards; its depth is very irregular, being from 50 to 6 Cubits.

The 26th. & 29th. of June met two Fleets of Salt Boats bound for Patna; the one came from Calcutta by way of Sunderbound & Culna[7]; the other from Jaynagore[8] by way of the Burrashee[9] Creek. One of the Boats was 3500 Maund,[10] & drew $4\frac{1}{2}$ Cubits Water.

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[1] Sujainagar, a village on the left bank at the head of the Habaspur reach.

[2] The E.B.S. Ry. terminus at Goalundo is situated at the eastern end of this reach.

[3] Sonapur.

[4] The trade in betel nuts was one of the principal monopolies of the E. I. Co. The commodity is frequently referred to in Lord Clive's letters, and the resolutions of the Council, under the name of 'beetle.'

[5] Chundnah of Rennell's map.

[6] The Kumar R. For an account of the changes in the courses of these creeks see Hunter, "Statistical Acc. Bengal," vol. v, p. 264.

[7] This is Khulna in the Jessore district, on the Madhumati R., not the Culna mentioned above on the Bhagirathi.

[8] Jainagar. This village is not marked on modern maps. It was then a place of some importance, and lay a few miles N.E. of the village of Muhammadpur, on the Madhumati.

[9] Burrashee Creek. The Barasia R., a branch of the Madhumati.

[10] About 120 tons.

The 28th. at Podumdey[1] found the Magnetic Variation to be 0°-54′ Eastwardly.

The 29th. received a Letter from the Governor by 2 Hircars.

From the 3rd. to the 8th. July mostly rainy Weather, the Wind squally from the East & Southeast. Being prevented from going out, I began to copy the Map, of the Creek &c. to send to the Governor, & the 7th. at Night compleated them, & yᵉ next Morning sent them away by the Hircars that brought the Letter.

* 141 tons.
† 6 ft. 10 in.

The 5th. a Salt Boat of 4000* Maund passed by for 21
Patna; she drew only $4\frac{3}{4}$† Cubits Water.

The 8th. went on with the Survey This day we had frequent Showers. I allow 6 Cubits for the Rise of the Water. This Afternoon saw a high Pagoda to the SEᵗ. distant 2 or 3 miles. It lies near the Village of Motrapour.[2]

The 9th. in yᵉ Morning a Squall from the Southwᵈ. the forenoon fresh Gales from the same Quarter, with Showers; the Afternoon continual Rain. This day allowed 7 Cubits for the Waters rising. The Creek runs very crooked, the Countrey open & pleasant.

The 10th. Squally and Rainy. Passed the Pagoda of Motrapour which lies on yᵉ East side of the Creek. Two Miles below this Pagoda, a large Creek turns away to the Eastward & is at this time navigable for large Boats, but in yᵉ dry Season is quite dry in some Places. It proceeds by way of Jaynagore and Hobbygunge.[3]

Here the Creek that we are tracing loses its name of the Chunnunah, & receives that of the Comer,[4] or Comare, & now proceeds with a WSW Course 5 miles, being much narrower than before, but considerably deeper.

The 11th. a Squally Morning, the remainder of the Day fine Weather. 22
Passed the Village of Bandorse, or Gopalpour, which lies a large Mile below the head of the Eastern Comer, or Creek to Hobbygunge. Here are many Betel Trees.

The 12th. the forenoon fair, a Squall at Noon, the Afternoon very fine. This Evening came to a Place where this Creek divides into 2 Branches; the largest is named the Burrashee & winds round to the South & SE. It is reported to be navigable all the year, & that it runs near Jaynagore and Culna. The smallest takes its Course NWBW, & is deep, though but 70 yards broad in general. This Creek is named the Comare. As it appears by its Course to allow the shortest Passage to Calcutta, I judged it proper to survey it first, & should it not prove navigable, to proceed by way of the Burrashee.

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[1] Podumdey. A small village N. of Baliakhandi, on the west side of the creek.

[2] Mathurapur, at the junction of this creek with the Kumar. The temple is said to have been built about 70 years before this by one Sangram Shah of the Baidya family, but was left unfinished because one of the masons fell from the steeple and died. (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 224.)

[3] Habiganj, Hobibgunge of Rennell's map. It lies to the S.E. on a dying course of the Arial Khan (Arika R. of Rennell p. 92). It is to be noted that Rennell does not mention Faridpur, now the headquarters of the district, and a town of over 10,000 inhabitants. It is marked on his map as an insignificant village (Farridpour).

[4] Comer. The Kumar R. This had evidently been at one time the course of the main stream of the Ganges.

The 13th. all day Cloudy and cool. Proceeded with the Survey of the Comer Creek & find from 14 to 21 Cubits Water w^ch^. allowing 7 Cubits for the Rise, will be no less than 7 Cubits in y^e^ dry Season.

23 Two miles & half above y^e^ head of the Burrashee the Eastmost Branch of Custee Creek[1] falls into the Comer; the Water of it appears quite black at this Season: it is named by the Country People Lettydoman Creek. The Village of Lettydoman lies on y^e^ East side of it, just where it joins the Comer. From hence the Course of the Comer is WBS for some Miles.

The 14th. a cool Morning; the middle of the day excessive hot. Three Miles West from Lettydoman the Creek turns to y^e^ Northward, & continues that Course for 3 Miles more, & then goes to the SW for near the same Distance. We find the depths of Water from 34 to 8 Cubits (in y^e^ dry Season), the Banks being mostly covered with Jungle we have very troublesome Work to survey them.

The 15th. the Forenoon again excessive hot, having mostly Calm Weather; the Afternoon and Evening cool & pleasant. Still following y^e^ Course of the Comer Creek. We find abundance of Turtle here, some of them very large. The Countrey
24 People inform us that they never saw any Europeans pass this way before.

The 16th. the Morning & Evening fine Weather, the middle of the Day excessive hot. This Day in pursuing the Course of the Comer we came into another Creek which is much larger than that, & which comes from the Northwest. The Countrey People inform us that it is the Westmost Branch of Custee Creek, but cannot inform us how far up it is navigable, or whether betwixt this & Custee any Creeks run out of it to the Southwest. This Creek has likewise the name of Comer or Comare; & now the two Creeks of that name joining, they proceed with a rapid Current to the South & South East forming a large Creek or River known by the name of the Burrasaat.

Some Boatmen that we have met here inform us that the Burrasaat runs towards Backergunge, a large Village situated on y^e^ Eastern Skirts of the Wood or
25 Sunderbound, that a few Coss down a Creek runs out from y^e^ East Side & communicates with the Burrashee; & that three or four Days down, another Creek runs out from the West Side[2] & goes either to Rangafulla or the Southern Lakes[3] by Calcutta. If this Information be true, we have yet Hopes of finding the desired Passage; & indeed by the Course of the Creek we have some Reason to believe it.

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[1] The Garai river. Hunter says "during the rains so much water flows through the Kaliganga channel into the Kumar that at Ramnagar, near Magura, the latter has to get rid of the surplus, and discharges part of its water back again into the Garai channel." This may account for the black colour of the water noted by Rennell, the portion of the creek where he made this observation forming a kind of back-water (Imp. Gaz., Vol. v, p. 11).

[2] Probably the Nabaganga. According to Hunter, it is drying up year by year and is not navigable in the hot season. (Imp. Gaz., Vol. x, p. 125).

[3] The Salt-water Lakes, about 5 miles E. of Calcutta, part of which is now used for the disposal of the sewage of the city. They are connected with Khulna at the head of the Sunderbans, by canals, the traffic over which now averages 1,000,000 tons per annum, valued at nearly four millions sterling (Imp. Gaz., Vol. ix, p. 287). This route is referred to in Rennell's 'Memoir of Hindoostan' (p. 363) as the Baliagot Passage, now the Baliaghata canal. In the same place he mentions that within a very few years, a small canal has been cut, to join the lake with the river. This is Tolly's Nullah, constructed in 1777 by Major Tolly, who utilised an old bed of the Ganges.

I have some suspicion that it is a Branch of this Creek that falls into the Hughly River at Betwallerah.[1]

The 17th. the Morning rainy, the middle of the day fresh Gales at SE, the Evening fine.

This Day surveyed 2½ miles of the Burrasaat, its Course nearly Southeast; the depth of Water from 13 to 41 Cubits.

The 18th. in the Morning the Assistant, whom I had sent to examine the Course of the NW Comer (or Westmost Branch of Custee Creek) returned & informed me that he had found it navigable 7 or 8 miles up, & that y^e^ Countrey People informed 26
him that a few Coss farther up, a Creek ran out of it to y^e^ Southwest. Upon this I left off surveying y^e^ Burrasaat & proceeded up y^e^ NW Branch of the Comer, in hopes that y^e^ Creek above mentioned might communicate with Rangafulla, or y^e^ Southern Lakes.

The place where we left off surveying the Burrasaat was named Maddepour, & lies on y^e^ West Side.

This Evening proceeded one Mile up y^e^ NW Comer, the Course NWBN; depths from 10 to 20 Cubits. The Creek is now 150 yards over.

The 19th. a hot Day, some slight Showers in y^e^ Forenoon. Went 5 miles farther up the Creek, Course from NWBW to WBS. Five miles above the head of the Burrasaat a small Creek falls into this from the Northward, but is not navigable in the dry Season: the Water of it is quite black, as it runs out of the Jeels[2]; the Country being now entirely overflown in this neighbourhood; save only the Banks of the Creek, & the little mounds on which the Villages are built.[3]

About a mile above the Mouth of this Creek, & opposite to the Village of Away- 27
pour,[4] we found only 10½ Cubits Water, which with an allowance of 8 Cubits for the Rise, is only 2½ in y^e^ dry Season. The People of Awaypour inform us that there is not quite 2 Cubits at some Seasons, so that it cannot be navigable for loaded Boats of 300 Maund. Farther up, the Creek deepens again to 4, 5 & 10 Cubits in y^e^ dry Season. I proceeded farther up in order to get better Intelligence.

A mile & half above Awaypour a small Creek runs out to the S. & SW, but is not navigable 2 miles down in y^e^ dry Season, although the Countrey People had informed the Assistant that it was navigable a long way.

The 20th. the Morning cool, the Afternoon very sultry. This Forenoon met a Boatman from Custee who seemed to be an intelligent Fellow. He tells me that the Creek near Awaypour will not allow a Passage for Boats of 200 Maund in the dry Season. He likewise informs me that this Creek is the Westmost Branch of Custee Creek & that 5 Coss to the Westw^d^. of Awaypour a small Creek from Buxeypour falls into it from the Westward. This Buxeypour I imagine must be the Village of 28 that name situated on y^e^ Eastern Bank of the Jelenghee, tho' he says that it is only 18 Coss from Awaypour.[1]

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[1] *Ante*, p. 10.

[2] Jeels—Jhils. The great marshes or lagoons so common in Eastern Bengal and Sylhet. Also called 'Bhils.' In Central India and Rajputana the name is applied to an artificial lake or reservoir (Hobson Jobson, p. 457).

[3] These mounds are artificial. The Chandals, a caste of Hinduized aborigines inhabiting this part of the country, habitually build their villages on artificially raised mounds. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. iv, pp. 394, 396, 401).

[4] Abipur.

It will now appear by our Observations that the Burrasaat is the Westmost of the navigable Creeks which run out of the Ganges to the Eastward of Jelenghee, & is therefore likely to afford the shortest Passage to Calcutta; but being at present destitute of Cash to pay y^e^ People, or proper Boats to survey Sunderbound with; besides it being now nearly the height of the wett Season, we are very apt to be deceived in y^e^ depths of Water, by the sudden swelling & falling of the Rivers; I have therefore judged it proper to go to Dacca to get a supply of Cash & larger Boats, before we proceed.

Being in the neighbourhood of Lettydoman Creek (or Eastmost Branch of Custee Creek) I thought it might be worth while to take a cursory Survey of it as far up as it is navigable, it being the common rout of the Boats from Jelenghee & Custee to Jaynagore, Hobbygunge, &c. when y^e^ Rivers have rose enough to make it navigable, w^ch^. commonly happens about y^e^ latter end of May.

29 From the 20th. to the 26th. employed in tracing the Creeks of Lettydoman, Culsedaw & Bacout near 30 miles till we came to the Place where it is not navigable, which is at Columbery about 8 miles SW from Maudapour, & 5½ North from Awaypour. For y^e^ particulars see the Maps of the Creeks. The Weather during this time was as follows:

The 21st Calm & Cloudy all Day, the 22nd. an excessive hot Forenoon; in y^e^ Afternoon several heavy Showers. The 23rd. very fresh Gales from the Southward with heavy Rain all the Day. The 24th. all y^e^ Forenoon heavy Rain with some Squalls, the Afternoon Cloudy. The 25th. the Forenoon dry, Afternoon & Night continual Rain. The 26th. a Cloudy Morning, in y^e^ Afternoon some Rain; the Evening fine Weather.

This Morning having finished the Survey of the Creeks we dropt down the Comer for Dacca, & in y^e^ Afternoon entered the Eastern Comer near Motrapour. The Water has rose 2 Cubits in this Creek since y^e^ 10th. Ins^t^. We passed three miles of the Creek this Evening. The Course of the Stream is to the Eastward: its Banks are now high out of the Water & we are informed will not be overflown the whole wet Season. The Country is pleasant & tolerably well cultivated.

30 The 27th. Cloudy Weather; the Morning & Evening cool & pleasant, but y^e^ middle of y^e^ Day excessive hot. This Day we passed by Estimation 25 miles of the Creek, & came to Jaynagore in y^e^ Evening. This Village lies on y^e^ South side of the Creek, & is distant from Motrapour only 8½ miles, altho' it is near 28 by Water. Fourteen miles NNE from Jaynagore a small Creek leads from this into y^e^ Ganges, thereby allowing a short cut to Hadgygunge[2] & Dacca, but for want of proper Intelligence we passed it without knowing where it led to. The Burrashee Creek comes

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[1] A Buxipour is shown on Rennell's map 15 miles SW of Kushtia, and 30 miles east of the Jalangi.

[2] This Hajiganj must have been an important place at this time, as it was the point where the main road from Calcutta to Dacca crossed the Ganges. It lay about 5 miles E. of the present town of Faridpur.

within a mile & half of Jaynagore, & afterwards winds off from y^e^ neighbourhood of the Comer, taking a SSE & SE Course.

The 28th. in y^e^ Morning some flying Showers, the middle of the Day Cloudy & cool, the latter part heavy Rain. Passed 17 miles of the Creek, which is rather streighter than yesterday, the Country on both sides is very pleasant. In y^e^ Morning received a Letter from y^e^ Governor by 2 Hircars. Lay this Night at Jadynundy.

The 29th. mostly clear Weather, but such fresh Gales of Wind from the Eastward, that we make but a slow progress. Proceeded 19 miles this Day, & came to Sadundy at Night. The Country here is mostly overflown.

The 30th. mostly fresh Breezes from the SE, with frequent Squalls of Rain. 31
The Country here is mostly overflown, & having the Wind right against us, we went only 8 miles this Day. Lay at Cassempour.

The 31st. the Weather nearly the same, tho' rather more Rain than yesterday. This Morning after going 3 miles the Creek divides into 2 Branches: we were directed thro' the Northmost for the nearest Passage to Hobbygunge & Dacca. Went only 7 miles this Day, & at Night lay at Commercandy about 4 miles from Hobbygunge.

August the 1st. fresh Gales from the Eastward with several Showers. In y^e^ Morning passed by Hobbygunge[1] which lies on the South side of the Creek about 27 miles ESE½S from Jaynagore. About a mile below Hobbygunge this Creek joins with that from Budarashon: here the Countrey, being entirely overflown we had some difficulty to distinguish y^e^ Creeks from the Jeels.

After proceeding 2 miles up Budarashon Creek we found that another large Creek joins it from the Northwest. From hence we proceeded to the NE 5 miles & then had a sight of the Ganges, which however we did not enter this Evening, it being late, & y^e^ River excessive rapid.

From hence we saw the Pagodas of Rajanagur[2] bearing to the ESE, distant 6 or 7 miles.

The 2nd. the Weather nearly as yesterday. Early in the Morning entered the 32
great River, & were near 4 hours in crossing it, by reason of its breadth, and y^e^ great Rapidity of the Stream. After gaining the Eastern Shoar we entered a Creek near Nullua in order to proceed across y^e^ Country to Dacca, the Water being upwards of 4 Cubits above y^e^ level of y^e^ Country. Dacca bears from us NE distant 24 miles. This Evening came to Hautcola a Village situated 5 or 6 miles from y^e^ Ganges. This Evening y^e^ Wind came at ENE.

The 3rd. very fresh Gales of Wind from the East & ENE. This Evening came to Daagdya, 4 miles from Hautcola. Here is an high white Pagoda. At Night a very hard Squall from y^e Westw^d.

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[1] Hobibgunge of Rennell's maps. None of the other villages mentioned are marked on his map. Habiganj has been superseded in importance by Madaripur, as Hajiganj has given place to Faridpur. Budarashon (Budrasan) lay 8 or 10 miles to the NE near the main river. There have evidently been great changes in the course of the river hereabouts, and most of these villages have disappeared.

[2] Rajanagur lay on the south side of the old channel of the Kirtinasa river, near the conflux of the Ganges Pudda and the Dhaleswari.

The 4th. the Wind came from the South & SW, which being fair we made the best of our way for Dacca. At 10 in y^e Forenoon came to Meergunge and Issamutey[1], & passed under y^e Bridge[2], the Arch being just large enough to admit the Budgarow. From hence struck across to the Mouth of the Beurygonga[3] or Dacca River leaving Feringybazar[4] 3 miles to y^e Eastward, & at ½ past 5 in y^e Evening came to Dacca.

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[1] Ichamati, a creek which flows out of the Ganges opposite Goalundo.

[2] The Taltala Bridge, standing upon the Taltala (formerly Meergunge) khal or creek. It is said to have been built by Raja Vallal Sen, before the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans, and if so is about 300 years old. It consisted of three arches, the central one of 30 ft. span. This arch was blown up by gunpowder during the first year of British rule, in order to secure direct communication for large boats between Calcutta and Dacca. (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 220).

[3] The Buriganga.

[4] Firinghibazaar was the first Portuguese settlement in the Dacca district, and had been in existence for about 100 years at this time. The Portuguese settlers were originally soldiers, who had deserted from the service of the Raja of Arakan to that of Husain Beg, the Mughal general beseiging Chittagong. The village is now quite insignificant. It lies on a branch of the Ichamati, opposite Naraingani. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz. Vol. iv, p. 436).

SEPTEMBER 1764.

JOURNAL of the second Expedition for Surveying the Ganges from where we left it near Saatpour to its conflux with y^{e} Megna, & the Megna &c. from thence to Dacca.

The 19th. of September 1764, being pretty well recovered from my Indisposition, I set out from Dacca in the forenoon in order to proceed with the Survey of the great River.

The Countrey being mostly under Water at this Time, our nearest Rout lies across y^{e} Countrey to the Banks of the Ganges opposite Hadgygunge, after which (as the Country lies higher then) we must proceed up the great River. Hadgygunge or Hageagunge is about 31 English Miles WBS from Dacca.

From the 19th. to y^{e} 21st. mostly fresh Breezes of Wind from SE to ESE & 2
dry Weather.

The Night after leaving Dacca, we lay at Tagerpour on the North Bank of the Isamutey or Dullasery River. Dacca in sight, bearing NE$\frac{1}{2}$E distant about 6 miles or more.

Ten miles to y^{e} Westward of Dacca, the Countrey lies much higher than in y^{e} neighbourhood of that City; The Banks of the Creeks here are mostly dry, whereas the Countrey round Dacca is from four to five Cubits* under Water.

*Cubits reckoned at 18 inches.

The 21st, at half past 11 AM came to the Banks of the Ganges opposite to Hageagunge, there being at this Season an outlet near Mousudabad. We crossed the River in less than a hour, tho' not without some risque, considering the crazyness of the Budgarow, & the monstrous swell occasioned by a fresh Breeze of Wind 3
against a Current of about five miles an hour. At 3 we came to Hageagunge, after going some Miles up a large Creek. The Countrey here is about a Cubit & half above the level of the Water but I find by the Village People that in the height of the wet Season, it was full as much under Water.

This Night (of y^{e} 21st.) & the following Day very fresh Breezes of Wind with frequent heavy Squalls from S to SSE. This I presume may be looked on as an Equinoctial Gale; however the Wind is far from being veerable.

The 22nd. remained at Hageagunge, & repaired a Pulwar[1] that was stove in crossing the River yesterday.

From the 22nd. to y^{e} 25th. the Weather more settled, the Wind mostly moderate & from the SE Quarter. The 23rd. in the Morning left Hageagunge & proceeded up a Creek that brought us into y^{e} great River below Binetty Island.[2]

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[1] Or Pulwah. A native boat of 12 to 15 tons generally used as a cook boat by Europeans (Hobson Jobson, p. 737).

[2] The topography of this part of the river is much altered since Rennell's time, no doubt on account of the incursion of the main stream of the Brahmaputra at Goalundo, at the head of this reach.

4 The River is fallen sufficiently for showing the exact bed of it, & y^e farther we proceed up, the greater we find y^e Fall.

The 25th. at 4 PM came to Saatpour, y^e Place where we left off the Survey of the River in June last.[1] There had been so much of the Bank carried away by the Freshes, that we hardly knew the place again; & could not have found the Mark out had it not been for a remarkable Tree which I formerly took y^e bearings of.

Wednesday the 26th. in y^e Morning began surveying the South side of the River from Saatpour. At noon a Pulwar arrived from Dacca with Letters.

From Saatpour the Course of the River is mostly East for near 11 miles,[2] & four miles below Saatpour it is not half a mile broad at this Time.

The 29th. PM the Weather threatning, we dropt down to a large Creek near
5 Kalkapour & secured the Boats there till y^e next day, which proved quite Calm, & excessive hot. The Creek abovementioned runs out from y^e South side of the Ganges about a mile from Kalkapour & falls into the River again at Hageagunge.[3] At this time it communicates with the Eastern Comer Creek by which it affords a passage to Boosna,[4] but in y^e dry Season this Creek itself has not more than a Cubit & half water in it.

This day Septem^r, 30th. dispatched a Pulwar for Dacca, with a Letter for the Governor.

Octo^r. y^e 1st. excessive hot Weather; came to the Mouth of Rottingunge[5] Creek this day. This Creek which falls into y^e Great River on the North side, is the same which runs out at Pubna, & as it affords a safer Passage than y^e great River for loaded Boats, it is mostly used by the Fleets which go up y^e River from Sunderbound in y^e dry Season. It is about 500 yards over near the outlet, the Eastern side of which is very flat, & must be avoided by large Boats.

This Evening* found y^e Var^n. by an Amp^{de}. 1-0° Westly.

* At y^e mouth of Rottingunge Creek.

6 From the 1st. to y^e 6th. Oct^r. mostly calm, & y^e Weather hotter than I have felt it before during the Season.

The 3rd. came to the Head of a large Creek which runs out from y^e North side near Jaffiergunge[6] & presently after receives a large Creek from Rungpour[7] &c. & then proceeds towards Dacca in two Branches which are the Beurygonga & Isamutey. The Creek which runs out of y^e Ganges here, is commonly known by y^e name of Jaffiergunge or Jonpergunge[8] Creek, & is commonly used in y^e Passage to Dacca. Jaffiergunge lies about two miles up the Creek which comes from Rungpour.

The 3rd. at Gondaely found the Magnetic Variation 1°-10′ Westly.

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[1] Before he turned down the Chandna Creek, *ante* p. 18.

[2] Towards Goalundo, where it turns S.

[3] The Mara or 'dead' Pudma, an old channel of the Ganges.

[4] Bhusna. A large village and bazar west of Faridpur.

[5] Ruttungunge of Rennell's map. This village seems to have disappeared.

[6] Jafarganj. This village is now on the eastern bank of the Brahmaputra, 7 or 8 miles above Goalundo.

[7] This is probably the channel down which the Brahmaputra subsequently found its way, the Jennai R. of Fergusson. Rungpur is a town and district far to the north in Rajshahi.

[8] This name is somewhat illegible.

The River, opposite this Creek is full three Miles broad, having several Sand Islands in ye middle; from hence it runs with a due South Course near 15 miles, & is commonly narrow. The Ganges from this place downward is not near so much frequented as the parts above; by reason that most Boats that are bound to Dacca, 7
Luckypour, or Chittigong, proceed down the Creek near Jaffiergunge.

We have now surveyed about 22 miles from the place we began at last, & have passed upwards of 50 Villages, but all of them inconsiderable. 'Tis impossible to describe the face of the Countrey at this Season, because it is mostly under Water; however the Banks of the River are high, & in many places sown with Cotton, but there did not appear to be more Padda, than what the Inhabitants might very well consume.

The 4th. in ye afternoon a small Breeze of Wind from the North East, which is the first from that Quarter that I have perceived this Season.

The 7th. in ye morning perceiving the Weather to look threatning, the Wind also increasing from the Eastward, & it being near the time of the Monsoon's breaking,[1] I judged it proper to lay the Boats in a secure Place, & for that purpose went into Diwaly Creek, which is situated opposite to Jaffiergunge Creek, & has now 8
four or five Cubits of Water in it. Lay there this Night, but the Weather cleared up again before Morning.

From the 7th. to ye 13th. variable Weather, but mostly fresh Breezes of Wind with some Squalls & Rain from the South East Quarter.

The 8th. finished the Survey of the long Southern Reach, at the turning of which we perceive a large Island, & the River afterwards proceeding with a SEBE Course towards Hageagunge.

The 12th. finished the Survey of the large Island abovementioned (vt. Binetty Island) & the Banks of the River opposite to it.

Binetty Island is about five miles long & near two over, & lies in a NWBN & SEBS direction; it has 11 small Villages on it, but scarce a single Tree. Being low it is mostly sown with Padda, of which I judge there is at least 3½ square Miles. The Channel of the River that runs by the North side of it, is the shortest & most commonly used by the Boats, it is about a Mile over & has a very rapid 9
Stream. The South Channel is about half a Mile over, & has several Sand Banks in it.

The Banks of the River opposite to this Island are mostly sown with Padda, & have a great number of Villages on them.

The 12th. at Ramcandapour near Binetty Island found the Magnetic Variation 1° – 0′ Westly.

The 13th. the Weather began to settle, & from this time to the 26th. we had exceedingly fine Weather, the Winds from the Southern Quarter in small Breezes, the Atmosphere remarkably clear in general, the Morning of the 21st. only being foggy.

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[1] Now-a-days the expression 'break of the monsoon' is generally used to mean the *beginning* of the SW monsoon in May or June.

[2] The channel of the river here has altered greatly since the time this was written owing to the incursion of the Brahmaputra, though the general direction is the same. The reach is still studded with large islands.

From the South East point of Binetty Island the River runs pretty streight to the SEBE for near 17 miles, & is from $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to a mile & half broad; from the end of Binetty Island a chain of small Islands & Sand Banks extends more than five miles; Boats should be careful not to cross the River at this Place.

10 The 13th. came to y^{e} head of a small Creek which runs out from y^{e} South side of the River at Ramcundapour & falling into the Creek from Kalkapour (see page 5th.) about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles down, proceeds to Hageagunge, & is navigable all the year round.[1] This Day mustered the People & exercised the Sepoys &c.

The 14th. at Ramcundapour the Variation of the Mag. Needle by a very good Ampl^{de}. 0°-15′ East^{ly}.

The 15th. surveyed to the Mouth of Hageagunge Creek, which I have mentioned before to be the same that runs out of the River at Kalkapour. Hageagunge[2] being a noted Village on account of its being a principal Stage on the Road from Calcutta to Dacca, I thought proper to survey the Creek in order to fix the true Situation of the Village.

It lies about 2 miles and half above the outlet of the Creek, & within a Mile overland from the South, or rather SW Bank of the great River.* It stands on a small extent of Ground on the West side of the Creek, & does not contain more than 80 11 Houses, & has a very paultry Bazar. The Creek is navigable in the dry Season for Boats of 600 Maund, & is about a quarter of a mile broad.

*Hageagunge lies about 31 miles WBS from Dacca.

The Southern Bank of the River from Binetty to this Place is by far the pleasantest Country I have seen since we left Jelenghee, it being made up of extensive Meadows towards the River, & scattering Groves of Trees within, & several Villages.

This Day found the Variation of the Needle to be 0°-31′ Westerly. At Night received a Letter from the Governor by 2 Hircars, & answered it immediately, inclosing a Sketch of the River from Saatpour to this Place. In Mr. VanSittart's Letter he approves of my Intentions of surveying the River on both sides, having before omitted to explain whether it was to be so surveyed, or only on one side, as from Jelenghee to Saatpour.

The 16th. at Coberpour[3] observed the Variation to be 1°-2′ West^{ly}.

12 The 18th. came to the head of Nabobgunge[4] Creek, on the North side of the River, & about 9 miles below Hageagunge. This Creek is about 200 yards over, & is navigable all the year, affording the shortest Passage from Hageagunge to Dacca, Luckypour &. It joins the Isamutey or Dullasery above Feringybazar, & sends out several small Branches.

The Countrey (on the North side of the River) from Binetty Island to this Place is well inhabited & sown with Paddy & Cotton. Mousudabad[5] a very large Village & Purgana is situated in a pleasant Country opposite Hageagunge.

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[1] This creek is apparently not marked on Rennell's maps.

[2] *Ante*, p. 22.

[3] On the left bank of the Ganges, opposite to Hajiganj.

[4] Nawabganj.

[5] Mansurabad, now opposite Faridpur. A Pargana is a Fiscal division of a district.

From Nabobgunge Creek the River takes a more Southwardly Course, & is divided into several Channels by some large Islands, which are mostly covered with Jungle, & have many Tygers on them.

The 20th. came to y^{e} mouth of a broad but shallow Creek, which is a branch of that from Nabobgunge, & falls into y^{e} River at Chorcumerdour about six miles below the head of the former. The Country hereabout is mostly uncultivated. This Day 13
at Noon observed the Latitude at Jattapour[1] & found it to be in y^{e} Paralell of 23°-27′ North. At Sunset the variation of the Needle 0°-38′ West^{ly}.

The 21st. the Morning thick fog which continued about an Hour, soon after which from Gohulercandy we saw two of Rajanagore Pagodas[2] bearing in y^{e} South East Quarter distant near 14 miles.

Having left unsurveyed the South side of the River from Hageagunge which is about 20 miles, we put over to that side* in y^{e} Forenoon, & began surveying up towards Hageagunge.

* near y^{e} East end of Bunderculla Island.

The 25th. came back to y^{e} mouth of Hageagunge Creek.

The Country between Hageagunge & Bunderculla (the South side of the River) is but thinly peopled or cultivated. Eight miles below Hageagunge begins a chain of Islands which divide y^{e} River into several small Channells on the South side; these Islands of which there are three principal ones extend about 8 miles, & are covered with thick Jungles, being inhabited only by Tygers, which frequently make excursions to y^{e} South side in quest of their Prey. Jallapour Island is the Southmost of the three; opposite to the Northwest point of it, a large Creek runs out to 14
the Southward and Southeast, making the shortest Passage to Hobbygunge from this part of the Country. This Creek is navigable all the year for large Boats. On the South point of its inlet is situated Saggaatpour, a large Village; this is distant from Hageagunge by land 12 English miles, & from Hobbygunge 17.

Near the South East point of Jallapour Island, begins the NW part of Bunderculla Island; This Island is not properly belonging to the Ganges, being divided by a very narrow shallow Creek. It is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length & $1\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth, & has only one small Village on it, the rest being an entire Jungle. On the North part of this Island we perceived the fresh Track of a large Tyger, this being the first we have seen since we came out. Pulyculla and Bunderculla, two middling Villages are situated on the River Bank opposite to the NW part of the Island.[3]

The 23d.[4] at Seneekondy, Variation p. Amplitude 0°-16′ W^{t}. 15

The 25th. at the time of finishing the Survey back from Bunderculla to Hageagunge, I found myself very ill of a Cold, which was followed by a Feaver; & being in the neighbourhood of Dacca, I thought it proper to go there for Assistance.

The 26th. in y^{e} Morning dropped down to Nabobgunge Creek, & proceeded through it towards Dacca. At Sunset saw Dyatybalypour Pagoda to the NE distant 4 miles, & at the same time left the main Creek & proceeded through a very small Creek, which brought us into the Isamutey River about 9 at Night. We crossed the Isamutey again soon after & went through a small Creek to the NE'ward, & at 11 came within one Pour[1]* or Par of Dacca. Here we rested till Morning, & got to Dacca about 9 AM.

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[1] On the left bank of the river.

[2] *See below*, p. 39, also Appendix.

[3] Mr. Ascoli tells me that the islands in the Padma between its junction with the Brahmaputra and Rajnagar are all now covered with sand, and contain no appreciable jungle. This change is probably due to the sand brought down by the Brahmaputra.

[4] The date of the battle of Buxar, which placed the whole of Oudh and the north west of Bengal in the power of the English.

* Equal to 5 English miles or 6 Bengall Hours' travelling.

My Disorder increasing, I remained at Dacca till y^e^ 2d. November when being tolerably recovered I set out from thence to proceed with the Survey.

16 During my stay at Dacca the Weather was remarkably fine & cool, the Mornings commonly Foggy till near 8 o'Clock.

Whilst at Dacca I wrote to Mr. VanSittart informing him of my illness, & of the late Progress of the Survey, inclosing a Sketch of it. At the same time I requested his Opinion of the utility of surveying the Baramputry or Megna from its conflux with the Ganges[2] to Dacca. He was pleased to express his Approbation of it, & ordered it to be carried into Execution when the present Service should be finished.

Nov^{r}. 2d. in the Afternoon left Dacca, & at 8 next Morning entered the Isamutey, leaving it again at 10, going back the same Road we came. At Noon y^{e} 3d. set Dyatybalypour Pagoda bearing E 24° N dis^{t}. about 4 miles, & that of Barycally S 21°-30′ W . about 5 or 6 miles. We were at this Time half way down y^{e} Creek, that runs from Nabobgunge Creek to y^{e} Isamutey.

17 From Nabobgunge Creek we turned to y^{e} Left & went through a very small Creek whose Course was from South to SBW ; the inlet of it is near Churol distant from Nabobgunge 1½ pour or about 8 English Miles.

The 4th. following the Course of the small Creek came into Jeels which we were about 2 hours in crossing, & then entered a very small Creek, our Course mostly South. At Noon saw the Pagodas at Neurpour[3] bearing South distant 5 or 6 miles.

At 5 PM passed about ½ a mile to the Westward of the Pagodas & came very near our old Mark at Gohulercandy at Night. The Countrey here is mostly Swamp or Jeels.

The 5th. at 8 in the Morning came into the great River by Nullua Creek,[4] & coming to the place where we left off, proceeded with the Survey. We have now been absent from it 10 days.

From this time to the 17th. inclusive no remarkable Circumstance happened ; the Weather being extremely fine, we have no other Obstacles to carrying on our

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[1] Hobson Jobson has Puhur (Hind. pahar, pahr), a fourth part of the day or night, a 'watch' or space of 8 gharis. It is not mentioned in that work as a measure of distance. In the notes appended to this journal Rennell gives determinations of the Par or Pour (*see* p. 127.) The Bengal hour was the 'ghari', measured by a floating cup with a small hole in it, adjusted so that it would fill and sink within a certain time. This interval was 24 minutes, 8 of these intervals making a Puhur or Par.

[2] This was of course at that time to the south of Dacca, not to the west as it is now.

[3] Nurpur. None of these temples are mentioned in the List of Ancient Monuments.

[4] It is below this point, according to Mr. Ascoli, that the greatest changes in the course of the Padma have taken place since Rennell's time.

Business properly than the extensive Thickets with which the Countrey abounds, & 18
the constant dread of Tygers, whose Vicinity to us, their Tracks which we are con-
stantly trampling over do fully demonstrate. The Weather now begins to grow cold,
especially in the Mornings, but we have had very few Fogs as yet, which is a favor-
able Circumstance to us. The Winds have been mostly from the Northward, & if in
a Morning it happened to blow fresh, the Air was very sharp.

From Gohulercandy, where we last began our Work, the Course of the River is mostly SBE (allowing the turnings) till it separates into two Branches near Tockya.

In the first Reach from Gohulercandy, there are four principal Creeks leading out of the River; & there being 2 large Islands in it, the River is at one place 3½ miles over.

The inlet of Budarashon Creek is on y^e^ West side, 3 miles down the Reach, from
whence it is but 7 miles by Water to Hobbygunge. This Creek is navigable all the 19
year for large Boats, & is a good Track for Boats bound from Sunderbound to Jelen-
ghee &c.

On the opposite side of the Reach, & within[1] Gonganagore Island, a small Creek runs out towards Rajanagore, & from thence to Loricul[2] & the Megna, affording a good Passage for large Boats from one River to the other; though Chycundy Creek which runs out four Miles farther down & joins with this within y^e^ Country, affords the shortest Passage of the two.[3] In the dry Season they are neither of them navigable for large Boats at low Water, but the delay occasioned by that is of trifling consequence when compared with y^e^ danger & risque of navigating the Megna; for unless this Creek existed, the Boats from Sunderbound to Dacca, Assam, &c. must have gone up that River.

Rajanagore,* formerly a place of consequence, lies about 3 miles in from y^e^
East side of the River; there are 8 Pagodas in & near
it, some of which may be seen a great way off.[4] From
Rajanagore to the Megna or Baramputrey is only 8½ miles, 20
so that the Peninsula formed by the 2 Rivers is not 12 miles over in this
Place.

* Lat. 23°-20′ N. from Dacca SBW 27m.

At the bottom of the Reach close by Diggarypara a large Creek runs out to y^e^ Southeast, but falls into the great River again after taking a Course of about 10 or 12 miles.

The 10th. at Pokera found the Variation of the Needle to be 1°·6′ Westerly.

Near the Village of Tockya,[5] about 16 miles S½W from Rajanagore, & in Latitude 23°-7′, the Ganges divides into two separate Branches, forming an Island of about 20 miles long, & in some Places 12 over, but of the Particulars hereafter.

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[1] *i.e.* to the east of.

[2] Luricool of map, *see* p. 39 and Appendix A

[3] The position of these creeks is now mainly occupied by the united waters of the Ganges and Meghna. They were almost due west of Chandpur.

[4] *See* Appendix A.

[5] About 13 miles SE of Madaripur. The main stream of the Ganges now flows far to the North of this.

Of these Branches, the Eastmost is the largest, but afterwards divides into a number of small Branches forming 17 or 18 Islands before it unites again with the Western Branch. This Eastern one appearing to make the shortest Passage to Luckypour[1] I propose to make an exact Survey of it, & only a cursory one of the
21 other, one being sufficient to determine the distance.

The 16th. at Rypour found the Variation to be 0°-55′ Westerly.

I have not been able as yet to get any tolerable information concerning the Situation of Luckypour, & being informed that a little further on, the River divides into several Branches, I judge it prudent to take a cursory Survey of them at first, fearing lest we may take a wrong Rout, which may probably occasion the loss of more Time than what I have proposed, & to less Advantage.

On this Consideration I left off surveying at Tockya, & dropt down ye River the 17th. in the Evening.

The 18th. in the Morning fresh Breezes of Wind from the Northward, with several Showers, & the Air excessive cold. All day making the best of our Way down the River, keeping the Eastmost Channels, as their Course trends most towards Luckypour.

22 The 19th. at Noon after going from Tockya by Account 35 or 36 Miles, we entered the Megna or Baramputrey, coming into it by the Northmost Channel of the Ganges, known by the name of Mendygunge[2] River. The main Channel of the Ganges seems to fall in about 4 or 5 miles to the Southward.

We now proceeded along the Western Shoar of the Megna NBE & NNE, a confused cluster of uninhabited Islands forming the East side of the Passage. Between some of these Islands I could discover no Land at all, it appearing like an open Sea.

The 20th. in the Morning passed Doycally, & soon after had a view of Luckypour, the Factory being distinctly seen 13 or 14 miles. Before Noon we reached it. By a computation of the distances from Tockya to this Place, I judge that we have about 46 or 50 miles more to survey.

Being in daily expectation of receiving another Budgarow, I propose staying here another Day, & employ myself in copying the Surveys of the River for the public Use.

23 The 22nd in the Morning set out from Luckypour, on our return to the Survey, the Weather remarkably fine.

The 25th. in the Morning arrived at our old Mark at Gozarya,[3] & proceeded with the Survey. During the Passage from Luckypour, we have been employed in copying the drafts of the River. This Evening at Nagulpara[4] the Variation was 1°-10′ Westly.

From this time to the 16th. of December, the Weather continued to be remarkably serene; the Mornings (as is usual at this Season) very foggy till 9 or 10 o'clock,

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[1] Lakshmipur, a town on the left bank of the Meghna in Noakhali district.

[2] Mehdiganj or Mehndiganj.

[3] About 4 miles E of Tockya.

[4] Nagerpara in Faridpur Dist.

& sometimes the Fog continued the whole Day in such a manner that no surveying Work could be performed. The Winds commonly blew in light Breezes from the North & NNE, with frequent intervals of Calms, at which Times y^e Fogs continued. I remarked that the Fogs commonly came on immediately after Sunrising.[1] The Morning Air seemed to me to have y^e same degree of Cold, as that in England about the latter end of March.

The 28th. after surveying 3 Reaches from Tockya, came to Monerpour, where 24
the largest Channell of this Eastern River turns to y^e SW^t. We follow y^e Course of the Eastmost Channell, as being y^e nearest Rout, & best Countrey to survey in.

*The 27th. *Variation at Sunset near Monerpour 1°-0′ West.[2]

The 30th. received a new Budgarow from Calcutta. It has been 31 days on its Passage. Being a new one it will be rather safer than the one I had before, as that was old & ready to drop to pieces, but this seems one to be very crank & dangerous.

December y^e 1st. came to Cusarya, opposite to which the great Southern Channell from Monerpour falls in. The Country here very full of Jungle & thinly inhabited. This day & the following employed in making a cursory Survey of the Southern Channells of this River, of which the best Idea will be formed by inspecting the Map No. III of the Ganges.

The 3rd. began the Survey of Mendygunge River, which is properly the north- 25
most Branch of the Ganges. I make choice of this Rout as being the shortest; proposing to make only a cursory Survey of the South Branch.

The 4th. dispatched the old Budgarow for Calcutta, by way of the great River.

The 5th. came into y^e Western part of the Megna & proceeded to the Southward towards the main Channell of the Ganges. The Countrey here has a most unpromising appearance.

The 6th. proceeded with the Survey of the West side of the Megna, from the conflux of the two Rivers towards Luckypour. This part of the Countrey is full of thick Woods & Jungles, & has very few Inhabitants.

The 7th. came to Little Backergunge, which is situated at y^e mouth of a large Creek, about halfway betwixt the conflux & Luckypour.

The 8th. all day thick Fog. The 9th. dropt down to the Mouth of the Ganges,
& began to survey the main Channell from thence towards the head of Mendygunge 26
River. The Tides are very strong here. The Floods about 1½′ P hour at Springs.

The 10th. at Sunset Mag. Variation 1°-5′ W^t. near Loatto.

Ten miles above the conflux of the Rivers a large Creek runs out the South side of the River towards Backergunge & Sewtylewry,[3] & is used as a common Rout to those Places from Luckypour &c. The Boatmen call it Durgapour Creek. Its inlet is near the Village of Jaggatdul. Three miles above this, is the Mouth of the Western Branch of the great River whose head is near Tockya. I propose leaving this River unfinished till I can receive further information of the Courses of the different Branches of it, lest I may take a wrong Rout & lose much Time by it.

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[1] These fogs are still a great hindrance to the navigation of the water-ways of Bengal and Assam during the winter months.

[2] Char Manpara, S.E. of Nagerpara. Mr. Ascoli says that to the South of this place the old course of the river is easily traceable by a series of 'char' lands (Char is a sandbank thrown up in the bed of a river), though it is now entirely dry to near Mehndiganj.

[3] Sutylury on Rennell's maps, 12 miles west of Barisal. It is apparently the same place as the modern Jhalakati or Mahrajganj, one of the largest timber markets in Bengal.

The 13th. having finished the Survey of the River from the head of Mendygunge Creek to the conflux, we proceeded about six miles along the Western Shoar below the Mouth of the Megna, in order to observe the face of the Countrey &c. It is
27 mostly covered with Jungle, & I could discover only one Village the whole Way.

By an Observation of Latitude taken this day about four miles below the Mouth of the Megna, I find myself in 22°-40′ North, & being now at least 20 miles from the Sea, it appears that the old Maps have laid down the Latitude of the Mouth of the Ganges much too far Northerly; for instance M.^{r} d'Anville places it in 22°-36′ [1] or thereabouts, whereas if the least dependance can be placed on the distance of Backergunge from the Sea, as estimated by the Boatmen, the Latitude of the Ganges Mouth must be about 22°-20′ North.[2]

The 14th. passed Doycalley, & the 15th. at Noon came to the Point opposite Luckypour from whence we crossed over in the Afternoon. The Megna seems to be about five Miles over.

From the 15th. to the 23rd. inclusive, the Weather generally foggy in the Mornings & commonly continued till 10 or 11 o'Clock, sometimes it was not clear enough all day to see the opposite side of the Megna from Luckypour. The Winds variable & in light Breezes.

28 The 16th. began to make an exact Survey of the Nulla, Fort & Village of Luckypour, chiefly with a design to show the present Situation of the Factory with respect to the Bank of the River, which is continually wearing away by reason of the high Surges of the River in y^{e} time of y^{e} Southwardly Winds.[3]

The 20th. having finished the Plan, took y^{e} Latitude of the Place by Hadley's Quadrant, but the Horizon was not good enough to place any dependance on the Observation. The Latitude found was 22°-57′ North.[4]

From this time to y^{e} 23rd. employed in finishing y^{e} Original Maps, copying others, & making a small Map of the Ganges which was immediately dispatched to the Governor. Began likewise a compleat Sett of Maps of the Ganges on a scale of 2 miles to an Inch.

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[1] Evidently a slip of the pen for 23° 36′.

[2] The conflux of the Ganges and Meghna is now in about 23°-20′ N or a degree further north than it was in Rennell's time. The old channel, now known as the Arial Khan, enters the Meghna at Mirzaganj in about Lat 22°-40′.

[3] In 1756 a cloth Factory was established here by the East India Co. A report to the Council, probably furnished by Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted (*see note* p. 38), and entered in the Proceedings for Oct^{r} 1st 1767, states:—"No longer since than 1761, it '(the Factory)' might have been said to have stood a mile up a creek, locked in and secure both from the strong freshes and the impulse of bores and the SW Monsoon, but within this short space the cover it had from the monsoon has been washed away, and it is now entirely laid open The factory was at first built 200 yards from the water side, but when I arrived the SW corner was scarcely two yards from the bank, and it would certainly have got into the ditch, if a boat of 1,000 maunds had not been sunk, that keeps by way of a break-water, and bamboos, etc., been drove in by way of further precaution; this I am in hopes may secure it till the monsoon is broke up, but no art can secure it against another" (Rev. J. Long, Selections, No. 914, p. 481). In 1761 the district was overrun by thieves and Mr. Billers the Chief of the Factory wrote to Nawab Kasim Ali, asking him to give orders to the Phousdar (Native Governor) "to fire off the mouth of a cannon the leader of the thieves, who was made prisoner, that others may be deterred" (*Ibid.*, No. 557, p 259).

[4] This is the exact latitude of Lakshimpur, according to the Imperial Gazetteer.

The 23rd. having received further Information concerning the Course &c. of the 29
Western Branch of the Ganges, set out from Luckyp^{r}. in order to survey it. The same day had an Observation of Latitude tho' not very exact. By this the Latitude of Luckypour appears to be 22°-54′. This Evening put ashore at Doycalley Point.

The 24th. employed in surveying the Western Shoars of the Jungle Islands opposite Luckypour.

The 25th. arrived at y^{e} Mouth of the Western River & next day proceeded up it. After going 4 miles up found it divided into 2 Branches, we kept the Northmost imagining that the other led to the Woods.[1] At Night after having traced it to the North & Northwest 6 or 7 miles it decreased from a large River to a very small Creek, but finding the Tide to ebb & flow pretty strong I thought it best to proceed the next day, & after going about 3½ miles to the South & West, we came into the Western River near Kiddarpour. The South side of this Creek is mostly Jungle, the North is well cultivated, & produces Sugar Canes, Tobacco, & Betel nut. The principal Village is named Azimpour.

From this time to y^{e} 29th. employed in tracing y^{e} Western River from Kiddar- 30
pour to Tockya. Its breadth is from ½ to ¾ of a mile. There are few particulars about it worth remarking. Four miles below its separation from the great Ganges a large Creek from Hobbygunge falls in; nine miles below that lies Goanuddy or Gurnuddy,[2] a large Village. There is a high Pagoda by which the place may be known at 9 miles distant. Many Boats are built in the neighbourhood, & here are abundance of Betel Trees, which seem to be the chief Produce of the Countrey.

Twelve miles below Gurnuddy a large Creek or River falls in from the Westward; as this Creek is seldom used by Boats, I could get but little information regarding its Source, however I am well persuaded that it must be the Burrashee Creek from Jaynagore.[3]

Immediately below the mouth of this Creek, the Western River divides into
two principal Branches, & those again soon after into others, so that it would be a 31
laborious & difficult work to attempt describing them. We took our Rout through the Eastmost of them, which brought us again into the great Ganges by the Southmost of the two Branches mentioned y^{e} 25th.

Being now in the neighbourhood of Backergunge, I thought it might not be altogether useless to describe the Situation of that place by tracing some Creek which should afford y^{e} shortest Passage. I fixed on a branch of the Western River for this purpose, & the 31st. in the Morning proceeded to the Southwest, Backergunge being distant about 2 days by Water.

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[1] *i.e.* the Sundarbans.

[2] Gaurnadi. The pagoda has disappeared.

[3] This creek is probably the 'Lolcherra creek,' mentioned below, p. 94. It is not connected with the Barasia, which is a branch of the Madhumati or Baleswar river, and enters the Bay of Bengal by a separate mouth, the Haringhata.

The Countrey from Gurnuddy to Sastenagor is mostly Jungle, & consequently very thinly inhabited. Below Sastenagore it begins to be more open. Sastenagore is about 16 miles below Gurnuddy.

32 The 31st. in y^{e} Evening passed Burryshel,[1] a Bazar Village a little below Sastenagore; opposite Burryshel a large Creek runs out to y^{e} Eastward, & is known to the Boatmen by the name of Durgapour Creek; through it lies y^{e} common Rout from Luckypour to Backergunge.[2]

The 28th at Kessepour Var^{n}. of the needle 1°-14′ West^{ly}.

Four miles below Burryshel, the River divides into four Branches, the Eastmost to Gobindapour & y^{e} Sea, the Southmost to Backergunge, & y^{e} two Western ones to Sewtylewry, which is situated two Par from thence.

January 1st. 1765, at 3 PM arrived at Backergunge, which lies on a very small Creek about 14 miles below the four Creeks. It lies in Latitude 22°-36′ or 37′ North, about 16 miles from the Great Ganges, 74 from Dacca & 116 from Calcutta. The Inhabitants report that the Sea is about 20 miles to the SSE^{t}.

Having now compleated the survey of the Ganges &c. I proceeded to construct a Set of Maps of it, on a Scale proper for common Use,* to be divided into 3 parts, each on a Sheet of Royal Paper, & a fourth Sheet to contain the whole on a Scale of 10 English Miles to an Inch, & a Plan of Luckypour.

* 2 miles to an inch.

33 The 2nd. in the Morning set out for Luckypour in our way to Dacca, where I must proceed in order to get a supply of Money. Nothing remarkable happened in our Passage, save that we took our Rout through Durgapour Creek,[3] & that the 5th. in the Morning a fresh Gale of Wind drove all the Boats ashore on y^{e} Jungle Islands off of Luckypour; the Budgarow was got off again without Damage, by carrying out a Grapnel. That Morning the Air was very sharp, (occasioned by a Northerly Wind).

The 6th in y^{e} Morning one of the Sepoys was taken off by a Tyger from y^{e} Northwest part of Daokytya Island, he having stept ashore out of a Pulwar.

The 8th. at Night arrived at Dacca. Still employed on the Maps. Weather mostly Calm since the 5th.

From the 8th. to y^{e} 12th. at Dacca. Hired some new Boats &c. One of my European Assistants having cut a Dandy's[4] Ear off, I delivered him prisoner to the Chief,[5] agreeable to his Desire.

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[1] Barisal, the head quarters of Bakarganj district, now a town of over 18,000 inhabitants. The Imperial Gazetteer states that in the middle of the eighteenth century it was an important salt *chauki* or place where salt-tax was paid, but on Rennell's map it is shown as a very small village.

[2] Bakarganj. The head-quarters of the district were transferred from here to Barisal in 1801. It is described in correspondence of about this period as "the last place in India on which anyone would wish to build" (Ascoli). The southern part of the district was much subject to ravages by Magh pirates from Arakan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On one of Rennell's maps, Bengal Atlas No. XX, it is marked "country depopulated by the Muggs."

[3] The creek E of Barisal.

[4] Dandy, a boatman, a term peculiar to the Gangetic rivers, from Hind. & Beng. dand, a staff or oar (Hobson Jobson, p. 296).

[5] The Resident in charge of the Factory. This was probably Mr. Leycester, who was certainly Chief of the Factory

The Weather in general hot since y^e^ 8th., Winds variable.

The 12th. at Noon left Dacca, & proceeded down the Rivers towards Luckypour, 34
in order to continue y^e^ Survey from thence towards Dacca.

The 14th. at Night arrived at y^e^ old Mark near Doycalley Point,[1] & prepared for surveying y^e^ next Morning.

From the 14th to y^e^ 24th. employed in surveying the Western side of the Megna from the Point opposite Luckypour to Rajabarry[2] being upwards of 38 miles. The best Idea of the Course of y^e^ River may be obtained by a view of the Map; the Islands & Sands in it are almost innumerable. The Ganges & Megna near their conflux form a Peninsula, the Isthmus of which is not four miles over; this Isthmus lies between the villages of Soylerhaut & Serampour (the latter of which lies on the Megna) about 20 miles above y^e^ Point of y^e^ Conflux.

The Countrey between Doycalley & Rajabarry is full of Betel Trees, but has little
cultivated Land, & is but thinly inhabited towards y^e^ River side, this must be owing 35
to the number of Tygers which have their haunts thereabouts.[3]

Five or six Miles below Rajabarry is the Mouth of Chiddypour or Luricule Creek; this Creek affords a short & safe Passage from the Megna to the Ganges going by way of Luricule & Rajanagore, & entering y^e^ Ganges either at Gonganagore or Chycundy. The distance overland from Chiddypour to Chycundy is not 11 miles, so near do these Rivers approach each other, though they afterwards run upwards of 40 miles before they unite. It must be observed that Luricule Creek runs from the Ganges to y^e^ Megna, & that the flood Tide from the Megna has not strength enough to keep back y^e^ current of Chycundy Creek, which always runs to the Eastward.

The Village of Rajabarry is situated on y^e^ Western side of the Megna in Lat.
23°-21′ N distant from Dacca 22 miles & from Luckypour 34. An old Pagoda stands
about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to the Southwest of it.[4] The Village has formerly been large, but
is now reduced to a small Bazar only. An extensive cluster of Islands divides y^e^ 36
River into a number of Channels opposite Rajabarry, & forms several commodious
Harbours for Boats.

From the 12th. to y^e^ 24th. January the Winds & Weather variable, the former mostly from the Northward, though but in light Breezes. The Mornings in general

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when Dacca was taken by body of rebellious 'Fakirs' in 1763. His conduct on that occasion drew down the wrath of Lord Clive, when Leycester was a member of Council, in 1766 (Long, Selections, No. 839, p. 429; *see* also Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. V, p. 209). Two Leycesters are mentioned among the lists of those who were in Calcutta in 1756, of whom one, Ralph, escaped in the ships with Governor Drake before the tragedy of the Black Hole.

[1] Opposite Lakshmipur.

[2] Rajabari, now quite a small village, on the left bank of the Meghna below Naraingan j and just above the conflux of the Ganges & Meghna.

[3] Great changes have taken place in this area since Rennell's time. A vast series of 'chars' or sandbanks now extends southwards, and a large river, the Nayabhangani, has broken through the isthmus. Serampur has disappeared into the bed of the Meghna, and Mr. Ascoli remarks that "there are no 'Tygers' now."

[4] This is the Rajabari *math*, a monumental tower built, it is said, over the funeral pyre of the mother of Chand Rayya and Kedar Rayya, independent princes of the locality, about 200 years before this. It is built of brick about 30 feet square at base and 80 feet in height, and still forms a conspicuous landmark. (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 218). A view of the 'math' is given in the Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XLIII, Pl. XI.

foggy till near 11 o'clock, & the rest of the day close & sultry. The 23rd. some Squalls from the NNW & a few flying Showers; the 24th. much Thunder & Lightning with Squalls & Rain from the NW & SW.

The 21st. at Daadpour Island found ye Variation 1°-7′ Wt.

The 25th. the Weather clearing up, left Rajabarry, & surveyed to ye North end of Amidabad Island (the Northmost of ye cluster) & afterwards proceeded to survey ye Islands.

The 28th. finished ye survey of the Rajabarry Islands & put over to the North end of Mohunpr. Island, in order to survey the East side of the River from thence to Luckypour.

The Islands abovementioned are in number 18 great & small, out of which 37 number 8 only are inhabited. The length of the whole Range is about 13 miles, & the main Channell of the River (which is near a mile over) runs on the east side. It is worth remarking that the whole breadth of the River at & opposite Chiddypour is 7½ miles in ye dry Season. There are two good Channells for crossing the River between the Islands, one between Amidabad & Pomomarra, the other round ye north end of Shukypoura.

The 29th. began the survey from Mohunpour downwards, & the next Evening came to the North side of the Niagonga or Panghia River. This River appears to be a branch of the Baramputrey, & near its conflux with ye Megna is more than ¾ of a mile over. The Countrey on the North side of it consists mostly of clear Meadows which are entirely overflown in ye wet Season.

Chaundpour[1] a small but remarkable Village lies on the South Bank of the Niagonga near the point of its conflux with the Megna. It is situated about 31 miles from Dacca, 11 from Rajabarry, & 23 or 24 from Luckypour. Here the Country begins to be full of Betel Trees again, & continues so almost to Luckypour.

38 February ye 2nd. surveyed to Havatya Creek about 11 miles below Chandpour, when hearing that Mr. Plaisted[2] was at Luckypour, I set out for that Place in hopes of getting from him some Materials for making a general Map of Bengall. Arrived at Luckypour in ye Evening.

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[1] Chandpur, now the terminus on the Meghna of the Assam-Bengal Railway.

[2] Through the kindness of my friend the Revd W. K. Firminger, Editor of 'Bengal, Past and Present', I have been able to learn some particulars of the career of Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted. In 1745, being then Captain and Supercargo of the ship Kent, he was appointed 'Engineer and Surveyor' by the Council, and in 1747 prepared plans for the improvement of the defences of Old Fort William, his connection with which is fully set out in the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's work 'Old Fort William in Bengal.' In a small book published by Plaisted in 1758, a Journal of his voyages from Calcutta to Bussora and thence across the desert to Aleppo and home (which Mr. Firminger has kindly placed at my disposal), is included his Map of Bengal, with an "Account of the countries, cities, and towns adjacent to Bengal" by "a gentleman who resided there many years." This map, which he states in the legend attached was "collected from the best authorities," is not, it must be confessed, much if at all superior to Van den Broucke's map of 1660 in point of accuracy or detail, and he is not referred to by Rennell in the 'Memoir' as one of the authorities for his map of Hindoostan. From 1761 to 1765 Plaisted was employed in surveying the river and coasts near Chittagong, with a salary of Rs. 1,800 a year, increased in 1765 to the emoluments of a member of Council (Wilson, *op. cit*, Vol. II., pp. 162. 164, 165, 172, 174). In July 1767 he was surveying at 'Luckypore' but died at Calcutta in October of the same year.

From y^e 2nd. to y^e 9th. at Luckypour; employed in reducing & copying y^e particular Maps of y^e Ganges, surveying Daokytya Nulla,[1] the Sand Banks below Luckypour, &c. & taking y^e Latitude of the Place which by an exact observation appears to be 22°-55′ North.

*The 9th. found y^e Variation at Solacally Creek 1°-30′ West.

*The 9th. left Luckypour without having seen Mr. Plaisted, & proceeded with the Survey from that place towards Havatya Creek.[2]

The 12th. finished the Survey to Havatya, & now all that part of the Megna lying to y^e Southward of Rajabarry being surveyed, I propose in y^e next place to survey Chiddypour Creek.[3]

The 13th. in y^e Afternoon arrived at Chiddypour & proceeded up y^e Creek passing 39
by Mulputgunge. The 14th. in y^e forenoon passed Luricule which is situated on the South side of the Creek. Luricule, once a remarkable Village lies almost half way betwixt y^e Ganges & Megna, is about 28 miles S½W from Dacca, & 3 ESE from Rajanagore. Here are y^e ruins of a Portuguese Church, & of many Brick Houses.[4]

Jaopsa Pagoda[5] (which is very high & may be distinctly seen in both Rivers) is situated ¾ of a mile SE from Luricule. The Countrey hereabouts is pleasant & well cultivated; there are likewise many Groves of Betel Trees.

The 15th. finnished the Survey of the Creek, having traced it almost to Gonganagore on y^e east side of the Ganges

Rajanagore[6] is situated about a mile & half from y^e east Bank of Gonganagore Creek, on a small Rivulet which falls into y^e said Creek but is navigable for Boats only at half Flood.

Chycundy Creek joins that from Gonganagore about 3 miles below Rajanagore. 40

The 16th. returned to Berackondy near Rajabarry where we left off surveying the 24th January last.

From the 16th. to y^e 19th. employed in surveying from Berackondy to Iddyracpour, & having now finished all the Western side of the Megna, we put over to y^e other side in order to finish that before the Northwest Squalls begin.

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[1] A stream entering the Meghna a short distance above Lakshmipur.

[2] On the same side of the river, about 15 miles up stream.

[3] The creek below Rajabari referred to on p. 37, connecting the Meghna with the Ganges. It afterwards became the main channel of the latter river, but is now a small creek again.

[4] Perhaps the relics of the Portuguese who were in the employ of the Raja of Arakan at the beginning of the 17th century, and on being expelled from his dominions, took to piracy at the mouths of the Ganges. Under their leader Sebastian Gonzales, they were constantly at war with the Mughals. They were finally overcome by Shaista Khan, the Governor of Bengal under Aurangzib, and their families were settled near Dacca, where they gradually sunk to the level of the natives.

The name of this place may perhaps be connected with the title of the Marquis of Lourical, who was in 1741 Viceroy of Goa, and defeated the Marathas at Bardez (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., 2nd Ed., Vol. v. p. 104). In the Atlas of India, sheet 126, SW, it is marked 'Noreekole.' No mention is made of these ruins or of the pagodas at Rajanagar in the List of Ancient Monuments, Bengal (*see* Appendix A).

[5] This pagoda was swept away by the Kirtinasa River in 1881-2 (Ascoli).

[6] The main branch of the Ganges or Kirtinasa river now passes 5 or 6 miles to the north of the site of this place.

From y^e 19th. to y^e 22nd. inclusive employed in surveying y^e eastern Shoar from Kallagutchy to the North End of Mohunpour Island, & likewise the eastern sides of y^e intermediate Islands, y^e western sides of them being done before. The Baramputrey or River from Assam seems to be about 2 miles broad; its conflux with y^e Issamutey is in Latitude 23°-28′ or nearly under the Tropic of Cancer.

41 The 23rd. made an exact Plan of Iddyracpour Kella[1]: this lies about 2 miles SE from Feringybazar & near 14 from Dacca.

From that Time to the 3rd. March employed in surveying the Rivers & Creeks in y^e nearest Rout from Iddyracpour to Dacca.

Feringybazar[2] a large Village extending 2 miles along y^e Southern Bank of y^e Issamutey River is situate about 11 miles SEBS from Dacca, but the Passage by Water in y^e dry Season is full 15 miles. This Village lies on y^e highest spot of Ground in the whole neighbourhood, & is some feet above y^e level of y^e Water during y^e wet Season. Luckya River,[3] the Water of which is so remarkable for its clearness & sweetness, falls into y^e Issamutey opposite to Feringybazar.

Five miles above Feringybazar, the Beurygonga[4] or Dacca River falls into the Issamutey. The Countrey here is well cultivated, & sown with Paddy Cotton &c.

42 The Beurygonga or River on which Dacca is situated, is the Eastmost Branch of the River Ganges. Its breadth in general is about 250 yards, & its Course in the neighbourhood of Dacca pretty streight from NW to SE. It is navigable in the dry Season for the largest Boats.

The City of Dacca lies on the Northeast side of this River & extends near 4 miles along y^e Bank. The British Factory[5] is nearly in Latitude 23°-40′ North, & stands near a quarter of a mile above high Water Mark; Its figure approaches nearest that of a Square, whose sides are a little less than 100 yards. The French & Dutch Factories are smaller & lie further up y^e River. Dacca is situated with respect to y^e head of Jelenghee River EBS$\frac{1}{4}$S* 109 Statute Miles, & from Calcutta according to a Map constructed from y^e best Authorities that I can procure E 27° N or ENE$\frac{1}{2}$N dist. 142 Miles.†

* Mr. D'anville places it on y^e North Bank of y^e Ganges & only 64 Miles from y^e head of Jelenghee River.

† 22$\frac{1}{2}$ from the Banks of y^e Ganges.

43 The Weather during the latter end of January (v^t.) from y^e 24th. to y^e 31st. was as follows: The 25th. & 26 clear Weather with fresh Breezes of Wind from y^e N. &

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[1] Idrakpur Kil'a or fort. Hunter says that the remains of a circular fort, built by Mir Jumla, one of the Governors of Bengal during the reign of Aurangzib, were visible at Idrakpur, S of Firinghi Bazar, in 1839 (Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. V, p. 72). The town of Munshiganj now stands on the site of Idrakpur, and the Sub divisional Officer's house is built on one of the bastions.

[2] *Ante*, p. 24.

[3] The Lakhmia river, the waters of which are still remarkable for their purity and sweetness.

[4] The Buriganga, a branch of the Dhaleswari river.

[5] The English, French, and Dutch factories were established in Dacca about the middle of the 17th century, when the city was visited by Tavernier. After 1801, the trade of the place declined considerably, and the Commercial Residency was discontinued in 1817. The position of the factories is shown in the map of the Environs of Dacca, Rennell's Bengal Atlas No. XII.

NNE^{T} the remaining days mostly Calm: the Air in general was moderately warm, the Mornings foggy till 8 or 9 o'clock.

The 1st. of February I perceived the first Breeze of Southerly Wind for y^{e} Season, the next day we had another more fresh about 9 in y^{e} Morning but after this we had commonly Northerly Breezes in y^{e} Morning & Southerly ones in y^{e} Afternoon though both of them light.

The Morning Fogs continued till y^{e} latter end of y^{e} Month & were the cause of much trouble & hindrance in surveying so broad a River as the Megna, where I was frequently obliged to look out for Flags at the distance of 7 & 8 miles.

By the middle of the Month the Air began to be very warm, & in y^{e} middle of the day excessive hot, as but little Wind was stirring; & I think that we had more Calms in this Month than in any other that I have observed since I have 44
been out.

The Month of March began with clear Weather, & very variable Winds though mostly from y^{e} South & West; the Air very warm.

The Fogs are now almost over, there being only a foggy Morning now & then, & seldom continuing after 8 o'clock.

* Thus far copied.[1]

The 15th. threatning Weather all day; the 16th. in y^{e} Evening we perceived the first Northwester for the Season. A heavy Shower of Hail fell in the beginning of it, & afterwards Rain;* the Wind was violent only for a few Minutes.

The 17th. close Weather all day, & some Rain; the Wind mostly from the Westward in fresh Breezes.

The 18th. fine Weather. The 19th. at Night several heavy Squalls of Wind from y^{e} SW & SSE & much Rain. The bad Weather continued from 7 to ½ past 9 PM.

The 20th. the Morning fair, The Evening rainy, Wind variable. 45

The 21st. in y^{e} morning some very fresh Gales from the Northward, & Rain the remainder of the Day; the next Day y^{e} Weather cleared up.

From the 21st. to y^{e} 31st. little remarkable in the Weather, the Winds mostly from y^{e} SW^{t}. & West, the Air very warm.

The 28th. March sent the Governor a general Map of the Megna on a scale of 2 Miles to an Inch, & the 4th. April sent y^{e} remaining 8 Maps of the Ganges: there has now been sent a compleat sett of Maps of the Ganges, both general and particular.[2]

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[1] Probably transcribed from the journals he was in the habit of sending to the Governor, and from the entries in his Field Books.

[2] Regarding the fate of these maps see p. 93.

The 5th. April received Orders from the Governor to survey the Megna or Baramputrey from its conflux with the Issamutey to Gaulpara,[1] or as high as it can be done without offending the Natives.

46 The Month of April began with fine Weather: the Winds in general from the Westward till y^e^ 7th. the Air moderately cool. The 6th. very fresh Breezes.

The 7th. Winds West & WSW the Morning Rainy, the remainder of the day very fresh Breezes the Wind rather more Southwardly.

The 8th. Winds West & SW very fresh in y^e^ Morning: very lowering Sky all y^e^ Afternoon.

The 9th. Wind va^d^. from N. to E. The Afternoon squally, Thunder, Lightning, & Rain: the next day fair Weather.

The 11th. variable Winds & much Rain; the 12th. Winds S. & SW. Weather very cool & pleasant: the 13th. & 14th. nearly the same.

The 15th. in y^e^ Night squally with Rain, the Wind from the Northwest. The 16th. all day lowring, the Night windy, some Rain tow^d^. Morning.

The 17th. at 1 Afternoon a Squall from the Northwest & from thence variable to S. & SE. Rain for several Hours.

47 The 10th. April sent the Governor a Sketch of the Rivers, with my Idea of the situation of Gaulpara.

The 19th. in y^e^ Evening a Squall of Wind from the North & NNW but no Rain. A small Shower in the Night.

From 19th. to 22nd. inclusive the Winds mostly from the SE & SSE, the Weather excessive hot & sultry.

From y^e^ 22nd. to y^e^ 25th. Winds mostly from the South & Southwest, the mornings & evenings fresh Breezes, but y^e^ middle of y^e^ day Calm & very hot.

The 25th. in y^e^ Evening a very hard Squall from y^e^ WNW & Rain for about an hour. This Squall was by much y^e^ severest we had felt for the Season, & it gave but little warning.

The 26th. in y^e^ Evening much Thunder, & Lightning with a heavy Shower of Rain; a small Breeze of Wind from y^e^ Northward.

The 27th. y^e^ Morning very cool, Wind from y^e^ SW. Evening cloudy & threatning.

48 The 28th. Morning fair, Wind from y^e^ Westward. At 3 PM a heavy Squall from the Northward & Rain till near 7. The Night clear.

The 29th. in y^e^ Morning fresh Gales from y^e^ NE and very cold. The Afternoon cloudy, Wind West. I observe that the Wind is commonly Westerly in y^e^ Night. A Shower in the Night.

The 30th. a close Morning, & the forenoon excessive hot, the Wind variable. The Afternoon Wind from the Northward & a great deal of Rain. The Evening drizling Rain, Night cloudy.

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[1] Goalpara, in Assam.

May 1st. fine Weather all day, the Evening very close & some Rain in y^{e} Night.

The 2nd. 3rd. & 4th. remarkable fine Weather, y^{e} Wind in the Morning from the NE & the remainder of y^{e} day from y^{e} W & SW.

The 5th. Weather all day excessive hot the Wind from the Westward.

The 6th. the Morning very hot, at Noon a Squall from the Westward with 49
heavy Rain for about an Hour, y^{e} Evening Cloudy & cool.

The 7th. at Sunrise began heavy Rain, w^{ch} continued till near 11 in y^{e} Morning, y^{e} remaining part of y^{e} day cool & cloudy.

The 5th. dispatched y^{e} remaining Maps, (v^{t}.) those containing a Copy of y^{e} late Survey on a scale of 2 In. to a mile, a Map of Luricule Creek on 1 In. to a mile, & Plans of Iddyracpour & Daapeka [1] Killas.

The 6th. received Intelligence of Lord Clive's arrival at Calcutta.[2]

The 8th. having all the Boats & People ready, I proposed setting out on y^{e} survey of y^{e} Baramputrey, but we had bad Weather all the day, & the following Night. At Noon that Day began heavy Rain; the Wind in fresh Breezes from the South & SSE. The Afternoon mostly rainy, but little Wind. At 10 at Night it began to grow squally & from 11 to ½ past 1 next Morning we had a hard Gale from the South East, the Weather dry. We sheltered the Boats near the French Factory.

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[1] A small fort on the Buriganga, 7 miles from Dacca on the road to Narainganj; probably one of the numerous forts built in the neighbourhood by the Mogul Viceroys, to check the incursions of the Maghs and Portuguese. All traces of it have now disappeared.

[2] Lord Clive arrived at Calcutta on the 3rd May 1765, to take up his second term of administration.

JOURNAL of the third Expedition for surveying the Megna & Baramputrey from its Conflux with y^e Issamutey towards Gwalpara; as likewise the Rivers & Creeks leading out of it towards the Province of Bengall.

Thursday May 9th. set out from Dacca in order to survey the Baramputrey, & proceeded by way of the Issamutey River The Weather being remarkably bad we were employed from this time to the 11th. in making a Passage of 22 miles with y^e Current in our favour.

The 11th. in the Afternoon began surveying at Doarsanny a small Village situated on y^e South Point of the Conflux of the Megna & Issamutey.[1] Opposite to this Place lies a very large Sand Bank which divides the River into two unequal Channells, of which the Northmost is the safest & best. The Countrey here is mostly covered with Jungle.

2 From the 11th. to the 14th. employed in surveying from Doarsanny to Allynya in distance about 9 miles; the course of the River is about WSW, & its breadth in general about a mile & quarter. The Countrey on the S. side is quite flat & destitute of Trees, the North side is a continued Jungle.

At Allynya[2] a branch of the Megna turns off to the SE & falls into the great Megna again at Chandpour after taking a Course of about 24 miles. This Branch is named the Panghia River, & is navigable all the year for the largest Boats. Two Miles above Allynya a large Creek or River falls into the Megna on y^e East side; this is commonly called the little Megna, & affords the shortest Passage from thence to Silet & Azmarygunge.[3]

From the 13th. to y^e 17th. employed surveying between Allynya & Nauldee[4]; the River being very crooked between those Places I shall refer to the Map. No. 1 from which the best Idea of its Course may be obtained. The Countrey on both sides is but thinly cultivated or inhabited, & there is scarce a Tree to be seen for many Miles. The Winds & Weather have been variable during this time, as will appear by the Journal annexed.[5]

3 This River altho' it be in general (& especially by Europeans) named the Baramputrey; yet the Countrey People call it the Megna, & this Name it preserves upwards of 50 miles above its conflux with the Issamuty; when it takes the name of Baramputrey or Barram-peut.[6]

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[1] This name is given in Rennell's Atlas to the combined waters of the Ichhamati, Dhaleswari, Buriganga, and Lakhmia rivers. Doarsanny lay on the eastern bank of the Meghna, opposite the conflux.

[2] A small village close to Daud Kandi, where the road from Dacca to Comillah leaves the river.

[3] Azmeriganj, a large village on the Surma in the Sylhet district, about 80 miles NE of Dacca.

[4] Probably Nawadee, now an important mart on the right bank of the Meghna about 7 miles above Sonargaon, the ancient Muhammadan capital of Eastern Bengal.

[5] See p. 112.

[6] Hobson Jobson does not give this mode of spelling the name, Buchanan Hamilton writes it 'Brohmoputro.'

Few particulars worth remarking happened between the 17th & 23rd. except that we had in general excessive turbulent weather, & much Rain; & that on y^{e} 21st. we had a very hard Gale from the Southward. During this Time we were employed in surveying the West side of the River from Nauldee to Nursingdy. The River within this space is very broad, rapid, & dangerous, it being full of Islands & Shoals: its breadth is in many places 2½ miles; its Course in general SWBS. The Pagoda of Sultansuddy[1] lies about 1¾ mile within y^{e} Western Bank, & is situated EBN distant about 16½ miles from Dacca. The Countrey here is mostly sown with Padda.

Nursingdee a Bazar Village is situated on the Western Bank of the Megna & bears ENE½N dis^{t} 23 miles from Dacca. Near this Village a large Branch of the Baramputrey falls into the Megna, after forming (by means also of that River) an Island of about 18 miles long & 7 over. The nearest Passage to Chilmary & Gwalpara 4
lying through this Westmost Branch, I judged proper to make an exact Survey of it first, & to leave the Eastern River, till I could inform myself of more particulars concerning its Course; for even the Countrey People themselves are not acquainted with all the Channells, & they are but little frequented by Trading Boats.

At Nursingdy likewise another small River or Creek falls into the Megna; this Creek as I am informed affords a short Passage to the Luckya River, but my Orders directing me to leave the Western Branches of this River unsurveyed, till y^{e} great River is described, I cannot give any account whether it is all y^{e} year navigable for large Boats, but I suspect that it is. The Tides are almost imperceptible at this Place.

From the 23rd. May to y^{e} 2nd. June, employed in surveying the Western River* 5
whose length is near 40 miles, the windings & turnings included. It frequently separates into smaller Channells forming many pleasant & well cultivated Islands; the Western side, the soil is of a red Colour & very firm, & in several places there are very steep Cliffs by the River side. The Country here is likewise Woody, but none of the Trees are fit for Timber.[2] Here are many Villages whose situations are all particularly described in the Map.

*This River is called the little Baramputrey or Poggolah.

The Current of this River is very rapid; the Tide rises at Pikerchoar about 8 or 9 inches, but farther up I could not perceive any Tide. The Western Bank of this River harbours a great number of Snakes, amongst which there are some of an enormous Size.

June 3d. came into the great Baramputrey, whose Course is from the WNW. I still omitted to survey the Eastern River, for want of a proper Person to inform me of the Courses of the several Branches that lead out of it.

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[1] Sultan Shahadee. Marked on map No. XVII in Rennell's atlas, but not mentioned in the List of Ancient Monuments.

[2] This tract of country is described in Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal (Vol. v, pp. 18, 19). The soil consists of red ferruginous clay. The whole tract is known as the Madhupur jungle or 'Garh Gazali,' so called after the 'Sal' (*Shorea robusta*), the principal timber tree (*see* p. 60), and lies comparatively high, rising to 100 feet above flood level. It is still but little cultivated and infested by wild animals.

6 From the 3d. to the 9th. of June inclusive employed in surveying from the head of the Western River to the head of the Luckia River. The Course of the River within this space is nearly SEBE & is divided into a number of Channells by an extensive Cluster of Islands. The Countrey on both sides has very few particulars worth remarking; it is very flat & mostly covered with Jungle toward y^e^ River; in the neighbourhood of Adampour, & the head of the Luckya River the Countrey abounds with Betel or Areca Trees. The Islands are mostly uninhabited.

The Luckya River is the Westmost Branch of the Baramputrey, & falls into y^e^ Issamutey a few Miles below Dacca,[1] after sending out a navigable Creek which leads to Dacca, & thereby allows a much shorter Passage from that City to Chilmary & Gwalpara than any of the Branches of the Megna.

7 The 9th. of June having procured a Pilot for the Megna, I proceeded to make a cursory survey of that part of it which lies betwixt Nursingdy & the head of the Western River, & set out on that Service in y^e^ Morning.

From the 9th. to the 16th. employed on the above Service. This part of the Megna is in some places upwards of three miles broad & has near 21 Islands within y^e^ space of 25 Miles. All of them are covered with Jungle & entirely uninhabited.

The Banks of this River also are mostly covered with Jungle, insomuch that there are only 3 considerable Villages within y^e^ abovementioned space. About 8 miles above Nursingdy, a large Creek runs out to the Southeast; this Creek, the Countrey People informed me, is the same which falls into the Megna near Allynya, & is included in Mr. Plaisted's Surveys of the Silet Rivers. Three miles further up the Silet River,[2] joins w^th^. the Megna from the North East. This River is more 8 than half a mile broad, & as I am informed, has its Source near the Province of Silet. This River is likewise included in Mr. Plaisted's Surveys. The Water of this River is clearer than that of the Megna.

Opposite to the Village of Paragarahandy another River or large Creek falls into the Megna on y^e^ E^t^. side[3]: I could not learn from the Countrey People any particulars concerning its Course; it was near half a mile broad at that time, but it must be much smaller in y^e^ dry Season on account of the flatness of the neighbouring Countrey. I imagine that it must be some Branch of the Baramputrey which separates from that River a great way to the Northward.

The 16th. proceeded with the Survey of the Baramputrey, from the head of the Luckya River, northward.

Near this Place the Baramputrey is scarce half a mile broad, but excessive deep 9 & rapid. The Rains had swelled the River very considerably, so that the Water was in many places even with the top of the Banks.

A few Miles above the head of the Luckya River we discovered one of the Northern Hills[4] which was then distant from us upwards of 70 Miles.

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[1] Where the large town of Naraingani is situated.

[2] The Surma. The clearness of the water is due to the numerous jhils through which it flows, where the silt carried by the river is to a great extent deposited.

[3] On map XVII of Rennell's Atlas this creek is shown as a branch of the Surma.

[4] The Garo Hills.

The 22nd. came to the Village of Ossunpour,[1] at which Place are the Ruins of a Portuguese Chapel. This Village is about 50 Miles NBE$\frac{1}{2}$E from Dacca. Immediately below this Village a navigable Creek runs out of the Baramputrey to y^{e} Eastward, & communicates with Silet River. This part of the Country abounds with Betel Trees. The Variation of the Magnetic Needle was 0°-38′ Westerly at this Place.

The 23d. saw another Range of Mountains to the Northw^{d}. dist^{t}. at least 80 Miles. These are said to be the Boundary of the Kingdom of Bengall.[2]

From y^{e} 22d. June to y^{e} 14th. July employed in surveying from Ossunpour to
Coustya a small Village on the West side of the River. This Day we were obliged
to leave off surveying, by reason of the Rivers suddenly overflowing the Banks, & **10**
rendering it impossible either to measure Station Lines, or note the exact bed of
the River.

The Course of the Baramputrey between the head of the Luckya River & Coustya is about SEBS notwithstanding that the old Maps have made it nearly South. The breadth of the River is very unequal, it being from half a Mile to three Miles. The Country on both sides is full of Villages, & has a great deal of Padda sown in it, & there are many Groves of Betel Trees. There is not a Tree fit for Timber to be met with, the trunks being very short & crooked.

Baganbarry[3] a large Bazar Village is situated on y^{e} West side of the River, & near the Place where we left off surveying. From this Village a small Creek leads into the Luckya River during the wet Season, & allows a much safer Passage for Boats than y^{e} great River.

It being but a short Passage from Baganbarry to Chilmary,[4] I imagined that a **11**
few days would be usefully employed in tracing the River to that Place & making a
cursory Survey of it, in order to render the general Map more compleat to this Time,
& to get some Information from y^{e} Countrey People concerning the Situation of
Gwalpara, & the Course of the Creeks that lead out of the Baramputrey towards
Muxadavat.[5]

From the 14th. to y^{e} 19th. of July, employed in tracing y^{e} Baramputrey from Baganbarry to Chilmary. The Course of the River between these two Places is nearly the same as between the Luckya River & Baganbarry (v^{t}.) SEBS. The distance by

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[1] Hoseinpur. The Portuguese chapel here is not mentioned either by Hunter or in the List of Ancient Monuments ‘Ossumpur’ is mentioned in a letter of Père Barbier, dated 15th January 1723, included in the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses (Tome XIII, p. 272), as one of the places where the ‘gens à chapeau, or Portuguese in the service of the Great Mogul, were especially numerous. He visited the place himself in company with Bishop Laynez in 1714, and describes it as ‘une bourgade toute chrétienne, nommée Ossumpur.’ This letter will shortly be published by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in Bengal, Past and Present.

[2] *See below*, p. 130.

[3] Baganbarry—spelt Bygonbarry on Rennell's map=Maimansingh or Nasirabad, the head-quarters of the Maimansingh district. Baigunbari is mentioned by Hunter as a village with a large indigo factory near Gobindganj, about 5 m. NW of Maimansingh. It is a place of pilgrimage for Hindus (Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. V. p. 415).

[4] Chilmari, a town on the west bank of the Brahmaputra, a short distance above the point where the present river leaves the old channel.

[5] A corruption of Maksudabad, the old name of Murshidabad. Rennell uses both forms, and in the Bengal Atlas always Moorshedabad.

Estimation is near 70 Miles, & as I was assisted in ascertaining it both by the bearings of the Mountains & the Latitude of Chilmary, there can arise no very considerable Error. The Latitude of Chilmary by an Observation taken by Hadley's Quadrant was 25°-27′ N.[1]*

* The Lat^{de}. has since been taken in a truer Manner 25°-24′.

12 The Countrey betwixt Baganbarry & Chilmary is quite flat all y^{e} way on y^{e} West side of y^{e} River, & is mostly Padda Fields ; the Eastern Side likewise is flat till within 20 miles of Chilmary, & then the hilly Countrey begins. Some of the hills lie close to the River side, & are of a very moderate height, & covered with Jungle.

The Chain of high Mountains beforementioned that are said to be the Eastern Boundary of Bengall begin about the Latitude of 25°-10′ N & run in a curve Line to the Northwestward. Part of this Chain comes within 30 miles of Chilmary. I have not yet had an Opportunity of taking their exact Altitude, but judge that they are near a mile & half in perpendicular Height.[2]

In the accompanying General Map only one of the Mountains is placed in its
13 true Situation (v^{t}. Mount Sosong [3]), the others by reason of the very frequent thick Weather were not seen from the South end of the Base, & therefore their Situation must be left undetermined till y^{e} dry Season.

There are no Creeks leading out of the Baramputrey towards Jelenghee betwixt Chilmary & Dacca, but I am informed that betwixt Chilmary & Gwalpara there is one which affords a Passage for small Boats all y^{e} year round to Surda & Jaffiergunge Rungpour & Gorrygatt are situated on y^{e} Banks of this Creek.[4]

By the best Information that I can procure concerning the Situation of Gwalpara, it must lie near y^{e} Latitude of 26° N [5] & about 70 miles NWBW from Chilmary. However there is little dependence to be placed on y^{e} Countrey People's Intelligence.

The Current of the Baramputrey is remarkably rapid, near Chilmary in some places it runs at the rate of 6 miles an Hour.

14 From the 19th. to y^{e} 25th. of July staid at Chilmary, during which time we were employed in taking y^{e} Latitude, getting Information from y^{e} Countrey People, & constructing a Sett of General Maps of the late Survey.

The 25th. left Chilmary, & y^{e} 29th. at Night entered the Luckya River, the frequent Gales of Wind preventing our making any greater Progress. In proceeding down the Luckya River we made a Sketch of it, which is inserted in y^{e} general Map. The first of August arrived at Dacca.

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[1] 25°-27′-20″, according to Hunter.

[2] This is the Tura range, the backbone of the Garo hills. The highest point is Nokrek, 4,652 ft.

[3] This is the peak 3,375 ft. high overhanging the Someswari R. about 14 miles NNE of Susang Durgapur, the residence of the Raja of Susang. The hill is known to the Bengalis as Kailas and to the Garos as Chikmang, and is considered sacred by them, as the place which the spirits of the Garos inhabit after death. (Playfair, 'The Garos,' p. 102.) I ascended this hill in 1882, and was surprised to find that my Garo guides showed no reluctance to accompany me. One of them, indeed, caught and eat *à l'huître,* an unfortunate crayfish that he caught in a stream near the crest of the hill, a circumstance that did not indicate much awe, or reverence for the spirits of his ancestors supposed to inhabit it !

[4] This information was incorrect. The Jennai river, which afterwards became the main channel of the Brahmaputra, now known as the Jamuna, left the latter below Chilmari. Rangpur and the ruined city of Ghoraghat lie well to the west.

[5] Goalpara lies in Lat. 26°-11′ N., but to the NE of Chilmari, not to the WNW as stated by Rennell's informant. The distance in a direct line is about 70 miles.

NOTE.

Having no Colours to distinguish the Data for the Construction of the general 16
Map, an account of it is here given in Writing.

The Hughly & Jelenghee Rivers, together with that part of the Ganges w^{ch} lies to y^{e} Westw^{d}. of Jelenghee is taken from a Map of Capt. Polier's.

The great Ganges from Jelenghee to its conflux with y^{e} Megna, & likewise the Megna & Baramputrey from thence to Baganbarry, is laid down by exact Surveys. Dacca likewise is placed in its true Situation by means of a Survey from the mouth of the Issamuty to that Place.

The Chunnunah & Comer Creeks are laid down from Surveys, but the Burrashee, Najapour, Beurygonga, Issamuty & Panghia Rivers are chiefly from the report of the Pilots.

The Luckya River is from a Sketch taken lately, as likewise the Baramputrey from Baganbarry to Chilmary.

The Latitudes of the Southern Places are reckoned from an Observation of Latitude taken at Luckypour in 1764.[1]

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[1] *See* p. 34.

17 Measured the height of a Mark on y^e Poostah[1] 22d. April at New Moon. High Water.

		Foot.	In.
The Height was then		14	3
do	7th. June	11	7½
	22nd. do.	10	6½
	27th.	9	11
July	7th.	7	4
	9th.	7	5
	19th.	5	2½
August	2d.	1	10½
	3d. Morn.	1	7
	4th. Morning	1	2½
	5th. do.	0	10¾
	7th. do.	0	7
	8th. Low Water	0	9¼
	9th. at 11 am ½ flood	0	12½
	10th.	—	—
	11th. at ½ past 9 ¼ flood	0	9¾
	12th.	—	—
	13th. 9 Morn.	0	8½
	13th. 6 Evg.	0	8½
	14th. 6 Evg.	0	9
	15th.	0	0
	16th. Morn. HW	0	9½
	17th. 10 AM	0	10¼
	19th. 10 AM	0	10½
	20th.	—	—
	21st. HW	0	13
	23d.	0	12½
	25th.	0	15¼
	29th.	0	20
Sept.	3d.	0	26½
	4th.	0	29½
	7th.	0	36
	10th.	3	7

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[1] Poostah. *Hind.* Pushta, a quay or masonry terrace along the river bank (Cal. Rev., Vol. xciv, p. 326). A place named 'Postagolah' (Gola=Warehouse) is marked on Rennell's map of Dacca (Beng. Atlas No. XII) close to the city.

OCTOBER 1765.

JOURNAL of the fourth Expedition for making a general Map of the Bengall Provinces, beginning with that of Bengall, & continuing the Survey of the Baramputrey & the Countries bordering on it.

The 10th. of October whilst at Dacca I received Lord Clive's Orders to set about forming a general Map of Bengall with all Expedition; & as it appeared to be a very tedious Work should all the Distances be exactly ascertained, his Lordship gave Directions that they should be taken in a cursory Manner only, correcting them by Latitudes or any other eligible Means.[1]

As his Lordship was pleased to leave it to my Discretion where to begin my Surveys, I judged it most proper to proceed with the Survey of the River Baramputrey, & the Countries that lie contiguous to it.

Sunday 13th. set out from Dacca. The Rainy Season not broke up but ex- 2
pected to break[2] at the new Moon which was to happen ye next day. Being to go by way of Naranda Creek[3] I judged that no ill Consequences could happen to the Boats by the Monsoons breaking, whilst they continued in so narrow a Creek: the Weather also appeared to be settled.

In the afternoon we had a slight Squall from the NNE, & at 5 perceiving that the Clouds began to rise very quick from that Quarter, we returned back to Diagunge & secured the Boats near the Bridge.[4] Very heavy Rain from 5 till Midnight, the Wind in moderate Gales from the Northward.

The 14th. at ½ an hour past Midnight the Wind increased, and at one blew a
stiff Gale: from that Time till 6 in the Morning several heavy Squalls, with much
Rain, the Wind veering gradually from Nd. to ENE. At 9 the Wind came at East
& blew much stronger than before, & from 9 to 5 PM it veered gradually to SWBW,
its violence increasing till it had settled in that Quarter near two Hours. The Rain
continued without Intermission. At 7 PM the Wind veered to West, & grew 3
moderate, the remainder of the Night moderate Gales from WNW to West, with
flying Showers. The Moon changed at 11 at this Night.

The 15th. moderate Gales from WSW to NNW, the Weather cloudy & threatning, but before Night it cleared up. The Water of the River rose a Cubit & half during the Storm, but fell again this Day.[5]

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[1] The historian Orme had written to Lord Clive (21st Novr. 1764), imploring him to "make a vast map of Bengal, in which not only the outlines of the province, but also the different subdivisions of Burdwan, Beerboom etc. may be justly marked. * * * * Take astronomical observations of longitude, if you have anybody capable of doing it * * * *." These instructions to Rennell were no doubt the outcome of this appeal (Malcolm, Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 253). On the 29th Septr 1765 Clive wrote to Orme promising to let him have the maps (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 132).

[2] The expression "break of the monsoon" is now generally used to denote its beginning; *ante* p. 27.

[3] The Dolai or Naranda creek is a branch of the Balu, a tributary of the Lakhmia (Luckya) river, and intersects the city of Dacca.

[4] The Narandia bridge, built (together with a mosque) in the year 1664 A.D. The creek is now crossed by an iron suspension bridge (Rankin).

[5] These cyclones often occur during October in the Bay of Bengal and the surrounding countries, and frequently

The 16th. the Weather appearing to be settled, we set out from Diagunge & got to Demra[1] in the Evening, when the Wind settled in the NE Quarter.

The 17th. a thick foggy Morning, being the first for the Season, & I remarked that the first Morning of this kind last year happened the 21st. of October. For the remainder of the Weather see the last Pages of the Journal.[2]

The 19th. in the Morning came to the outlet of Bermya Creek, which is a Branch of the Baramputrey falling into the Luckya River near Simulya. As this Creek had not been surveyed, I struck thro' it in order to trace it to the Baramputrey.

4 The 22nd. in the Afternoon came into the Baramputrey near Toak & opposite to the Village of Akarasonda,[3] having traced the Bermya Creek whose Course is very crooked, & the Banks everywhere covered with Jungles & Woods. We saw but one Village the whole way, which is that of Bermya, situated on the Western Bank of the Creek, & about 8½ miles WSW from Akarasonda. Four miles NE from this Village the Creek receives another small Creek from Bagunbary, but it is not navigable all the Year.

The Current of the Baramputrey appeared to be much stronger this Time than when we passed through it before; occasioned I imagine by the Waters falling off.

The 23d. at Noon took an Observation of Lat^{d}. at Ossunpour,[4] by which that Place lies in 24°-26′ N^{d}.

The 25th. in the Evening arrived at the Place where we left off surveying in July last, near Baganbary, & prepared for surveying next day. Found the Magnetic Variation at this Place 0°-32′ Westerly.

In coming up the River we have been employed in copying the original Survey of the Baramputrey & Luckya River for the Governor.

5 The 26th. continued the Survey of the Baramputrey from the old Mark, towards Chilmary & Gwalpara, & from this Time to y^{e} 10th. November (15 days) employed in tracing it by a cursory Survey from Sunacalley[5] to the Mouth of the Dherla River[6] which is upwards of 76 miles. The Western Bank betwixt Baganbary & Dewangunge being laid down in July last by a cursory Survey, I omitted going over it again; but from Dewangunge to Chilmary the Countrey was too much overflown at that Time to lay down the River Bank with any tolerable exactness, so that that part was surveyed again, & accordingly appears very different in particulars from the Map which was sent in August last.

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cause much damage. As I write these notes (19th Oct^{r} 1909) one has devastated the E.B S. Railway station at Goalundo, caused some loss of life, and destroyed a number of steamers anchored there.

[1] At the junction of the Naranda creek with the Lakhmia.

[2] *See* pp. 63 to 65.

[3] A large village at the head of the Lakhmia river, the Egarasindhur of history. It was a seat of the famous Isa Khan, the founder of the Maimansingh family, who is mentioned by Ralph Fitch in 1586 as "Isacan the chiefe of all the other kings, and a great friend to all Christians" (Ryley, Ralph Fitch, p. 119). A battle is said to have taken place here between Isa Khan and Raja Man Singh, Akbar's famous Hindu General (Rankin). The Lakhmia and the Bermya creek run through the heart of the Madhupur Jungle, the elevated tract of country extending from the Meghna to the Brahmaputra, already referred to (p. 45).

[4] *Ante*, p. 47.

[5] A village on the left bank of the Brahmaputra opposite Maimansingh.

[6] The Dharla river joins the Brahmaputra at Bagwa, above Chilmari.

The Courses of the River are various, being from SW to East; however the whole distance is chiefly meridional, & therefore easy to be corrected by the Latitudes. By this Base I was enabled to fix the Situations of several of the Sosong Mountains[1] which in clear Weather will serve as Marks 80 miles off.

I mentioned in the former Journal that the Hilly Countrey began on the East
side a few miles below Chilmary: the Hills continue afterwards in scattering Ranges
along the Eastern Bank of the River. The Sosong & Rungjulee[2] Mountains lie near 6
30 miles within & bound the Garrow Provinces.

The Baramputrey within the above mentioned Space is from $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to 7 miles over within its bed; but during the Months of July & August it overflows all the Low Lands, few spots of Ground having less than a Cubit or a Cubit & half water on them.

The Countrey on both sides of the River, between Baganbary & Mobagunge, is mostly Padda Fields, interspersed with Groves of Betel & other Trees; between Mobagunge & the Dherla River the Countrey is mostly jungly near the River; & the opposite side is one entire Jungle. There are no Timber Trees to be found near the River.

I reckoned upwards of 80 Villages between Baganbarry & the Mouth of the Dherla River, but there are no Bazars save at Buzerapour, Dewangunge & Chilmary, & these are very paltry ones. The Countrey abounds with Cattle, Rice, & Poultry, & there are prodigious numbers of Tygers & wild Buffalos in the Jungles, particularly in the neighbourhood of Baggooa.[3] 7

I had several Observations of the Variation of the Magnetic Needle, the quantity from 0°-46′ to 0°-58′ Westerly; & some Observations of Latitude, by which I place Chilmary in 25°-24′ N. That Place is now $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant from the Western Bank of the River. The Teesta Creek[4] from Boutan falls into the River 11 miles above Chilmary, & 5 miles below the Mouth of the Dherla River.

Being entirely ignorant of the Situation of Rungpour,[5] & the adjacent Countries; the knowledge of which would enable me to regulate my Route after the Survey of the

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[1] The Tura range of the Garo Hills.

[2] The northern portion of the Garo Hills (*see* map No. V in Rennell's Atlas). Buchanan Hamilton remarks concerning this name, "In the nomenclature of these hills there is great confusion. The names given to the same hill by the different tribes who inhabit near are not only different, but it is usual for the Bengalese to call whatever hill you point out to them by the village that lies nearest it in the direction from whence you are then looking; so that for every hill you may find as many names as it has villages near, and not one of these may be its proper name. It seems to have been owing to this custom not having been understood, that Major Rennell has given the name of Rungjula to the Garo mountains. As he was endeavouring from the riverside to find out the name of this elevated region, he probably pointed out to the natives the highest peak, Gorokhyonath; and Ronggojuli village being in the direction, the natives called it the Ronggojuli hill" (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 475). The northern range of the Garo Hills is now commonly known as the Arbela range, after one of the villages situated upon it.

[3] Bagwa, at the mouth of the Dharla.

[4] This was not the main channel of the Teesta, which in those days flowed due south. It now joins the Brahmaputra below Chilmari. The change in its course took place in 1787 (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VII, p. 165, p. 296).

[5] Rangpur, the head-quarters of a District, on the Ghaghat River. It had only just been taken over from the Muhammadans, and was in a very unsettled state. Buchanan Hamilton spells the name Ronggopoor (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 351). Regarding the changes in the courses of the rivers of this district he writes, about 1809:—"Since the survey was made by Major Rennell, the rivers of this district have undergone such changes, that I find the utmost difficulty in tracing them. The soil is so light, and the rivers in descending the mountains have acquired such force, that

Baramputrey was finished, I judged it proper to trace the Roads to that Place & then to return to the Baramputrey by way of Coorygong[1] & the Dherla River; at the same time describing the Courses of the Dherla & Teesta Rivers, which intersect the Roads.

The 10th of November entered the Teesta Creek & proceeded up it towards
Olyapour which lies in the Rungpour Road. The 12th. in the Forenoon came to
8 Olyapour after going 22½ miles thro' the Creek, altho' the distance by Land is only
10¼ miles. The Teesta Creek is not above 100 yards over, & very shallow in some
Places, so that it cannot be navigable during the dry Months.

Olyapour[2] is a large Village situated on the North Bank of the Teesta, but the Bazar is small & ill supplied. The Countrey round it is pleasant & well cultivated, every spot of Ground being either sown with Padda or planted with Betel Trees. But within 5 miles of the great River's Bank there is but little cultivated Land. Rannygunge a middling Village lies 3 miles SE from Olyapour & on yᵉ north Bank of the Teesta.

The Countrey round Olyapour belongs to Baharbund Purgannah.[3]

From Olyapour we proceeded towards Rungpour by Land, there being no Water
Passage at this Season. We passed the Teesta[4] about 6 miles WNW of Olyapour at
a small Village named Tytari; after this its Course is more to the NWᵗ. About a
mile & half West from Tytari crossed the Monaash Creek,[5] which is now fordable:
its Course is to the ESE, joining the Teesta at Callygunge. The Countrey from
Olyapour to this Place is full of Padda Fields & Betel Trees, but here it is unculti-
9 vated for several Miles, owing I suppose to its lying too high to be overflown during
the rainy Season.

After crossing the Monaash Creek we proceeded 3½ miles along the southern Bank of it, having a pleasant Plain to yᵉ Southward, & thick Woods to the Northward. After leaving this Plain we entered a well cultivated Countrey, being full of Padda fields & Betel Groves, & having a very good Road through it. At Dammo-Choculo 6 miles ESE from Rungpour, crossed the Allykury Creek, which is another Branch of the Teesta, & about 2 foot deep at this Time. The whole Countrey appears to be very well watered, being everywhere intersected by small Creeks. The Allykurey

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frequent and great changes are unavoidable; so that whole channels have been swept away by others, and new ones are constantly forming. The nomenclature therefore is exceedingly difficult. After tracing the name of a river from some distance you all of a sudden lose it, and perhaps recover the same name at a distance of 20 miles, while many large rivers intervene, and no channel remains to assist in discovering the former connection. * * * * The confusion that has arisen from these circumstances is so great, that Major Rennell seems to have been overpowered, or unwilling to waste time on the investigation; and owing to the contradictory accounts given by the natives, he seems to have altogether avoided giving names to many of the rivers. * * * *'' An account of the rivers as they were in Buchanan Hamilton's time follows (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 358 *seq.*).

[1] Kurigram, on the right bank of the Dharla, which is now bridged here by the E.B.S. Railway.

[2] Ulipur, a village about half-way between the Dharla and the present channel of the Teesta, due south of Kurigram.

[3] Pargana, a fiscal division of a district. The two parganas of Bhitarband (Bittrebund of Rennell's Atlas), or 'inner,' and Baharbund, 'outer', boundaries (? *band*) or frontiers, lay along the Brahmaputra, and were two of the former divisions of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Kamarupa, which extended westwards to Rangpur.

[4] *i.e.* the Teesta creek above mentioned, not the main river at that time. This was the channel taken possession of by the river in 1787.

[5] The Manas, one of the numerous branches of the Teesta, not the larger Manas, or Banas, of Assam.

runs by y^{e} side of the Road for near 4 miles to the Westward of the place where we crossed it.

Rungpour is situated with respect to Olyapour W^{t}. 12°-20′ North, distant 22¼ British Miles,* tho' by the Road it is upwards of 24 Miles. The Goggot Creek[1] comes within ¾ of a mile of the west part of the Town: it is navigable for Boats of 150 Maund till the Month of January. This Creek is said to be a Branch of the Purnabubah River,[2] which has its Source in the Kingdom of Boutan,[3] & runs by way of Raajgunge, **10**
Denospour[4] & Bulloa; afterwards joining the Ganges by several Branches, the chief of which are those of Mahanada, Surda, & Jaffiergunge.

* Latitude 25°-43′ N. Lon. from Dacca 1°-6′ West.

There is but little worth remarking about Rungpour, it being only a principal Gunge,[5] & like most of the others, the Houses are built of Matts & Bamboos, there being but one Brick house in the Town.

The British Factory is now at Nabobgunge, a Bazar Village lying about 3 miles NWBW from Rungpour.

We arrived at Rungpour the 14th. & the two following Days were employed in collecting some particulars concerning the Situation of the neighbouring Countries, the Course of the Rivers, &c.

From the 16th. to the 19th. employed in tracing the Roads from Rungpour to Gurygong.[6] This is a middling Village belonging to Baharbund, situated on the South Bank of the Dherla or Durla River & about 12 miles N 37°-30′ West from the Place of its Conflux with the Baramputrey. The Dherla is from 350 yards to a ¼ of a mile broad & is navigable all the Year for Boats of 2000 Maund between Gurygong & y^{e} great River. This River has likewise its Source from Boutan, & in the wet **11**
Season has a communication with the Purnabubah. It separates the Purgannahs of Baharbund & Vittrebund.[7]

The Roads between Rungpour & Gurygong are in general very rough & Jungly, especially in the neighbourhood of the latter. In our Route we crossed the Monaash & Teesta Creeks, besides several Jeels which render the Roads impassable 6 months of the Year.

The 20th. & 21st. employed in tracing the Dherla River from Gurygong to Baggooa (the place of its Conflux with the Baramputrey): the distance by the River is near 18 miles; the Current is in general excessive rapid.

From the 21st. November to y^{e} 2d. December employed in laying down the Western Bank of the Baramputrey from the Mouth of the Dherla River to Jugygupa:[8]

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[1] The Ghagat, formerly a branch of the Teesta, but now silted up at its head. It is a very sluggish and tortuous river. In the lower part of its course it receives the name of the Alai, and afterwards of the Bengali River.

[2] The Purnabhaba R. lies considerably to the West in Dinajpur District, and was at that time one of the main branches of the Teesta.

[3] Bhutan.

[4] Dinajpur.

[5] A Bazar village or Market. There were 42 brick houses in Buchanan Hamilton's time (1809).

[6] Kuriganj or Kurigram.

[7] Bhitarband. Bittrebund in Rennell's Bengal Atlas, No. V.

[8] Jogighopa, a village on the north bank of the Brahmaputra opposite Goalpara, Yogighopa of Buchanan Hamilton. The Ahoms had a fort here, taken by Mir Jumla in 1662 (Gait, Hist. of Assam, p. 127). The name appears to be

the distance is 71 miles, & the Courses various. Between Baggoa & Rangamatty the Course of the River is in general S 31°-30′ W^{t}. $36\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the Countrey within this space is quite flat & destitute of Trees, & the Soil sandy & barren near the River; there are very few Villages & no Bazars or Haats.[1]

12 The Rangamatty Countrey begins about 10 miles above Baggoa, & continues to the Frontiers of Boutan & Assam. Ten miles below Rangamatty the Sunecoss[2] River from Boutan falls into the Baramputrey at Dubarye.[3] The Sunecoss River is about 200 yards broad & 12 or 14 Cubits deep for upwards of 40 miles above the Conflux.

Rangamatty is at present a small illbuilt Village situated on a Range of small Hills which form the Western Bank of the Sunecoss River, & about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles NW from the Baramputrey, with which it has a communication by means of the Sunecoss. It has a small mud Fort with some few Guns mounted in it, & I observed about 50 Guns from 2 to 4 pounders lying without.[4] The Latitude of this Place is 26°-6′ North & Longitude from Dacca 0°-20′ West.

The Course of the Baramputrey between Rangamatty & Gwalpara is from EBN to WBS 35 miles, the breadth irregular, & a great number of Islands in it. Between these Places four Rivers from Boutan empty themselves into the Baramputrey on the North side; Three of them (v^{t}.) the Gowrong, Champomattey, & Hāārypaany are fordable; but however serve to float down Timbers from Boutan & the Forests of
13 Bisnee.[5] The fourth of these Rivers is named the Bonaash,[6] whose Course is from the Boutan Mountains, to the SW, first separating the Low Countries of Assam & Boutan, & afterwards those of Bengall & Assam; emptying itself into the Baram-

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derived from that of a Garo princess, Jugé Silché, who was hidden by her people in a cave here to protect her from a rapacious chief of Assam (Playfair, The Garos, p. 9).

[1] Hind. Hāt, a market held on certain days.

[2] The Sankos, formerly the boundary between Bengal and Assam.

[3] Dhubri, for many years the terminus of the Railway on the Brahmaputra, and the head-quarters station of Goalpara district.

[4] Rangamati, signifying 'Red earth,' is a common village name in Bengal and Assam, such villages being built on patches of the older alluvium, which is usually of a red colour. This particular village is not shown in the Atlas of India, but is marked conspicuously on Rennell's maps (Bengal Atlas Nos. V and XVIII) on the bank of the Sunecoss (Sankos) near the Brahmaputra. It is also marked in the same position, on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, not far beyond Dhubri, in the map attached to M^{r}. Gait's History of Assam. But in Hunter's Imp. Gazetteer of India (Vol. XI, p. 470) and in the latest edition of the same work the position is given as in Lat. 26°-19′ N., Long. 90°-48′ E.; that is to say, the site of a small village of the same name on the Manas, 38 miles further to the east. It is also stated that the village was an important outpost of the Muhammadans at the beginning of the 18th century. As, however, the Rangamati of the Gazetteer lies on the eastern bank of the Manas, which was then the boundary, and therefore within the dominions of the king of Assam, it is not likely to have been in Muhammadan hands. Moreover Rennell's description shows that his Rangamati had not long before been a fort of importance, and it is much more likely therefore to have been the Muhammadan outpost in that direction. It was one of the places visited by Bishop Laynez in 1714, as recorded in the Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses (Tom. XIII, p. 288), and was considered to be very unhealthy, as Père Barbier says:—"On nous faisoit appréhender ce voyage, car c'est un proverbe commun à Bengale, que de deux personnes qui vont à Rangamati, il y en a toujours une qui y reste. Mais le courage de notre Prélat étoit à toute épreuve."

[5] Bijni, an estate in the Goalpara district.

[6] The Manas R., called the Banas in the Muhammadan records (Gait, History of Assam, p. 113 *note*). It joins the Brahmaputra opposite Goalpara.

putrey at Jugygupa, a few miles below Gwalpara. The Bed of this River is in general 200 yards broad, but its Waters are not navigable even for Pulwars during the driest part of the Year. As this River affords so short a Passage to the Boutan Mountains (it being less than 60 miles on a streight Line from the foot of the Mountains to Jugygupa), there is no doubt but that any Number of Firr Trees may be brought down by it, if a right understanding subsisted between our People & the Assamers; as I have myself seen a large Firr Tree which floated down the River, after being washed down the Mountains by the Land Floods.[1]

Between Rangamatty & Gwalpara the Countrey is Hilly on both sides the River, & so full of Woods & Jungles that it is scarce penetrable, & I could see but two or three Villages the whole way.

Gwalpara[2] is a small Village belonging to Measpara Purgana, & is situated on the South side of the great River in Latitude 26°-7′ North & Longitude from Dacca 0°-16′ East. The Factory lies on the side of a small woody Hill immediately to the **14**
Eastward of which the Keestrey, a small River from the Garrow Provinces, falls into the Baramputrey.

The Assam Countrey begins from the Bonaash River on the North side the Baramputrey & one of their Chokeys[3] is placed directly opposite Gwalpara; but on the South side the Bengall Provinces continue for upwards of 21 miles. The Countrey is very little cultivated in the neighbourhood of Gwalpara and Jugygupa.[4] The Woods abound with several kinds of wild Animals, as Tygers, Rhinoceros, Buffalos, Elephants, &c., the tracks of which may be seen everywhere.

I could not perceive that the Current of the Baramputrey was more rapid near Gwalpara &c. than it was 200 miles farther down, altho' it is commonly reported otherwise: it is indeed rocky in some places, particularly between Rangamatty & Gwalpara; but in other respects the Navigation of this River appears to me to be full as easy as that of the Ganges.

From the 2nd. to ye 6th. December employed in tracing the Baramputrey from **15**
Gwalpara to the Frontier of Assam on the Southern side. The distance by ye

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[1] The timber trade has assumed large proportions since the Eastern Duars were taken over by the Government of India in 1866.

[2] Goalpara. Formerly one of the frontier outposts of the Muhammadans in Assam. The true latitude is 26°-11′. A French Factory was established here in 1754 or 1755 by M. Chevalier, and on the fall of Chandernagore in 1757 he remained in the employ of some English gentlemen. In 1767 a Mr. Laval was appointed agent of the English in partnership with M. Chevalier (Bengal Past & Present, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 366). Buchanan Hamilton describes 'Goyalpara' in 1809 as containing "some good thatched houses, and a street of shops, which in such a country is considered as a kind of miracle, and the place is looked upon as a city of the utmost elegance. It is only, however, in its containing many distressed objects, and many profligate and vicious persons, that it resembles an European city; and, in proportion to its size, in these points it probably far excels any place west from the Cape of Good Hope" (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 477).

[3] Chokey. Hind. Chauki, a police station. Assam was an independent kingdom until 1825, when it was conquered by the British.

[4] One of the duties of the Muhammadan military officers in charge of the posts of Rangamati and Goalpara was to encourage the growth of jungle and reeds as a protection against the inroads of the Assamese (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. V, p. 113).

River is 22 miles,[1] the Course of which is from West to WNW, very different from the description given of it in the Maps.[2] We were not permitted to land on the Northern or Assam side, all the way, there being several Chokeys placed; however we found means to lay down about 10 miles beyond the Bengall Frontiers, & in returning we coasted the Assam side near enough to inform ourselves of all the particulars which we wanted.

This River must needs have a very long Course before it enters the Bengall Provinces, since 400 miles from the sea it is twice as big as the Thames. By measuring the Banks &c. I find that the Rains swell this River 32 or 33 foot.

The Bengall Country extends 18 or 20 miles to the Eastward of Commerputa (the Frontier Town on the River) & afterwards as I am informed the Boundary runs in a Southerly direction towards Silet & Bermas.[3] However, that must be the Object of a future Survey, as we are now surveying the Countries to the Westw^{d}. of the Baramputrey.

16 The Garrow Provinces begin about 12 miles south of the Baramputrey, & are bounded by the Rungjulee & Sosong Mountains[4]; some of them are independent of Bengall.

The 6th. returned to Gwalpara; the next day employed in reducing & compiling the Surveys, & procuring Pilots & Hircaras for the Bisnee Countrey.

From the 8th. to the 11th. employed in tracing the Bonaash & Birally Rivers from Jugygupa to the Frontiers of Assam & Boutan. I have mentioned some particulars concerning the Bonaash in page 12 & 13; the Birally or Barrally is a small River from Boutan which joins the Bonaash 12 miles above Jugygupa & has a Course from NW to SE.

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[1] To the present boundary with the Kamrup district. The northern side is now part of the latter district, Kamrup marking the western extension of the Assam kingdom in the 18th century.

[2] In his 'Memoir of Hindoostan' (p. 356) Rennell says:—"On tracing this river in 1765, I was no less surprised at finding it rather larger than the Ganges, than at its course previous to its entering Bengal. This I found to be from the east; although all the former accounts represented it as from the north; and this unexpected discovery soon led to inquiries, which furnished me with an account of its general course, to within 100 miles of the place where Du Halde left the Sanpoo. I could no longer doubt, that the Burrampooter and the Sanpoo were one and the same river: and to this was added the positive assurance of the Assamers, 'That *their* river came from the north-west, through the Bootan mountains.' And to place it beyond a doubt, that the Sanpoo river is not the same with the river of Ava, but that this last is the great *Nou Kian* of Yunan; I have in my possession a manuscript draught of the Ava river, to within 150 miles of the place where Du Halde leaves the Nou Kian, in its course towards Ava; together with very authentic information that this river (named *Irabatty* by the people of Ava) is navigable from the city of Ava into the province of Yunan in China."

I have quoted this passage at length, because it shows the acuteness of Rennell's reasoning, and that he was the first to recognise the identity of the Brahmaputra with the Tsan-po of Tibet. The controversy has not even yet been settled by actual exploration, but M^{r}. Needham in 1885-6 proved that the river that flows past Sama, in the Zayul valley, is not a tributary of the Tsan-po as had been supposed, but is continuous with the Brahmaputra at Sudiya. and as it had already been shown that the Tsanpo does not flow to the east of Sama, there is no doubt that it breaks through the Himalayas by the channel of the Dihang, the largest river falling into the Brahmaputra from the north. This passage, however, shows that even Rennell was liable to be misled by hearsay information, for the Nou Kian or Lu Kiang of Yunnan is the Salween, and not the Irrawaddy or 'river of Ava.'

For an account of the changes in the course of the river between the time of Rennell's Survey and 1809 *see* Buchanan Hamilton (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 387 *seq.*).

[3] Burma. This boundary coincides with the eastern limits of the Garo Hills disrict.

[4] *i.e.* on the north and south sides respectively. The Garo Hills were not entirely brought under control till 1873.

The Luheet River, a Branch of the Baramputrey, which separates from the great River 3 days above Gwalpara, joins the Bonaash by two Branches; one above, the other below the Mouth of the Barrally. This River is navigable for Pulwars all the Year.[1]

The Boutan or Thibet Countrey begins immediately on the North side of the Barally, & to the Westward of the Bonaash; which is about the Latitude of 26°-20′: but those Lands are held by the Rajah of Bisnee,[2] as Tributary to the King of **17**
Boutan. The Boutan Mountains begin in the Latitude of 26°-50′, & form a Curve Line whose ends are turned to the ENE & WNW. The Boundary of Assam is formed by the Bonaash River to the Westward, & the foot of the Boutan Mountains to the Northward. The Bisnee Countrey has the Bonaash for its Eastern, & the Mountains for its Northern Boundary.

The 11th. Ensign Richards[3] with a Detachment of a Jametdaar[4] and 10 Sepoys joined me on my return to Jugygupa, & on the 12th. we set out by Land to survey the Countries between the Bonaash River & Rangamatty.

We first proceeded to the NNE through the Beesnee Province, the South part of which is full of Hills & thick Jungles; the Roads are scarce broad enough for a Palankeen to pass, & the Countrey is everywhere intersected by Creeks & frightful Gullies overgrown with Jungles. Ten miles NNE from Jugygupa we entered Dawaaty Valley which is pleasant & well cultivated, having a small River named the Kongeea winding through it in its Course to the Bonaash. There are several Villages situated in this Valley but all of them inconsiderable. Seven miles to the NE of Dawaaty we crossed the Birally River, & entered the Boutan Countrey, but this Province of it is (as I have before mentioned) held by the Bisnee Rajah. The **18**
Barally is now 4½ foot deep, & from 150 to 200 yards broad, & runs rather too rapid to be forded. The Hilly Countrey ends on the South side of this River: the North side is a continued Jungle.

Three miles & Half NE of the Barally we crossed the Dulelly[5] Creek; this Creek has its Source from Boutan, & empties itself into the Bonaash; it is not above 3 foot deep in December, & must consequently be dry some part of the Year.

Bisnee, the Residence of the Rajah of Bisnee & Howargott,[6] lies about 3 miles NNE from the Dulelly in a very Jungly Countrey. This Place lies in Lat^{d} 26°-29′ North, & Longitude 0°-23′ East from Dacca: with respect to Jugygupa it lies N 26° E^{t} distant 33 miles. Bisnee is but a small Village, & has no Bazar, so that we had very much difficulty in procuring Provisions. The present Rajah (who is a Youth) resides in a very paultry House surrounded by a small Ditch & high Pallisadoes of Bamboo, which they dignify with the name of a Killa. We halted at this Place one day to procure Provisions & Hircars for the Western Roads, & then struck to the Westward after recrossing the Dulelly & Barally Rivers.

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[1] The Lohit is the name given to a branch of the Brahmaputra much further to the east, separating the districts of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur. It is interesting to find the name applied to a branch lower down the river and suggests that these branches represent an old course of the river.

[2] Bijni. The Raja claims descent from the royal family of Kuch Behar. The territory is one of the Eastern Duars, attached to Goalpara district. This tract, with the Western Duars, was annexed in 1865 as a result of the aggresions of the Bhutan Government, but the Rajas of Bijni and Sidli were left in possession of their estates.

[3] Afterwards appointed as a permanent Assistant Surveyor, *see* p. 86.

[4] Jama'dar, a native officer. Rennell's spelling of the word is not given in Hobson Jobson.

[5] ? the Dalani, a tributary of the Manas.

[6] Habraghat, a pargana in Goalpara district of which the Raja of Bijni is Zemindar. In Rennell's Bengal Atlas 'Howeragot' is shown as lying on the south side of the Brahmaputra south of Goalpara.

19 After recrossing the Kongeea Creek 4 miles North of Dawaaty we entered a pleasant & well cultivated Valley running from SE to NW: this Valley is formed by the Batyamarry & Seepansilla Hills, & has in it several Villages, the chief of which are Maahgong & Beejura, the latter lying on the Frontier of Great Thibet. The Hilly Countrey in these parts ends near Beejura, in Latitude 26°-25′ N., the Countrey Northward of it being flatt till you approach the Boutan Mountains.

We entered the Boutan Countrey between Beejura & Tanjygong, & crossed about 7 miles of it between Tanjygong & Bassagong: this part is flat, open, & well cultivated, & has two Creeks flowing through it which afterwards fall into the Champamutty River. This part of Boutan belongs to Siddylee Purgannah,[1] & is subject to the Rajah of Cutchubary, a principal Village 2 days' Journey to the Northwest & close to the foot of the Mountains.

I had some thoughts of proceeding as far as Catchubary, in order to take a view of the Countrey, as well as to be informed of the Situation of the Firr Forests, but finding the Natives very averse to it, & that they withdrew into the Countrey in order that we should not be able to procure Provisions, I judged it prudent to desist without further orders, as being foreign to the Service now in execution.

20 After re-entering the Bengall & Bisnee Provinces at Bassagong, we proceeded to the Southwest for Rangamatty, that being the only road that is passable in these Parts. Two miles SW from Bassagong, we crossed the Champamuttey River which falls into the Baramputrey 19 or 20 Miles below. The Eastern Banks of this River are covered with thick Jungle or Sedges, & the Western with thick Woods of Guzzally Trees,[2] which are felled in great numbers & brought down the River in Floats. However there are but few large Trees, the generality of them being fit for no other use than Boat building.

These Woods continue for many miles to the NNW, & to the Southward within a few Miles of the Baramputrey; but Westward scarce four Miles. The Village of Chowtakee lies near y^{e} Road on the West side of the Wood, & within 2½ miles of the Boutan Countrey. There is a small extent of cultivated Land in the neighbouhood of this Village, but from thence Southwestward, we found nothing but thick Jungle for 7 miles; the Guzzally Woods lay about a mile on our left. The Tarang Creek passes within 2 miles of the West side of Chowtaakee.

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[1] Sidli, one of the Eastern Duars, now included in Goalpara District.

[2] The *gujali* or *sal* tree, *Shorea robusta*, the most valuable timber tree in N.E. India. The wood so heavy that it sinks in water and has to be supported by bamboo floats or rafts. These forests are enumerated by Buchanan Hamilton (Martin, History, Vol. III., p. 474) and are still of great importance. The Government Reserves in 1903-04 covered an area of 787 square miles in the Goalpara District, of which about 163 square miles are stocked with pure *Sal*. Most of the timber is still used for boat-building (Imp. Gaz., E. Bengal and Assam, p. 518).

From the end of Chowtakee Jungle we entered a pleasant & cultivated Countrey 21
at the Western foot of the Damaderpour Hills; Botagong is situated in this Countrey & affords Rice & other Provisions. The Gowrong River[1] passes to the Westward of this Village in its Course from Boutan to the Baramputrey: it is now 3 foot deep. The Western Bank of the Gowrong is covered with thick Woods. After crossing it near Boutagong our Road lay along the West side of it for upwards of 3 miles, when we turned off to y^e^ SW & came to the Sunecoss River which in this place approaches within 3 miles of the Gowrong, but afterwards turns off short to y^e^ SW & WSW to Rangamatty.

The Bisnee Provinces end at Coresaeattee on the Sunecoss River, & Pharlee is the first Village in the Rangamatty Country independent of Bisnee.

We crossed the Sunecoss on Rafts at Goga, a mile & half below Pharlee, after which our way to Rangamatty lay thro' a very thick Jungle for upwards of 7 miles; several small Creeks run through this Jungle in their Course to the Sunecoss. There is a Range of low, woody Hills extending several miles to the NNE of Rangamatty, & the Countrey appears to be woody a long way to the Northward.

The 23rd. came to Rangamatty, & the next day began surveying the Eastern 22
Shoar of the Baramputrey from opposite that Place towards Curybarry.[2] We finished that Business y^e^ 28th & entered the Dherla River in y^e^ Evening.

The Current of the Dherla River opposite & a little above Baggoa is so rapid that it is with much difficulty Boats can pull up. The River is likewise very full of Sands at that Place. The Current I judge to run at the rate of 7 miles p. Hour, so that Boats must be very careful not to get aground there. Between that Place & Gurygong the Current runs at a Moderate Rate, & the Water is sufficiently deep for any Boats.

We arrived at Gurygong the 30th. in the Afternoon, & the next day being the last of the Month I discharged all the Boats, except the Budgarow & Pulwars, having now no farther Occasion for them.

From the 1st. January to the 9th. inclusive, employed on a Sett of particular Maps of the Baramputrey, & a general one of the late Survey. The particular Map is in 3 Sheets of Imperial Paper & on a Scale of 2 miles to an Inch: the general Map is in one Sheet Imp. Paper & on 10′ to an Inch.

During the above Time I sent all round the Baharbund Countrey to hire Coolies 23
& Bearers, but was not able to procure a single one, although I offered a sufficient Price. The Countrey People likewise refused to supply my People with Provisions, & upon enquiry I found it was all owing to the Villiany of the Dewan of Olyapour who had threatned to punish any Person who should supply me with Men or Provisions. Upon this I wrote to the Dewan[3] (Ramsinker) to know the Truth of it, threatning to make him a Prisoner if he did not immediately order me to be supplied with Provisions & Coolies. His Answer was that the People might sell me Provisions

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[1] The Gaurang, Gauranggo of Buchanan Hamilton.

[2] Kuribari, a village at the S.W. end of the Garo Hills.

[3] The native manager of the estate.

if they chose it, but dared me to take any Coolies. I forbore making him any farther Answer that Time, intending to visit him the first Opportunity.

I immediately applied to the Resident[1] at Rungpour requesting his Assistance in procuring Bearers & Coolies. He sent me a considerable Number from Rungpour, **24** but as they deserted on the Road I received no more than 18.

The 10th. in the morning we left Curygong, having prest what Coolies we could at that Place, & proceeded by way of Olyapour in order to explain Matters with the Dewan. We arrived at Olyapour late in the Night.

I sent a Message to the Dewan this Night & another in y^{e} morning of y^{e} 11th. requiring him to make his Appearance, but he treated them both with great Indifference. About 8 next morning I went with Mr. Richards & 16 Sepoys towards his Countrey House under cover of a thick Fog, but he had got intelligence of our March, & was gone before we entered the House. I informed the Servants that if they did not produce their Master I should set fire to the House, which was accordingly done soon after & we retired to our Baggage on the South side of the Teesta.[2]

The fire was extinguished immediately after we left the House.

25 Although the Dewan had not Resolution enough to defend his House, yet he followed us immediately with 150 Burgundasses[3] & 300 Villagers some of which came close to our Rear & began to fire at us, which Fire we returned in single Shots for upwards of 6 miles they being afraid to close with us & retreating whenever we made a Stand. When we arrived at a Jungle opposite Tytari we turned & cleared the Village & adjacent Jungles of them, & by that Means got through the thick Jungle without Damage, nor did they follow us any farther.

The Dewan sent two threatning Messages to me whilst I stayed in Tytari, but soon after he retired & we set out for Rungpour.[4]

We arrived at Rungpour the 12th. in the Evening, after meeting a Detachment of Sepoys which were sent at my request from Rungpour. Here we remained till y^{e} 22nd. being detained for want of Bullocks & Coolies.

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[1] Probably the Chief of the Factory at Nawabganj (*ante* p. 55).

[2] This somewhat high-handed proceeding is related as though it were quite an ordinary occurrence, and it was not the only occasion on which Major Rennell had any serious trouble of this kind with the natives (*see* Appendix B). As the following passage shows, the Dewan had a quite sufficient force to defend his house had he the resolution to do so.

[3] More commonly written 'Burkundauze', derived from 'barkandaz' a 'lightning darter' and signifying an armed retainer or policeman. Hobson Jobson quotes an extract from a letter of Rennell's dated August 5th 1776 (sic.) describing this affair. He says:—"The Country Jemitdars" (Zemindars or land owners) "remote from Calcutta, treat us frequently with great Insolence, and I was obliged to retreat with only an officer and 17 Sepoys near 6 miles in the face of 3 or 400 Burgundasses, who lined the woods and kept a straggling Fire all y^{e} way" (p. 980).

[4] This appears to have been the end of the 'incident.' No mention is made of it elsewhere in the Journal.

OCTOBER 1765.

	Wind.	Weather.		Wind.	Weather.
1	S. SSW. N. ..	Some Rain.	18	Var^{e}. ..	Fine Weather.
2	Variable ..	Flying Showers.	19	NE. to NNW.	Light Winds & very fine Weather.
3	S. NE. ..	Clear Weather.	20	NE. N^{o}. ..	Foggy Morning & a fine Day.
4	Var^{e}. & Calm	Hot Weather. Light Winds.	21	Calm ..	Clear Weather.
5	N^{o}. W^{t}. ..	Some Rain.	22	SE.ENE.	Most part of the Day fine Wr. a Shower in y^{e} Morning.
6	Var^{e}, NE ..	Flying Showers.	23	ENE. SE. ..	Foggy Morning. Hot Day.
7	Var^{e}. ..	do. Light Wind.	24	N^{o}. WNW. ..	Cold Morning. A fine pleasant Day.
8	E. N. ..	Fair Weather.	25	NW. N. ..	Foggy Morn^{g}. middle of the Day hot, y^{e} rem^{r}. fine W^{r}.
9	E. N. NW. ..	Clear Weather.	26	N. NW. ..	Fine Weather.
10	N. Var. ..	Fine Weather.	27	N^{o}. WSW. ..	Fine Weather.
11	N^{d}. ..	Dry W^{r}.	28	Calm ..	Morning & Ev. cool. mid. of the Day hot.
12	N. NW. ..	Hot Weather. Thunder & Lightning.	29	E. N. ..	Very fine Weather.
13	N^{o}. ..	Much Rain.	30	E. NNE. ..	do. Weather.
14	N. to W. ..	Storm at y breaking of the Monsoon.	31	SE. ESE. ..	Fresh Breezes. Weather pleasant & cool.
15	W. NW. ..	Tolerable W^{r}. Some R.			
16	SW. to N. ..	Fine Weather.			
17	NE. .	The first Foggy Morn^{g}. A fine Day.			

NOVEMBER 1765.

	Wind.	Weather.		Wind.	Weather.
1	N. NE. ..	Very cold Morning. Fine Weather.	16	NE. E. ..	Foggy Morn. the rest of the Day fine W^{r}.
2	N. E. ..	Hot Weather.	17	ENE. E. ..	Foggy most part of the Day.
3	N. NNE. ..	Very fine Weather.	18	E. Calm ..	Variable Weather.
4	NNE NNW.	Clear fine Weather.	19	E. EBN. .	Fair Weather.
5	N. ..	Fresh Wind. Pleas^{t}. W .	20	NNE. ENE...	Fair Weather.
6	NE. ..	Fresh Gales & Clear W^{r}.	21	N. ENE. .	Clear W^{r}.
7	NE. NNE. ..	Very fresh Breezes of Wind.	22	SE. NE. ..	Foggy Weather.
8	NE. ..	Very fresh Breezes & cold.	23	SE. ..	Very thick Weather.
9	NE. E. ..	Light Breezes & fair W^{r}.	24	NE. ENE. ..	Thick Weather.
10	N. Calm ..	Calm & hot Weather.	25	NNE. fresh ..	Tolerable clear W^{r}.
11	NW. N. ..	Foggy all Day.	26	NNE. ..	Clear Weather.
12	N. Calm ..	Foggy Morn^{g}. rest of the Day fair W^{r}.	27	NE. NNE. ..	Clear W^{r}. Wind fresh.
13	ENE. ..	Fine Weather.	28	NE. .	Fresh Breezes & Clear W^{r}.
14	E. ENE. ..	Fair Weather.	29	NE. NNE. ..	Very clear Weather.
15	E. ..	Fresh Wind & fine W^{r}.	30	NE. NNE. ..	Very foggy all Day.

DECEMBER 1765.

	Wind.	Weather.		Wind.	Weather.
1	NE. E. ..	Foggy Weather.	17	N. NNE. ..	Fine Weather.
2	E. SE. ..	Foggy Weather.	18	NE. ..	Foggy Weather.
3	ENE. ..	Thick Weather.	19	E. NE. ..	Hazey W^{r}.
4	EBN. ..	Mostly foggy Weather.	20	NE. N. ..	Remarkable thick W . & very cold.
5	East ..	do. W^{r}.			
6	ENE. ..	Clear Weather.	21	NE. ..	Tolerably clear.
7	Calm ..	Calm & pleasant W .	22	ENE. NE. ..	Clear Weather. Fresh B.
8	E. ..	Fresh Breezes. Clear W^{r}.	23	NE. ..	Fresh Breezes & cold W .
9	E. ENE. ..	Clear Weather.	24	ENE. ..	Fresh B. &c. as Yest^{d}.
10	E. ..	Mostly Foggy W .	25	East .	Clear Weather.
11	EBN. ..	Very fine Weather.	26	ENE. ..	Hazey all day.
12	ENE. N. .	do. Weather.	27	NE. ..	Clear W .
13	East ..	Clear & fine Weather.	28	Var. ..	do. W .
14	NE. E. ..	Cold & Foggy Weather.	29	....	Calm & clear W^{r}.
15	NE. ..	Pleasant W^{r}.	30	NE. ..	A cold foggy day.
16	Var. ..	Foggy W^{r}.	31	N. E. ..	Pleasant W^{r}.

JANUARY 1766.

	Wind.	Weather.		Wind.	Weather.
1	Var^{e}. ..	Foggy W^{r}.	19 20 21	N . to SE. ..	Foggy Mornings, the Air in gen. Cold.
2	N^{d}. ..	Morn^{g}. foggy. Fresh Wind.	22	E. ENE. ..	Fresh B. of Wind, y^{e} Air rem. thick.
3	NE. ..	Weather as Yesterday.	23	SE. to N . ..	Light B. & thick foggy Weather.
4	Var^{e}. ..	do.	24	ESE. SE. ..	Clear Morning. Wind moderate.
5 6 7	EBS. to NBW.	The Mornings rem^{ke}. Foggy the middle of y^{e} days tolerably clear.	25	SE. SSE. ..	Wea^{r}. as yesterday.
8	N^{o}. ..	The Air remk. cold.	26	NE. to SE. ..	Fresh Wind, & very hazey all day.
9	Calm ..	Thick fog all day.	27	NE. E. ..	Very foggy Morning.
10	N^{o}. ..	Foggy.	28	NE. SE. ..	Very hazey all day.
11	Calm N^{o}. ..	Fine W^{r}. all day.	29	E. to SE. ..	Very fresh Winds, the Morning Foggy.
12	NE. E. ..	Fresh B. & fine Weather.	30	E. ..	Hazey Weather.
13	N. NNW. S.	Very thick fog in y^{e} Morn. the Air very cold.	31	N^{o}. NE. ..	Very thick cloudy W^{r}. threatning Rain.
14	NNW. ..	do. W^{r}.			
15	NE. S. ..	do. W^{r}.			
16 17 18	Var^{e}. Wind & Calms.	Foggy Mornings & in general very Cold.			

	Wind.	Weather.		Wind.	Weather.
1	SE. to NNE.	Thick cloudy Wea^r. as yesterday.	15	SW. W. WNW.	Morning cloudy & threatning, the Wind fresh.
2	E. to N. ..	Cloudy & threatning all day.	16	W. to SW. ..	Fresh Wind. Foggy Morning.
3	SE. ESE. ..	Cloudy Wea^r. Wind fresh.	17	E. Calm ..	Clear W^r. Saw the Mount. (of Boutan).
4	Calm SW. ..	The Morning foggy, y^e rest of y^e day clear.	18	NW. SW. ..	Foggy Morn. Fresh Wind.
5	S. to SE. ..	do. W^r.	19	S. NE. ..	Foggy till 9 a.m.
6	SE. fresh ..	Hazey all day.	20	NE. S. SE. .	Morning foggy, the rem^r. Clear Wr.
7	West ..	Very fresh Gales of Wind.	21	Calm SE. ..	in fresh Breezes.
8	West WBS. ..	A pleasant Morning, Wind very fresh.	22		
9	Calm W. N. .	Morning calm & foggy The Aft. fresh B.	23		
10	N. to W. ..	Foggy Morning.	24		
11	NE. to SE. ..	do. Morning.	25		
12	NE. ESE. ..	do. W$_r$.	26		
13	NE. ESE. ..	do. W^r.	27		
14	N. NNE. NE.	Fresh Breezes of Wind & much Rain this day.	28		

JANUARY 1766.

From Rungpour to the Northwest.

33 The 22nd. of January left Rungpour & proceeded to the Northwest. Our Road lay along the NE Bank of the Goggot[1] or Rungpour River for upwards of 5½ Miles; we then crossed it, it being but 3 foot deep. This Ford lies opposite to the Village of little Jaffiergunge.

On the West side of the Goggot & opposite to Jaffiergunge are the remains of an old Intrenchment: it is of a circular figure & more than half a mile in diamater: the Parapet (Rampart) is 16 or 18 foot high.[2] The Sanashygotta Road lies thro' the Intrenchment. The Countrey here is not so well cultivated as on the east side of the Goggot.

Gungepour is the next Village to little Jaffiergunge & is distant from thence about 5 miles to the WNW. The Roads here are bad, & the Countrey but little cultivated. Great Jaffiergunge a Bazar lies near 8 miles from Gungepour & on the Jabbunseray Creek. This Creek is not above 2 foot deep at this Time: its Course is from NNE to SSW.

34 Five miles & half NNW from Jaffiergunge we crossed the Sannalkotta River which is about 60 yds. broad & about 2½ foot deep: the Water of it is remarkably clear. The Countrey on the Eastern Bank of this R. lies high & is mostly uncultivated. After crossing this River we passed Cochymeda a large Village & Gunge: here the Countrey begins to be better cultivated & is planted with Tobacco[3] in many places. The Road from Cochymeda lies along the SW Bank of the Sannalkotta for near 7 miles when we crossed it again near a small Village named Luckypour. The Roads here are mostly thro' Paddy Fields.

Banchdaw a middling Village lies 2½ miles N. from the crossing place of the Sanalkotta; & about 4 miles NW from this place is Meergheer Hāāt where the Sanalkotta must be crossed a third Time. This River is a Branch of the Teesta, & comes out of that River above Allygunge & as we are informed runs into the Coretya.[4]

Dammo-Choculo a Hāāt is 2½ miles WNW from Meergheer Hāāt. The Countrey
35 between these Places is cultivated. Four miles NNW from Dammo-Choculo is
Dewangunge a large Village & the limit of Rungpour towards Baär[5] or Ajora. There is much Tobacco planted in this Neighbourhood.

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[1] The Ghaghat R.

[2] This entrenchment is not mentioned in the List of Ancient Monuments.

[3] Tobacco is one of the chief exports from Rangpur District. The leaf is bought up by Mughs from Chittagong and Arakan for the purpose of being manufactured in Burma (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. XI, p. 496).

[4] The Karatoya, formerly the boundary between Kamrup and Bengal. For an account of the changes in the courses of these rivers, since the Teesta broke away from its old channel in 1787, *see* Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. X, p. 226, *seq.*

[5] Cooch Bahar. Vihar of Buchanan Hamilton. He says that in his time the addition of 'Koch' to the name was considered 'exceedingly uncourtly' (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 418).

About 3 miles NWBW from Dewangunge, we came to the Eastern Bank of the Teesta, a large River from Boutan.[1] The bed of this River is from a mile to a mile & quarter in breadth, but the Channell at this Time is not more than 300 yards over & from 3 to 7 Cubits deep; the Stream not very rapid & the Water extremely clear. The bottom is Sand & Pebbles. Its Course is here from N. to S. running as we are informed by Raage Gunge & Denospour,[2] & emptying itself into the Ganges by several Channells. Near the Place of crossing are the remains of two small Intrenchments, one on the West side thrown up by M. Courtin,[3] & y^{e} other on the East side by the Nabob of Rungpour.

The Rungpour Countrey begins again on the West side of the Teesta; this being 36 the Province of Bodaw[4] ceded to Rungpour some years ago by an independent Rajah.

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[1] Now the upper portion of the channel of the Atrai, from which the Teesta broke away in 1787-88 (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 361).

[2] Dinajpur.

[3] M. Courtin was chief of the French Factory at Dacca in 1756, and on the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula took under his protection the Company's servants in the English Factory; but, after the breaking out of war between the English and French in 1757 and the fall of Chandernagore, M. Courtin found himself in a very precarious position, and the day before the battle of Plassey was fought (*i.e.* on June 22nd 1757) he left Dacca in order to join Siraj-ud-daula at Murshidabad. On the way he heard of the battle and of the death of the Nawab, but not relying on the report, pushed on to the mouth of the Bhagirathi, where the news was confirmed, and he also learned that M. Law, the chief of the French Factory at Cossimbazaar, who had come down from Patna to join the Nawab, but had not been in time to do so, was being pursued by the English. He accordingly turned northwards (though at the time it was supposed that he had taken refuge "in the east of the Province of Dacca, in the kingdom of Assam which borders on Cochin China" [Hill. Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 262]), and proceeded to Dinajpur, where the Raja attempted to oppose his passage up the Atrai, at that time the main channel of the Teesta. Having however made the passage in spite of the Raja, M. Courtin proceeded up the river, intending as he says to take refuge in the mountains of Tibet, and advanced to within two or three days' journey from the foot of the Hills. But his boatmen objecting and beginning to desert, he accepted an offer from the Raja of Sahibganj, in Kuch Behar, to give him a site for a fort, which he built on the side of a creek flowing into the Teesta about 15 miles south of Jalpaiguri. The fort was triangular, with a bastion at each angle, on elevated ground, protected on one side by a marsh. Two Swedish guns were mounted on the ramparts. The fort was named 'Fort Bourgogne' and took rather more than a month to build. Before it was quite finished, M. Courtin received news of the arrival of a French force at the mouth of the Hughly, and of an insurrection against Mir Jafar, and determined to return. After considerable difficulty in extricating his boats from the marsh, the creek having almost dried up, and to add to his misfortunes, an outbreak of sickness among his men, he left the fort in the middle of December 1757. Not long afterwards, while still in the Rangpur district, he heard that the rumours of succour by the French were unfounded, but as the river was too low for him to return to his fort, he remained where he was, and was attacked in the middle of January 1758 by Kasim Ali Khan, the Faujdar or Military Governor of Rangpur. Having entrenched himself on the bank of the river (this is the small entrenchment referred to in the text), he held out till the beginning of February, when he was compelled to abandon his position, and started again down the river closely pursued by the enemy. At the same time he wrote to Mr. Scrafton, the Resident at Murshidabad, whom he had befriended at Dacca, offering to surrender. After many adventures, constantly harassed by the enemy, and having had to abandon all his boats, he reached Dinajpur. Here he remained, in considerable peril on account of the timidity of the Raja, who would he feared deliver him to the Faujdar of Rangpur, until the beginning of March, when orders were received from Lord Clive that he should be sent to Murshidabad. He arrived there on the 12th March, not without further adventures, and after some time his boats and so much of his goods as could be recovered were restored to him by the English. He subsequently went to Chandernagore, whence he wrote to Lord Clive in 1759 protesting against the proposed demolition of that place, and from thence to Pondicherry, and was present at the capitulation of that place by Lally in January 1761 He afterwards returned to France, and, it is supposed, was elected to the Conseil des Indes in that country.

These particulars are taken from a letter from M. Courtin to his wife, quoted at p. 137 of Mr. S. C. Hill's work, "Three Frenchmen in Bengal, or the Commercial Ruin of the French Settlements in 1757"—London, 1903.

[4] Boda, one of the six *chaklas* or divisions of the old Province of Rangpur, part of the Zemindari of the Raja of Kuch Behar.

It is a fine Countrey, & well cultivated, the Produce, Wheat, Sugar Canes & Tobacco. We proceeded about 3½ miles along the West Bank of the Teesta & then struck off to the NW, & within a mile of the Teesta crossed the Curume or Ponjah River which is deep & rapid. Four miles NWBN from hence we crossed the Guramarra another deep & rapid River which joins the Corto[1] & Curume some Miles to the Southward & all fall into the Teesta. Nabobgunge lies on the West side of the Guramarra & is the limit of the Bateese-Hazary Province[2] to the Southward. We found Saringas[3] or Canous in both these Rivers.

Five miles N ½ E from Nabobgunge is Taledāār Hāāt situated on a small Lake
37 named the Jabbonau. This Village is just within the Limits of Bateese-Hazary; the Teesta River is about 3 miles to the Eastward.

From Taledar we struck to the NNE out of the Sanashygotta Road in order to have a view of the Limits of the Countries, & of the Course of the Teesta. After crossing the Jabbonau & Ponga two shallow Rivers we came to Farsydunga, a Bazar Village lying on the Teesta & about 6 miles NNE from Taledāār. The Countrey here is open & well cultivated on the West side of the River, but the East side (which is part of Boutan) is Jungly & desart. We perceived pieces of different kinds of Trees lying on the Sands in the River: these the Countrey People informed me are brought down from the Boutan Mountains by the Freshes: amongst many other kinds of fine Timber I perceived the stump of a Firr Tree of which I brought away several pieces.

38 From Farsydunga we proceeded to the NNW along the Western Bank of the Teesta, & noted the Limits of the Rungpour district about 3 miles above Farsydunga. Here the Bateese-Hazary Province begins, & to the Northward of that Boutan, so that this is the utmost Limits of the Bengall Territories to the Northward.

After going about 9 miles along the R. side above Farsydunga we struck away to the Westward across the Bateese-Hazary Province for Sanashygotta. About 8 miles from the Teesta we came to another old Intrenchment but much larger than the former one, this being near 2 miles broad, the River Talmang running thro' the middle of it.[1]

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[1] The Corto and Curume are old channels of the Teesta. Corto is a corruption of the name Karatoya. For a legend regarding the origin of the Ghoramara *see* Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 361.

[2] Now known as Baikunthpur, an estate included in the Jalpaiguri district. *See note* 7, p. 69.

[3] This word is not given in Hobson Jobson. My friend M^r. B. L. Chaudhuri, Asst. Supd^t. of the Indian Museum, a native of N. Bengal, informs me that it is "a common local name in Northern and Eastern Bengal for a long boat used in daily work and generally managed by two men. It is not a dug-out, which is called a 'Kunda' in East Bengal.

I have received an interesting letter on this subject from the Dep^y. Collector, of Rangpur. He writes:—The name of the kind of boat is not 'Sharingha,' but the correct name is 'Shad'anga,' pronounced as 'Sharanga.' * * In some of the police reports the term is spelt as Sharanga. * * The Kaligunge Outpost man has spelt it as 'Sadanga.' From these mistakes in spelling some have thought the term is derived from 'Sarang'—a musical instrument, to which it may be said to bear some resemblance. * * * The Shadanga (Saranga) boats very largely in use in the District consist of a large straight tree hollowed out. On the top of the upper side of this hollow tree, there are in every case six crosspieces of timber scantling fixed to give rigidity to the sides and to provide seats. These six pieces of cross timber forming the seats of the passengers give these dug-outs their name, shat=six and anga=limbs (Sansc). * * * This to my thinking is the correct derivation of the term Shadanga (Sharanga) * * *"

Buchanan Hamilton says that 150 or 160 canoes were made annually by the people of Battris-Hazari worth from Rs. 12 to Rs. 18 each. They were used for floating down logs of *sal* timber.

Dubonee[2] a large Village & Bazar is 3 miles from this Intrenchment having the Chowery a Rivulet running by the West side of it. The Limit of Bodaw is within a mile & half SW from Dubonee so that only a narrow slip of Bateese-Hazary runs into the Bodaw Province from hence to Nabobgunge. From Dubonee proceeded to 39
the NWBN for Gaatra-Hāāt, leaving the limits of Bodaw about a mile & half or two miles on our left. Gaatra-Hāāt is 9 miles from Dubonee, & between those places are 3 small Rivers; namely the Corto, Saön, and Doank, neither of them is more than 90 yards broad or more than 2 foot deep at this Time. The Countrey here is mostly uncultivated Plains, & thinly inhabited.

Sanashygotta[3] is 4½ miles NWBN from Gaatra-Hāāt. This Place is remarkable by having a Fort in it belonging to the Rungpour Phousdar,[4] who collects a Tribute in Bateese-Hazary. The Sanashy Facquirs[5] had once a Mud Fort in this Place & the remains of it are now to be seen. The Phousdar's Fort is very small, & capable of mounting only six or eight guns.

The Mahanada[6] another Boutan River runs by Sanashygotta, seperating Bateese-Hazary from Boutan in this Place.

The Latitude of Sanashygotta is 26°-33′ N. The Countrey round it is tolerably 40
well cultivated. The Bateese-Hazary Province[7] extends about 7 or 8 miles farther to

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[1] These are the ruins of Bhitargarh, believed to be the city of Prithvu Raja, one of the kings of the earliest Kamrup dynasty. A full account of the ruins is given in Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. X, p. 265, quoted from Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's MS. account of Rangpur, written in 1809 The city consists of four concentric enclosures, each surrounded by a rampart and ditch. The innermost is said to have been the abode of the Raja, and contains a deep tank, which is still held sacred by the natives. It is said that the Raja, being attacked by an impure tribe of Kichaks or gypsies, and afraid of having his purity sullied by contact with them, threw himself into this tank and was drowned with his guards, who followed him. The outer rampart is said to be six miles in length from north to south. There are no remains of any considerable buildings. Buchanan Hamilton gives a plan of the place in Martin's History, Vol. III, p. 443 (also *see* List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 176).

[2] Dhubni. Buchanan Hamilton mentions a tank here where Prithvu Raja's washerman is said to have dwelt, and a square mound, containing some bricks, is pointed out as the foundation of his house (*op. cit.*, p. 446).

[3] Sanyasikata, a thana or police circle in Jalpaiguri district. The place derives its name from a Hindu temple, concerning which tradition has it that "when the first of the Raikats or Rajas of Baikuntpur, Sira Kumar, was building a fort, the workmen in digging the foundations came upon a religious ascetic (Sanyasi) who was passing his time underground in devout retirement. This person was wounded by the diggers before they were aware of his presence; but he made no complaint, and only requested to be covered up again. This was accordingly done and a monastery (akhra for persons of his order was built on the spot." The ascetic is now worshipped as a god, and the village has become a place of pilgrimage (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. X, p. 265).

[4] Phousdar=Faujdar, commander of a military force, or the military governor of a province.

[5] Sanashy=Sanyasi, a Hindu religious mendicant, Fakir has the same meaning. The name was applied in Bengal to a body of banditti claiming to belong to a religious fraternity, who had their headquarters in the forest tracts at the foot of the Himalaya; Buchanan Hamilton says at Nidantora, in the dominions of 'Gorkha' or Nepal (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 517). Not long before this (1760) they had penetrated to and plundered the city of Dacca. An account of a skirmish with these bandits, in which Rennell was wounded and nearly killed, will be found below.

[6] The Mahananda, one of the principal rivers of Bhutan. It traverses the Darjiling, Jalpaiguri, Purniah and Maldah Districts and joins the Ganges near Godagiri.

[7] Bateese-Hazary. Hind. Battis- or Battris-hazari, signifying thirty-two thousand. The name of the province is of high antiquity, having been given to it in the time of Biswa Singh, the founder of the Kuch Behar family. This portion of the country was bestowed upon the descendants of his cousin Sib Sinh, and as it produced an annual revenue of Rs. 32,000 it was called Battris-hazari (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Bengal, Vol. X, p. 404). The royal family formerly lived

the Northward, & then the Boutan Countrey begins. The Revenues of the Province are said to be 32,000 Rupees annually ; out of which they pay a Tribute of 13,000 to the Phousdar of Rungpour. The Rajah or Chief lives at Parpour a large Village situated on the Western side of the Teesta.

That part of Boutan which fronts Sanashygotta on the West side the Mahanada appears to be very woody & thinly inhabited.

A mile & half below Sanashygotta on the West side of the River, the Parranya[1]
Country begins. We took our route from Sanashygotta along the East side of the
Mahanada (whose Course is here SSW) for about 4½ miles, & then crossed it at Maha-
Raage-Gunge a small Bazar Village. The River is here about 120 yards broad, &
41 from 2 to 3 foot deep. The Purranya Limits begin on the East side of the River just
below Maha-Raage-Gunge, joining Bodaw on the West.

After crossing the Mahanada, we proceeded about 4 miles to the Westward & came to the Balasun River,[2] which is nearly the size of the Mahanada. This River seperates Morung[3] & Purranya, the former lying on the West side, the Course of the River being from North to South. The Purranya district extends from hence in an Angle to the NW for about 6 or 7 miles, where the Village of Gosepuckarya forms the Limits of that & Boutan.

The Balasun River joins the Mahanada about 12 miles SW from Sanashygotta. The Peninsula formed by these two Rivers is composed of little Hills & rising Grounds which afford a pleasant Prospect. We perceived some Hills likewise in the Morung Countrey, & that Countrey seems in general to lie very high & to be thinly cultivated, & scarce of Wood.

We recrossed the Mahanada about a mile & half above the conflux of the two
42 Rivers, & proceeded to the SW to have a view of the Course of the Mahanada & the
Limits of Purranya & Morung.

The Course of the Mahanada is in general about SW & it is increased very considerably by several small Rivers that fall into it between Sanashygotta & Maha-Raage-Gunge.[4] We passed several Bazar Villages, namely Sonapour, Haldubarry, Jaffierygunge, Dergyeygunge, & Maha-Raage-Gunge, the last of which is a very large Village, & the limit of our Survey to the Westward. All those Places above mentioned lie near the River.

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at Baikunthpur, but on the decay of the Moghul power they settled at Jalpaiguri (the Parpour of Rennell). Their residence here is known as the Baikanthpur Garh (house), and is surrounded on three sides by double moats. There are the ruins of a fine brick building, but of no great age (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 178).

[1] Purniah. One of the Mughul Provinces, and now a British District. Buchanan Hamilton spells it Puraniya.

[2] The Balasan. This is the old Balasan. The new Balasan joins the Mahananda higher up, just below Siliguri. It is not marked on Rennell's map, and probably did not exist at that time.

[3] Now one of the administrative divisions of Nepal. In Rennell's time and before this the name was apparently applied to the whole of Nepal. In Van den Broucke's map of Bengal, 1660, the territory is marked 'T. Ryk Van Morang. At the time of Rennell's visit in 1766, the Gurkhas had not conquered the whole of Nepal. It was not till 1768 that Ranjit Mall, the last of the Surya-bansi race, was defeated by the Gurkhas. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. X, p. 285). Buchanan Hamilton calls the district 'Gorkha.'

[4] Now Krishnaganj, the headquarters of a subdivision and police circle.

Four miles & half above Maha-Raage-Gunge we crossed the Doank[1] River just above the place of its conflux with the Mahanada. The Doank is near half the size of the Mahanada : I am not acquainted with the place of its Source.

The Morung Countrey is about 10 miles N from Maha-Raage-Gunge & extends a considerable way to the Westward; bordering on the Purranya Countrey which extends as far West as the River Cosa.[2]

The Purranya Province appears to lie high & is a fine Wheat Countrey, & exceeding well stocked with Cattle. Near Maha-Raage-Gunge are several thick Groves of Trees, but I saw none fit for Timber, they having all very short Trunks.

From Maha-Raage-Gunge we proceeded back to the Eastward, for Nabobgunge & the River Teesta.

Twenty-one miles EBN from Maha-Raage-Gunge crossed the Nagoor River[3] near Seebgunge a large Bazar Village. The Nagoor River seperates the Provinces of Purranya & Denospour. The River is small & fordable. Its Course is from the NNE & must of course be one of the Rivers that we crossed between the Teesta & Mahanada, tho' called there by a different Name. The Countrey here is well cultivated & has a pleasant Appearance. Thirteen miles East from Seebgunge crossed the Tangally River[4] near Currumka; This River is small & fordable & has its 44
Course from the Northward. The Countrey on both sides of it is pleasant & well cultivated.

Six miles farther to the Eastward crossed the Patraage Nulla[5] at Canerykotta, a mud Fort belonging to Rungpour. The Patrāāge Nulla seperates the Provinces of Denospour[6] & Bodaw; the Bodaw Province ends a few Miles farther to the Southward. Eight Miles more ENE crossed the Corto or Coretya[7] River. This River is 150 yards broad & very rapid tho' fordable in most places. It receives the Guramarra & Curume Rivers a little farther down & afterwards falls into the Teesta. Nabobgunge lies about 2 miles NE from the Place where we crossed the Corto. The Countrey is here mostly waste interspersssed with Groves of Betel Trees.

From Nabobgunge we proceeded to re-cross the Teesta & trace the Northern Boundaries of Rungpour towards Baär.[8] We left Nabobgunge the 14th. February, & had that day much Rain, it being the first we had seen since the Month of October 45
last. We found the Curume fordable between Nabobgunge & the Teesta, & coming to Ammerconna prepared to cross the Teesta. We had much difficulty in procuring Saringas or Canous to cross over; & the River being a quarter of a mile broad, & very deep & rapid, we did not cross without difficulty, & hazard of losing some of the Baggage. The Wind blowing from the Southward we could plainly hear the noise of the Falls which are near Allygunge, & interrupt the navigation of the River during the dry Season. An Armenian who was with me informed me that M. Courtin dropt his Boats down the Falls when he quitted his Fort in 1757, & lost but two of

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[1] The Dank. It rises in the Terai a short distance West of Jalpaiguri.

[2] The Kusi or Kosi, the principal river of Nepal.

[3] The Nagar, one of the tributaries of the Mahananda. Both this river and the Dank are shown on Rennell's map as flowing out of the Mahananda below Siliguri.

[4] The Tangan, another tributary of the Mahananda, which it joins near Maldah.

[5] Patrad on Rennell's map. [6] Dinajpur. [7] The Karatoya. [8] Kuch Behar.

them out of upwards of twenty.[1] The Fall is said to be 4 foot & the breadth of the Cascade 100 yards.

On the East side of the Teesta nearly opposite Nabobgunge is the remains of a
small Fort[2] built by M. Courtin when he retreated from Dacca in 1757. M. Courtin
46 contrived to have it just without the Limits of the Bengall Countrey, in order to
have the Protection of the Baär Rajah.

From the side of the Teesta we proceeded directly to the Eastward, sometimes crossing the Limits of the two Provinces. Seven miles East from the Teesta came to Sibegunge,[3] a large Village belonging to Baär & situated on the same River[4] as Rungpour, it being a Branch of the Teesta. Santashgunge a Killa belonging to Baär lies 3 miles N. from this Place. The Countrey here is very thinly cultivated. Four miles from Sibegunge we came on the Northern Skirts of Singaseer Wood.[5] This Wood extends many Miles to the SE, & belongs partly to Rungpour & partly to Baär. The Daddoi Nulla runs on the North side of it.

Nine Miles East from Sibegunge came to Chowar-Raja-Hāāt, a Village situate on
a small spot of Land belonging to Baär, tho' lying in the heart of Rungpour. The
47 Teesta or Sannyajan Nulla runs by this Village in its way to Calpauny Olyapour &c.
It is very small & fordable. The Countrey to the Northward near Chowar-Raja-Hāāt
appears very woody. It belongs to Patgong,[6] a Purganna of Rungpour. The Durla
River runs within 4 miles NE of this Place.

From Chowar-Raja-Hāāt proceeded to Kochabarry, a Hāāt 8 miles ESE from the last Place. From thence the limits of Rungpour runs to the SSE & SE. Here we learnt by means of a Baär Soubedar[7] that the Sanashy Facquirs had made War in Baär & that they were at this Time in possession of Bullerampour[8] the Capital of the Province. This Place is said to be 15 Coss to the NE.

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[1] M. Courtin mentions this episode in the letter to his wife quoted at p. 67 above (S. C. Hill, "Three Frenchmen in Bengal," p. 146). "The second day after my departure" (from Fort Bourgogne) "was marked by a very annoying accident, namely the loss of one of my largest boats, on which was my library and a quantity of my effects. These were quickly drawn out of the water, but were none the less ruined for the company and for me. From that moment commence my misfortunes. The sixth day—I had passed three in the salvage of the effects on my boat—I received a *pattamar* (messenger), who informed me that the English and the troops of Jafar Ali Khan were at Purneah, from which they had chased Huzir Ali Khan and wholly destroyed his faction." M. Courtin does not mention the loss of a second boat at this place. The Armenian was killed a few days later (*see note*, p. 74 below)

[2] This was 'Fort Bourgogne,' the account of the building of which has already been given (*ante*, p. 67). M. Courtin says that it was about two leagues from the river, but Rennell in his map places it within two British miles of the bank.

[3] Saibgunge on Rennell's map.

[4] The Ghaghat.

[5] This forest is mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton under the name of 'Singheswor Jhar' "a considerable forest, which extends far into Vihar proper, where indeed the greater part is situated" (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 438).

[6] Patgram, now a pargana of Jalpaiguri District.

[7] Subhadar, a native Captain.

[8] Balrampur is a trading village in Kuch Behar situated on the Kaljani, a tributary of the Sankos, and is about 11 miles SE from Kuch Behar town. Balrampur was the residence of the Nazir Deo, or hereditary Commander-in-Chief, who belonged to the same family as the reigning prince. In 1766 the affairs of the state were in great confusion. The infant Raja, who was under the protection of the Bhutias, was assassinated at the instigation of Ramanand Gosain, and a conflict arose between the Nazir Deo, Khagendra Narayan, and the Bhutias, concerning the succession, which resulted in the defeat of the Nazir Deo, who was driven out of the country and appealed to the English for assistance. The Bhutias were finally driven out of the country in 1773 (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Bengal, Vol. X, p. 412 *seq.*). The history makes no mention of the Sunyasis, who had probably taken advantage of the disturbances to overrun the country.

From Kochabarry Hāāt proceeded to the SE for Lol Bazar[1] 12 miles, keeping the Limits of Rungpour close on our Right & the Durla River about 4 miles on our left. The Countrey is tolerably cultivated, & produces Wheat & Opium. Two Miles below Lol Bazar crossed the Gaddari or Rotany Creek w^ch^. falls into the Durla.

Thirteen Miles SEBE from Lol Bazar came to the SW Bank of the Durla which 48
here seperates the two Provinces. We proceeded 3½ miles along the Bank & crossed it at Giddildow nearly opposit Mongolhāāt.[2] The River is here from 100 to 150 yds. broad & fordable in many Places. We received Intelligence that a Detachment of English Sepoys were sent in quest of the Sanashys, & that they crossed the Durla the day before us. The Villages were every where deserted.

From Giddildow we left the Durla on our right & proceeded 6 miles to the SE, passing the Durgah[3] & Grove of Nodunga. We now found ourselves on the Western Bank of the Neelcomer or Curesa[4] River which is a Boutan River passing near Bullerampour. The bed of this River is from 600 to 800 yards over, the Water at this Time 400 & very deep tho' not rapid. It joins the Durla near Curygong & from thence proceeds by Baggoa to the Baramputrey.

We found that the English Detachment crossed this River during the Night 49
before our arrival & that the Rear had not crossed over many Hours. The Sanashys were reported to be marching towards us, & had several Detachments posted in different Villages to the Northward & North East. On receiving this Intelligence I judged it prudent to join our Detachment & continue with them till the Countrey should be a little settled.

We accordingly crossed the River Neelcomer & marched for Curesa,[5] a large Village belonging to Baär & situated on the Neelcomer about 2 miles NNE from the crossing Place. At Curesa I learnt that a Party of the Sanashy's Horse had been routed that Morning near the Town & that the Detachment were gone to the NE to meet the main Body of the Enemy. I stopt at Curesa to refresh my People & during that Time (the Forenoon) heard a firing of Cannon & Musquetrey to the NE.

We set out in the Afternoon & marched 6 miles to the NNE, & found the 50
Detachment under the Command of Lieut. Morrison[6] encamped at Bouter Hāāt,[7] having that Forenoon defeated the Main Body of the Sanashys who retired to the SE towards Paradanga. Morrison had 90 Sepoys Rank & file ; & the Sanashys were

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[1] Lal Bazar, the site of the ancient city of Kamatapur, the capital of the kingdom of Kamrup. It is the original of the name Comotah, capital of the Reino de Comotah of Barros, Portuguese map of Bengal (1540), and the Comotay of Blaev's map of 1650, published in Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XLII, Pt. 1, p. 310, by H. Blochmann. A full account of the ruins, by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (1809), is given in Hunter's Stat. Acc. Bengal, Vol. X, p. 362 *seq.* (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 182).

[2] Mughulhat, a large trading village on the Dharla, formerly the terminus of the Kuch Behar branch of the N. Bengal State Railway.

[3] Durgah—the shrine of a Mahomedan saint.

[4] Probably the the Toresha or Torsha is meant, one of the tributaries of the Dharla. This is now the main channel of that river.

[5] Coorsah of Rennell's map.

[6] Lieut. Morrison had been a midshipman on board the *Medway* while Rennell was on the *America*, and they had gone out to India in company. (Sir C. Markham, James Rennell, &c., p. 47).

[7] Boothaut of map.

700 strong & near 150 of them armed with English Musquets. We halted with
Morrison this Night (of the 20th February).

The next Morning early Morrison set out in quest of the Enemy, & my Sepoys
being joined with his, I acted as a Voluntier under him. We marched 8 miles this
Forenoon, & then halted at Santashpour to refresh the Troops. About ½ past Noon
set forward again, but saw no Appearance of the Enemy. We continued marching
all the Afternoon to the S & SE, till we came in sight of the River Baramputrey, &
51 were then assured that the Enemy were hemned in between the forks of that River
and the Durla. About 4 we entered the Village of Deenhotta,[1] where a Party of the
Enemy had posted themselves or rather as I am inclined to think had sat down to
rest themselves. The sudden Approach of our People however roused them & they
made a desperate Effort to defend themselves, at the same Time that they might
have run off, & probably escaped. In this Skirmish I had the misfortune to be
surrounded by the Enemy, & received several Cuts from their broad Swords, one of
which threatned my Death.[2] Morrison pursued his Course towards the Durla the
following two days, the second of which at ten in the Morning he came to the Banks
52 of that River & found difficulty in getting Boats to cross over, the River at the Place
he crossed it (v^{t}. Baggoa) being excessive rapid & very deep.

The Sanashys had separated themselves into small Parties & scattered themselves
over the Countrey, so that scarce 50 of them had crossed the Durla with their
Commander; who as Morrison was informed had retired towards Olyapour.

I followed the Detachment in my Palankeen & was embarked on a small Boat
for Dacca the 23rd. The 26th. I arrived at that Place & for the first time got
Assistance from a Surgeon, having been near 6 days without the least Assistance.

I staid at Dacca till the beginning of June for the recovery of my Health & then
set out to survey the Countrey between Luckypour & the Fenny,[3] in order to join on
53 Mr. Verelst's[4] March to Cospour[5] to the general Map of Bengall. Ensign Richards

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[1] Deenhotta is marked on Rennell's map as 15 miles due north of Baggoa or Bagwa at the mouth of the Dharla.

[2] The following account of this skirmish is quoted in Hobson Jobson, 2nd Ed., p. 872, from a MS. letter of Major Rennell's dated August 30th 1766, six months after the event. "The Sanashy Faquirs (part of the same Tribe which plundered Dacca in Cossim Ally's Time) were in arms to the number of 7 or 800 at the Time I was surveying Báár (a small province near Boutan), and had taken and plundered the Capital of that name within a few coss of my route . . . . . I came up with Morrison immediately after he had defeated the Sanashys in a pitched Battle . . . . . Our Escorte, which were a few Horse, rode off, and the Enemy with drawn Sabres immediately surrounded us. Morrison escaped unhurt, Richards, my Brother officer, received only a slight Wound, and fought his way off; my Armenian Assistant was killed, and the Sepoy Adjutant much wounded . . . . . I was put in a Palankeen, and Morrison made an attack on the Enemy and cut most of them to Pieces. I was now in a most shocking Condition indeed, being deprived of the use of both my Arms, ... a cut of a Sable (*sic*) had cut through my right Shoulder Bone, and laid me open for nearly a Foot down the Back, cutting thro' and wounding some of my Ribs. I had besides a Cut on the left Elbow wh^{ch} took off the Muscular part of the breadth of a Hand, a Stab in the Arm, and a large Cut on the Head. . . . . .

[3] A tributary of the Meghna separating the Noakhali and Chittagong districts in E. Bengal. It rises in Hill Tipperah.

[4] Henry Verelst, in charge of the Factory at Chittagong from 1761 to 1765; succeeded Lord Clive as Governor of Bengal 1767 to 1769.

[5] Khaspur, now an unimportant village in Kachar, but capital of the Rajas of Kachar during the eighteenth century. Rennell refers to this journey of M^{r}. Verelst's in his 'Memoir of Hindoostan,' p. 298, in the following words:—"M^{r}. Verelst, who meditated an expedition into Meckley from Bengal and actually advanced as far as

was sent in the beginning of May to finish the survey of the Curesa River & the Ragamatty Countrey.

The 1st. of June I set out from Dacca for Luckypour, & the 3d. at Night arrived there. The 4th. employed in procuring Coolys &c. for the Baggage & the 5th. began to measure the Roads from Luckypour towards the Fenny River.

The Course from Luckypour to the Fenny is almost East. Four miles & a quarter from Luckypour we crossed a Nulla named Rummutcally which runs from thence to the Westward & falls into the Megna. This Nulla is the limit of the Company's Lands to the Eastward: the Countrey is open & cultivated, and quite destitute of Trees.[1] The Revenues of the Company's Lands here are said to be 8,000 Rupees P. Annum. The Rummutcally Nulla is 50 yds. broad & too deep to be forded.

From the Nulla the Countrey begins to be rather more close, & the Roads 54
broken; the Countrey lies excessive low & must be several Feet under Water during great part of the Rains.

The first Village of any Note from Luckypour is Chandergunge distant 15 miles from the former; this Village is situated in the Purganna of Amidabad,[2] which is an extensive & fertile Province. The Countrey about Chandergunge is very full of Betel Trees; the Roads are in general broken.

Colinda or Koilindy is the next Village of any Note & situated E $\frac{1}{4}$ N from Chandergunge distant by the roads 14$\frac{3}{4}$ miles. The Roads between those two places are in general very bad, & the Countrey excessive low & at this Time overflown near a foot, but it is notwithstanding extremly fertile, & produces great Quantities of Padda, & some Betel Nut. I saw but little Cotton growing, so that the immense quantitiet of Cotton used in the Manufacture of their Cloths must be brought from distant Places.[3]

There is a small Factory at Colinda[4] for collecting coarse Cloths, of which a 55
prodigious Quantity are manufactured in these Parts. The whole Countrey hereabouts appears to be very scarce of Bamboos.

From Colinda the Roads are still worse & worse as you proceed towards the Fenny. The Course inclines to the ESE. About 6 miles from Colinda we crossed the Daddanacherra Creek thro' which the Tides flow almost up to Colinda. This Creek is only passable at half Tide. Two miles beyond this we crossed a River named the little Fenny thro' which the Tide flows regularly all the Year. The

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Cospour on his way to it, in 1763, was informed by his Meckley guides, that after passing the first ridge of mountains beyond Cachar, he would find a fertile and well inhabited country all the way to Ava. He, however, went no further than Cospour," on account of the difficulties of the country (Imp. Gaz., Vol. IX, p. 251). The journey was undertaken in response to "an invitation made by the Raja of Meckley to assist him in obtaining redress for some grievance he complained to have suffered from the Burmas, and enclosing a paper of articles of alliance which the Raja had tendered to be executed between him and us for this purpose" (Consultation in Council 4th Oct^{r} 1762. Wheeler, Early Records, p. 291).

The 'Meckley' of Rennell is the State of Manipur, a corruption of the Assamese (*Makli*) or Kachari (*Mogli*) name of the State (Hobson Jobson, p. 597). One of the subdivisions of Cooch Behar State, a relic of the old Koch Kingdom of Assam, is called Mekhliganj.

[1] In 1754 the country about 'Luckepur' was "almost entirely uncultivated" (Long, Selections, No. 127, p. 48).

[2] Ahmirabads of the 'Bengal Atlas.'

[3] The cotton is grown in Hill Tipperah and the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

[4] Kaliyandi. Hunter says (Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VI, p. 288): "At the end of the last century Kaliyandi must have been a place of considerable importance, as its name appears in all the old maps. At the present day, however, it has completely relapsed into jungle." The trade in cotton cloths is said to have amounted to £120,000 a year.

Course of this River is from NBE to SBW, it has its Source in the Tipera Province & runs by Kundal. From the crossing Place its Course is to the SW to Jugdya,[1] which Place is situated about 4 miles from hence. The Countrey here is close & but thinly cultivated.

56 Kossidya or Cassidya a Bazar Village lies about half a mile to the SE of the
little Fenny, & is surrounded by Betel Groves & Thickets. Meerjapour or Assaropgunge is the next Village & lies 5 miles from Cossidya. The whole Countrey hereabouts is so low that it is quite overflown during 5 Months of the Year. The Countrey does not seem to be well inhabited.

From Assaropgunge to the Banks of the Fenny is near three Miles; the Roads in general excessive bad.

The Fenny River at the crossing Place is more than a mile & quarter broad at
present, & continues widening daily, several Sand Banks gathering in the middle.
This River has its Source in the Chittigong Province, & is very narrow a few miles
up, & so shallow that I am informed it is fordable at low Water. It empties itself
into the Bay of Bengall about five miles below the crossing Place. You have a view
57 of part of the Island of Babnee[2] (or Baminy) from the SE point of the River, & if I
mistake not, of part of Sunedeep[3] likewise (those are two of the Islands lying in the
head of the Bay).

The Sea Coast from the Mouth of the Fenny to Islamabad River[4] runs in general about SEBS without any considerable Bays or inlets. As Mr. Plaisted is said to have surveyed all the Coasts & Islands betwixt Luckypour & Islamabad,[5] I forbore setting about surveying them, as well to prevent double Trouble & loss of Time, as that the Season of the Year was improper for it. Being however in the neighbourhood of Islamabad I judged it proper to go there in order to collect what Maps I could, & to inform myself what remained to be surveyed of the Province.

The Roads between the Fenny & Islamabad are intersected by a great number
58 of Nullas, & as most of these want Bridges, the Roads are almost impassable during
the rainy Season. The whole Road is skirted by a Range of small Hills to the
Eastward which sometimes come within half a mile of the Road. The Sea is from
4 to 6 miles distant & frequently in view: the low Lands between the Hills & the Sea
are very fertile, & are by much the best part of the Province.

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[1] Jugdia. Both the English and the French had factories here. The English Factory appears to have been transferred to Lakshmipur in 1754 (Long, Selections, No. 128, p 48). After the fall of Chandernagore the French Factory was taken over by a Mr. Cree (Bengal, Past & Present, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 364).

[2] Bamni Island.

[3] Sandwip Island. These islands were the scene of the depredations of the Portuguese pirates in the seventeenth century, and it was on Sandwip that Sebastian Gonzales, their leader, after defeating the Mughul Governor Fathi Khan, established a settlement in 1609. They were finally subdued by the Nawab Shaista Khan in 1666, and their descendants are still settled near Dacca.

[4] The Karnaphuli on Chittagong R.

[5] Chittagong. The name Islamabad was given to it by the Mughals, who besieged and captured it in 1666 under Shaista Khan.

The surveys, plans, and drawings attributed to Plaisted are: a plan and survey of the coast of Chittagong and Khaut Colley in 1761; sketch of the coast of Chittagong in 1761; instructions for the coast of Chittagong, January 1, 1762; and plan and survey of the Chittagong River in 1764 (Wilson, Old Fort William, Vol. II, p. 164 *note*).

None of the Hills exceed the height of 240 yards, & of these Sittacoon[1] is the highest & situated about half way between the Fenny & Chittagong. On the top of this Hill is built a small Pagoda which is much resorted to by the religious Gentoos,[2] who very zealously venture their Necks to go up to worship; for the sides of the Hill are in some places quite perpendicular.[3]

Near Barracoon[4] (a Village 3 miles to the Southward of Sittacoon) is the famous burning Well. It lies within the first ridge of Hills, & thro' a narrow, bad road. 59
The Spring rises at the foot of a Hill, & has a small House or Pagoda built over it, from whence you decend by six or seven stone Steps to the level of the Spring. The Water bubbles up on one side of an artificial Bason or Tank of about 6 foot square & 5 deep; from whence it is carried off by a subterraneous Passage into the Valley. On that side of the Tank where the Water rises is built a Brick Wall of about 4 foot high as a kind of facing to the Rock from whence the Water issues. This Wall by being built very loose, & without Cement, allows the Water a free Passage thro' the lower part of it into the Tank; & with it a pure flame is continually issuing forth for near the breadth of 4 foot, & commonly it rises near 3 foot high, so that the Wall itself does not ill represent the back of a large Kitchen Chimney in England. 60
The Flames are seen to spread near a foot from the Wall, over the surface of the Tank when the Water continues its bubbling motion to that distance; but over the still parts of it there is not y^e least appearance of Flame.

I observed that when the Water of the Tank rose, or was much disturbed by the People that went in to bathe, the Flame went out for some Seconds, but afterwards broke out with much greater violence than ever.[5]

The Flames are seen very distinctly in the day Time occasioned by the darkness of the House. Altho' I stood very near them I did not perceive the least sulphureous

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[1] Sitakund, the highest hill in the Chittagong District, 1155 ft. above sea level.

[2] Gentoo, a term applied to the Hindus, to distinguish them from the Moghuls or 'Moors.'

[3] The principal gathering is the Siva Chaturdasi festival on the 14th day of the moon sacred to Siva (usually in February). Minor gatherings take place in or near the months of March and November and at eclipses of the sun and moon. The ascent of the hill is said to redeem the pilgrim from the misery of a future birth. There was formerly a sacred spring in the mountain, said to be bituminous, which dried up in the latter part of the 18th century (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., 2nd Ed., Vol. XIII, p. 25). Major Rennell makes no mention of this spring.

[4] Bharatkund. The springs of Sitakund are enumerated in Dr. Oldham's list of the Thermal Springs of India (Memoirs, Geol. Sur. Ind., Vol. XIX, Pt. 2, p. 52). The description given is Pogson's, who visited them in 1778. The one called Barracoon by Rennell appears to be Pogson's Babu Kund, which is "at the end of a valley surrounded by hills; the water is always cold; springs covered by brick work. Flames in successive flashes were playing on the surface of the water which, though cold, had the appearance of being boiling, from the volume of perpetually rising bubbles of gas; water is brackish, sulphureous, and chalybeate. There are seven other springs within a circle of 6 miles." Rennell's account of the phenomenon agrees very well with this except that he says he could perceive no sulphurous smell.

Sir J. Hooker visited the locality in 1851, but was disappointed with the phenomenon. He writes :—"The mountain (Seetakoond) is very sacred, and there is a large Brahmin temple on its flank; and near the base a perpetual flame bursts out of the rock. This we were anxious to examine, and were extremely disappointed to find it a small vertical hole in a slaty rock, with a lateral one below for a draught, and that it is daily supplied by pious pilgrims and Brahmins with such enormous quantities of ghee (liquid butter) that it is to all intents and purposes an artificial lamp; no trace of natural phenomena being discoverable" (Himalayan Journals, Vol. II, p. 352). He does not mention the spring, and it is doubtful whether he saw the place described by Rennell and Pogson.

[5] From this the gas would appear to take fire spontaneously.

smell; the House itself is very hot & disagreeable for want of a proper Circulation of Air, besides the Bramins make a Cook Room of it, there being a little Hole left in
61 y^e top of the Wall for placing the Pots.

The Water of the Well is very cool & moderately clear. 'Twas hard for me to distinguish whether the oily Substance on its Surface rose with the Water, or was the consequence of so many People's bathing in it.[1]

The City of Islamabad is 49½ miles from the Fenny, and in Latitude 22°-20′ North. It is a large stragling Place, built like the rest of the Bengall Towns, the Houses mean, & the streets laid out without the least design. It is surrounded by little Hills to the West & North & by the River to the East.[2] I had a view of a range of very high Mountains named the Muggs which are said to be the boundary of the Province to the East & SE;[3] the Fenny being the Northern Boundary towards Tipera. The Mugg Mountains appear to be from 50 to 70 miles distant & run in
62 several Chains from the NNE to SSW. There are several Ranges of small Hills between Islamabad & the Mugg Mountains, the nearer of which seems to be within 20 miles. I am informed that the River [4] is navigable for near 50 miles up, but that the Fenny has no communication with it. The Chittigong Province extends to the Southward as far as 21°-28′ N. where Cruzcolly[5] is the Boundary between that & Aracan.

On my return from Islamabad towards Dacca, I was seized with a Fever & Ague the 27th. & continued very ill till near the middle of July. I recrossed the Fenny the 1st. July, & the 5th. arrived at Luckypour where I continued for the recovery of my Health till the middle of the Month.

63 By the apparent Situation of the Islands of Sunedeep, Hattiah, Babnee[6] &c. it seems probable that they must afford Shelter for Ships during both Monsoons, but especially during the SW or Southwardly Monsoon when the Passages must be of easy Access. If the Water is so deep as reported between Sunedeep, Babnee, & the Main, a competent knowledge of the Place might be a means of saving those Ships which are drove to the Eastward of Balasore Road,[7] & may not be able to enter Chittigong River for want of a Pilot, depth of Water, or other Accident. There is likewise an Advantage attending the making of this Coast, which that between Balasore Road & the Megna is entirely destitute of; I mean Land Marks. Seetacoon Hill is said to be an excellent Mark for the Chittigong River; besides the Flagstaffs, Hills & Houses of Chittigong must afford sure Marks for the Coast.

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[1] This may have been a thin film of petroleum.

[2] The modern European quarter of Chittagong is built on these hills, most of the houses occupying separate knolls.

[3] The Lushai Hills, inhabited by non-Hindu aboriginal tribes. The lower ranges are now comprised in the district of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, inhabited for the most part by Maghs or Arakanese.

[4] The Karnaphuli, navigable by shallow draught steamers as far as Rangamati, about 50 miles above Chittagong.

[5] Cruz-cool R. on Rennell's map. Opposite Maiskhal I. and just north of Cox's Bazar.

[6] Bominy I. of Rennell's map.

[7] On the Orissa coast, where before the days of steam ships were accustomed to anchor till wind and tide served for the passage up the Hugli (Bengal Atlas No. XIX).

NOVEMBER 1766.

The 4th. of November set out from Dacca to survey the Northern Branches of * the Ganges. The Dullaserry was surveyed in 1765 from its conflux with the Megna to the Beurygonga & we now proposed to go on with the Survey of that & its principal Branches first.

The Dollasery River runs out from the North side of the River Ganges at Jaffiergunge,[1] & soon after loses itself in a number of Jeels for the space of 11 or 12 miles, afterwards passing by Pyelapour & Saapour. A few Miles below ye latter Place it sends out a navigable Creek from ye North side which communicates with ye Dacca River or Beurygonga.[2] Here, the Tides flowing up it increases in breadth to near half a mile in most places Between ye head of the Dacca Creek & its conflux with the Megna it receives the two Branches of the Issamutey[3] River on ye South side, & the Beurygonga & Luckya Rivers on ye North side, by which time it becomes a mile & quarter broad.

The Issamuty River is formed from two small Branches of the Ganges which run out from the North side near Hadgigunge. It is navigable all the Year for large * Boats. Its breadth is about 200 yards & Course very serpentine.

We begun the Survey of the Dolasery ye 4th. in ye Evening & continued it to the WNW till we passed the two Mouths of the Issamutty to ye Southward & Tagerpour[4] Creek to ye Nwd. The Tagerpour Creek leads from the Dolasery to the Dacca River & is 2½ Cubits deep at high Water during ye fair Season ; but it is so narrow & the turnings in some Places so short that a large Boat cannot turn. Its Northern Outlet from the Dacca River is opposite to the Octagon Island,[5] & the Southern Outlet to ye Dollasery is at the Village of Tagerpour in sight of & within 5 miles of the city of Dacca, so near do the Dacca & Dollasery Rivers approach each other. The intermediate space is a very low Plain with some Villages in it. In ye wet Season it may be crossed in ye largest Boats. The Flood Tide in ye Tagerpour Creek comes from ye Dolaserry.

The Mouth of the Toolsey Creek or Westmost Branch of the Issamutty lies 3 miles West from Tagerpour. Thro' this Creek is ye common Route from Dacca to Hadgigunge. It is very narrow & crooked, but deep enough for the largest Boats * The Countrey on both sides of it is either Jungly or swampy. The length of this Creek is about 6 miles, & then you enter the largest Branch of the Issamuty which flows thro' a very fine pleasant Countrey. We finished the Survey of the Toolsey Creek & entered the great Issamuty the 8th. at Night.

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* Beyond this the original is not paged. The pagination is here denoted by asterisks.

[1] The Dhaleswari now runs out of the Jamuna or lower portion of the Brahmaputra, about 10 miles above Jafarganj.

[2] The Buriganga.

[3] The Ichamati.

[4] Thakurpur. Tagoorpour of Rennell's map.

[5] An island in the Buriganga opposite Dacca city, shown in Map No. XII. Bengal Atlas. It has now entirely disappeared.

From the 8th. to the 13th. employed in tracing the Issamutty from Toolsey Creek to the great Ganges. The 10th. the Monsoon broke up,[1] having a strong Gale of Wind which veered from NE to S.

The Course of the Issamutty is extremely crooked, & the stream gentle. The Tides are scarce felt 3 Reaches above Toolsey. We noted 2 small Creeks that lead from it into y^e^ Dolaserry at & a little below Sāāpour, but only small Dingeys can pass during the fair Season. The Countrey on both sides lies moderately high, a few Jeels only excepted; & it seems to be well cultivated. The Limits of the Provinces * are described in the Maps. The Westmost head of the Issamuty (or that which comes out at Nabobgunge) is only 1 Cubit deep in y^e^ dry Season; but the other which comes out at Sabdychoar or Meggala is much deeper. These two Branches join together at Keerdupour near the Ganges.

The 13th. came back to the head of Toolsey Creek & the remainder of this day together with y^e^ 14th. & part of the 15th. we surveyed the remaining part of this River (v^t^.) from Toolsey to the Dolaserry. There are few Circumstances worth remarking here, the Course of the River & nature of the Countrey being much the same as before. The main Branch of the Isamutty joins y^e^ Dollaserry at Pattergotta a small Village with 2 Mosques[2] which is situated a few miles below Tagerpour.

The 13th took an Obs. of y^e^ Sun's Amplitude, by which the Variation is 1°-49′ Westerly.

The 16th. proceeded with the Survey of the Dolaserry & y^e^ 17th. came to Sāāpour a large Village lying about 15 miles WBN from Dacca. The neighbouring Countrey is very low & full of Jeels, particularly Southward, in which direction there is scarce a Tree or House to be seen. There are a few Brick Houses & an old Pagoda * in Sāāpour. There is a small Creek which runs out of the Dolaserry at Sāāpour & communicates with the Isamutty. It is said to be navigable all the Year for Boats of a moderate size.

Four miles & half from Saapour a small River named Gadgically[3] runs out of the Dolaserry & communicates with the Dacca River. In the fair Season only small Boats can navigate it, & that at high Water, but in y^e^ wet Season Boats of any size may go. The Place where this Creek seperates from y^e^ Dollaserry is named Currua. A mile & half further Westward the Caagmar River[4] falls in: it is very small, & in y^e^ fair Season only deep enough for Pulwars. The Countrey hereabouts is quite full of Jeels.

Pyelapour is y^e^ next Village of note. It is situated on a high spot of Land & extends about a mile within the Southern Bank of the River. With respect to Saapour it lies NW$\frac{1}{4}$W 10 miles (tho' by Water it is upwards of 13) & from Dacca

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[1] See p 27.

[2] One of the mosques at Pathorghata was built in 1688 by one Unwar, a courtier of Aurungzib. (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 218).

[3] Ghazikhali.

[4] Two creeks, the Heera and Conoi, are shown falling into the 'Dullaserry' a little to the west of the 'Gazycally' in the Bengal Atlas Map No. XII. The village of 'Caug-mary' is shown on Map No. IX at some distance to the NW., so the 'Conoi' is probably meant.

WNW$\frac{1}{4}$N 25 miles. The Countrey round Pyelapour is well cultivated and inhabited. Nearly opposite to the Village a small Creek from Caagmar[1] joins the Dolaserry, but it is shut up during y^{e} dry Season. From Pyellapour Westwards the Countrey is an * entire Swamp or Jeel, so that it was with difficulty we could ascertain the Bed of the River. These Jeels are a continuation of the great Jeels of Chatmol & Hurriol.[2]

The Village & Grove of Gwalpara lie WBN$\frac{1}{4}$N 7 miles from Pyelapour, but the Course of the River between the two Places is very crooked. This Village is the Boundary of the Provinces of Dacca & Radshy.[3] Here y^{e} River comes in two Branches named the Andyadaw and Curatty Gonga. The Andyadaw is the Northmost, & has the straitest Course, for which Reason we pursued our Route thro' it.

After going about 5 miles up the Andyadaw we came to Baljuree, where the Noigonga or Bailcoonsi River falls in. This River comes thro' the Jeels, & in its way communicates with the Sheebgunge & Rungpour Rivers.[4] The Village of Baljuree is known by two old red Pagodas lying a little to the Northward of it.[5]

Leaving Baljuree we enter the Comercally Creek which is narrow & communicates with several large Jeels. The Current is very rapid. At the end of this Creek which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Baljuree we come to the head of the Curatty Gongah * (a Southern River left at Gwalpara) & entered a fine high Countrey. From the Comercally we entered the Corki Creek which has a winding Course of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 miles & then leads into a broad River named the Cantabotey. It is remarkable that almost the whole Body of Water which forms the Dolaserry is confined within y^{e} space of 70 yards breadth in its Course thro' the Corki Creek. The Cantabotey River after a Course of 5 miles leads into the great Ganges near Jaffiergunge after receiving the largest Branch of the Denospour River[6] & a small Creek from that of Sheebgunge.[7] We finished the Survey of this River the 23d.

The whole Course of the Dolaserry from its seperation from the Ganges to its Conflux with the Megna, the principal Windings included, is 75 miles. Of this we have now surveyed 63 miles, y^{e} other 12 being surveyed before & about 41 of the Issamutey, besides the Toolsey Creek.

The 23rd. in the Afternoon entered the Rottingunge River or Arti[8] in order to * survey it & note the Northern Rivers that fall into it. We were employed on this Survey till the 28th. inclusive when we came into the great River by way of Pubna or Nasserpour. This River has a very serpentine Course, the distance through being upwards of 53 miles, whereas the Horizontal distance is not 28. Its breadth is from 150 to 300 yards, & depth sufficient for y^e largest Boats during the dry Season. The Route from Jelenghee to Dacca is thro' this River, altho' the Passage by y^e Ganges is 10 miles shorter. In going against the Stream this River is preferable to the Ganges, on account of their being good tracking Ground all the way, & few Sands; but in going down with the stream the other is preferable. The Countrey on both sides of this River lies high & is well cultivated; the Produce is Paddy, Cotton, &c.

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[1] Caugmary of Rennell's Map No. IX, a district north of Atia. The name is not marked on modern maps.

[2] Rennell's Map shows a continuous line of Jhils extending north-westwards from the place where the Brahmaputra now joins the Ganges at Goalundo, along what was then the course of the eastern branch of the Atrai, or lower Teesta. The main stream of the Brahmaputra has broken across this low ground, and the face of the country is entirely changed.

[3] Rajshahi, now a Division under the Lt.-Govr. of E. Bengal and Assam. The portion now entered is called Bettooriah in the Bengal Atlas (Map No. IX). 'Raudeshy' is shown further west, the greater part of it lying south of the Ganges, about Murshidabad.

[4] The Atrai, Karatoya, and Tista.

[5] Probably destroyed since the incursion of the Brahmaputra. The face of the country hereabouts is entirely altered since that event. The 'Cantabotey' river is shown on the Atlas of India, sheet 120, as quite a small creek, the Kuntabuttee, not connected with the Ganges. The Dhaleswari now leaves the Brahmaputra or Jamuna 10 miles to the north of Jaffiergunge (Jafarganj). Fergusson gives a succinct account of the changes that took place in this region between Rennell's survey and his time in his paper on the Delta of the Ganges (Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc., Vol. XIX, p 336).

[6] The Dinajpur R. or Atrai.

[7] The Karatoya.

[8] ? misspelling for Attri = Atrai R. This creek, which leaves the Ganges at Pubna, now goes by the name of the Ichhamati in some places and of the Attrai in others.

A Branch of the Denospour River falls into this about 14 miles EBN from * Pubna at a Place named Boolbaria. In y^e dry Season it is y^e common Passage from Jelenghee to Nattour, Denospour, &c. Between Boolbaria & Rottingunge a small Creek runs out of the Arti into the Currumjar which is y^e main Branch of the Denospour River & runs nearly paralel with the Arti.

The 29th. proceeded 2 Reaches up the Ganges to get information concerning the limits of the Radshy Province in order to make Lord Clive's Map as compleat as possible before his leaving Bengall. The 30th. returned to Boolbaria. On the Passage we were employed in preparing Maps & Journals for Lord Clive.

The 1st. December began surveying the Boolbaria Creek or Western Branch of the Denospour River, & at Night came into the Currumjar.[1] From hence proceeded with the Survey of the Denospour River to the place where Mr. Richards left off in July last.

Immediately above the head of the Currumjar River the great Jeels begin. These Jeels in y^e wet Season are joined together, & form a prodigious Lake which * extends from the Western parts of Dacca to Nattour, a tract of about 80 English miles. In the dry Season they form several distinct Lakes. The Denospour River runs thro' the Western Part of these Jeels, frequently losing itself for several Miles, & dividing into a number of Branches. On the skirts of the Jeels are several considerable Villages particularly those of Sajatpour,[2] Hurriol, Chatmol, Cullum[3] & Nattour. In the shallow parts of the Jeels a prodigious number of tame Buffaloes are kept, by which means this part of the Radshy Countrey furnishes the neighbouring Provinces with Ghee.[4] The Countrey is incapable of any other Improvements for as it lies very low, the neighbouring Jeels make it a perfect Swamp.

The Village of Chatmol[5] lies in a high spot on y^e SW side of the River & is situated from Pubna NBE 16½ miles, but by Water upward of 48 miles. This is

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[1] One of the numerous channels by which the Attrai emptied itself into the Ganges.

[2] Shazadpour of Rennell's Map.

[3] Chalan. The Chalan jhil or bīl is the largest in Rajshahi, measuring 21 miles in length from N.W. to S.E., and 10 miles in breadth. It is a depressed basin, sunk below the level of the surrounding country. The average depth of water in the dry season, when the area is reduced to about 20 square miles, is 3 feet (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VIII, p. 25).

[4] Clarified or boiled butter.

[5] Chatmohur of Atlas of India, Sheet 120, and in Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. IX, p. 297.

y^e first principal Village in the Route from Pubna to Denospour. Hurriol[1] lies on y^e East side of the Jeels & about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles NE from Chatmol. The nearest River to it is the Baganudi or Chatmol River† with which it communicates by means of the Jeel.

†Two miles Northward from Chatmol a Creek from Surda[2] joins this River, but it is not navigable during y^e fair Season.

At Sittalya 9 miles NNW from Chatmol the River divides into two distinct * Branches, the Westmost flowing thro' a fine high Countrey, & the other thro' a Jeel. The Western River leads to Nattour the Capital of the Radshy Province, the other to Cullum & Denospour. As the River near this place divides into a great number of Branches it will be impossible to convey an Idea of their Courses without the Map, to which I shall refer.

Nattour[3] is situated on a very small River whose Course is in general about East & it is said to be a Branch of the Ganges which seperates somewhere above Bolio.[4] It is not navigable in y^e dry Season, so that Boats at that time cannot come within 5 miles of the Town where a small Branch of the Denospour River comes. Nattour has a large Bazar but is a Place of no Trade. The Rhany Bowany or Rajah's House is y^e only Brick Buiding in y^e Town; this is surrounded by a high wall & a Ditch, but not after the manner of a Fortification. Two miles NE from Nattour is Diggypattia a Village belonging to Dyram.[5] This Village contains several * Brick Houses, & a large Pagoda. The Countrey round Nattour lies very low. Nattour lies in Latitude 24°-24′-30″ North & bears from Muxadabad ENE 47 miles.

Cullum[6] a large Village lies on y^e Eastern Bank of the great Denospour River & at the head of the large Jeels. With respect to Nattour it lies EBN 11 miles. This is the first Place where we could with any certainty determine the breadth of the River,[7] for farther down it either mixes with y^e Jeels or seperates into several Streams, so that no Idea can be formed of the quantity of the Body of Water. Above Cullum it is in general 200 or 220 Yards broad & deep enough for y^e largest Boats, excepting at one certain Place which I shall take notice of hereafter. The Stream is not rapid, nor is y^e Water of the muddy colour of the Ganges & Baramputrey. This River has a great many names given it, the People of every District giving it a particular Name. *

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[1] Hureeal in the same Atlas Sheet. The E. I. Co. had a factory at 'Hurriaul' in 1784, and the French traded here from 1766 to 1770 (Bengal, Past & Present, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 366).

[2] A village on the Ganges below Rampur Boalia near Charghat. The creek is the Baral R. Its mouth is closed by a sand bank which obstructs the passage for several months in the year (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VIII, p. 24).

[3] Nattor, the residence of the hereditary Rajas of Rajshahi. At this time it was the largest and wealthiest zemimdari in Bengal, and it was about five times the size of the present District, extending from Bhagalpur on the West to Dacca on the east, and including a large territory on the south bank of the Ganges. The estate was at this time in possession of a woman, the Rani Bhawani, whose failure to pay the revenue demanded by the English led to the gradual break up of the estate, and the Nattor family now ranks only third or fourth in Rajshahi in respect of wealth (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. XI, p. 429. Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 58). For a complete account of the character and career of the Rani Bhawani *see* Cal. Review, Vol. LVI, p. 9, *seq.*

[4] Rampur Boalia, a large and important centre of commerce on the Ganges.

[5] Dayaram, the Dewan and trusted adviser of the Rani Bhawani (*see* article in Cal. Review cited above).

[6] Chalan, at the head of the Chalan jhil (*ante* p. 82).

[7] The Atrai. At this time the volume of water must have been very much greater than it is now, for the main stream of the Teesta took this course on its way to join the Ganges. The clearness of the water is no doubt due to the deposition of the silt in the numerous jhils through which the river flows.

Between Boutan & Raage Gunge[1] it is named the Teesta, from thence to Bandegotta the Attri ; between that & Cullum the Gole nuddy ; & afterwards the several names of Baganuddy, Ballaser, & Currumjar.

Mr. Richards had surveyed the River from Raage Gunge to Cullum as beforementioned, but for want of an Instrument for taking the Latitudes the latter part of the Survey was not sufficiently exact ; for this Reason we proceeded up the River & took the Latitudes as far as was necessary. We finished the Survey as far as Cullum the 9th. of December.

From the 9th. to y^{e} 13th. proceeded up the River whose Course is from the NW to SE. taking y^{e} Latitudes at several places. The last Observation was at Baumanpara near Conchon,[2] the Latitude of which was 24°-53′ North. The Course of the River from hence to Raage Gunge is nearly North & y^{e} distance determined by the Latitude of Raage Gunge.

*At Baumanpara the River is 300 yards broad & sufficiently deep. About 12 miles below this Place the River changes its general Course from South to SE & at the same Time seperates into 2 Channells, & the Northmost of these again into several others. By the Waters being divided into so many Streams it happens that none of them are navigable for Boats of 2 Cubits draught of Water. This shallow place is at Kalcour 4 miles above Bandegotta. At Bandegotta the two principal Channells join again. The Countrey round this Place is an entire Swamp.

Having finished our Observations the 13th. we proceeded down the River again in order to survey a Branch of it which turns off to the Eastward near Chatmol & receives the Gorregott & Rungpour Rivers.[3]

All our leisure Time since we left Dacca has been employed in compiling a general Map for Lord Clive. After all the Observations that we could make before his Lordship's setting out, the Map would remain very imperfect without we were supplied with * Copies of several Maps from Calcutta, & it being too late to wait for these, I determined to go to Calcutta as soon as the Survey of the abovementioned River should be compleated.

The 16th. at Night arrived at the head of the Eastern River, & the next day Mr. Richards proceeded to survey it whilst I was employed on the Map. This River after a very serpentine Course thro' the Jeels leads to Sajatpour a large Village situated at the conflux of the Rungpour & Gorregott Rivers. It is necessary to observe that Seerpour & Sheebgunge are both situated on the Gorregott or Coretya River ; & that Nulshi & Bailcoonsi are on that distinguished by y^{e} name of the Rungpour River.

We had not Time to survery the Currumjar River as I intended, by reason of the sudden departure of Lord Clive. We left Sajatpour & proceeded for Calcutta the 20th. of December. We arrived at Jelenghee the 25th. at Noon. I observed that we could make no further Progress than from 18 to 22 miles a day in the great * River altho' our Boats were light, & the Dandies kept at work the whole Day. We lightened the Budgarows at Jelenghee, being informed that some Places in y^e River * were very shallow. This however we found to be false as there was not less than 2 Cubits Water. The 28th. in y^e Evening got clear of the Jelenghee River, having gone from 30 to 38 miles p. day. Took an Observation of Latitude in y^e next Reach below Gwareea & found the Lat. 23°-26′ N.† The 30th. in the Evening arrived at Calcutta. We had been employed on the Map the whole Passage.

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[1] Dinajpur.

[2] About 45 miles S. of Dinajpur.

[3] The Karatoya and the Ghaghat. The latter becomes the Bengali R. in the lower part of its course and flows parallel with the Brahmaputra for a considerable distance.

† Refraction allowed 23° 26′ 40″.

From the 30th. of December to the 6th. of Feb^y. inclusive staid at Calcutta. The greatest part of the Time, that is to say, till y^e 24th. of Jan^y., we were employed in compiling & copying Maps for Lord Clive. His Lordship carried home a Map of Bengall & part of Bahar on a Scale of 10′ to an Inch 5 foot by 3 ; & another Map containing y^e Ganges &c. from Patna to Kanoge [1] on the same Scale.[2]

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[1] Kanauj. The ancient capital of the Gupta dynasty, situated near the Ganges in Farukhadad District, in the United Provinces.

[2] Lord Clive left Calcutta on the 29th January, 1767.

JANUARY, FEBRUARY 1767.

The 1st. of Jan. 1767 I was appointed Surveyor Gen^{l}.[1] & the Gov^{r}. (Mr. Verelst) appointed the several Surveyors that were to be employed under me (V^{t}.)

Capt. Lewis DuGloss   Lieut. ——— Carter.
Capt. John Adams   Ensign W^{m}. Richards.

The three first had each a particular part of the Countrey alloted him to survey, & myself (with Mr. Richards as an Assistant) had another part. Mine was to be: first, the Roads from Calcutta to Hadgigunge; next, the Cosa or Cosee River from its Conflux with y^{e} Ganges to the Northern Frontier of Bengall.

The 6th. Feby. sent y^{e} Baggage off to Dumdum,[2] the same Evening I joined it, in order to begin the Survey next Day from Gowreepour Bridge;[3] Capt. Cameron having surveyed as far as that Place.

The 7th. began the Survey, and at Night came to Barrasett,[4] which is 7m 3.5fr from Dumdum. This Countrey is a part of the Kistnagur Province.

After leaving Barrasett we seldom found the Roads good, they being excessive
Plan No. 1. narrow, rough, & crooked, & very frequently running across Padda Fields, so that
* when the ground is ploughed up there are no Traces of a Road to be found.[5]

At the end of the Journal I have added a Table of the Roads with the distances between each Stage, as well as that of the principal Topes[1] & Tanks, by which a Detachmt. may regulate their Marches, so as to halt at proper Places for procuring Shelter & Water.[2]

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[1] *See* Introduction, p. 1. Concerning this appointment Malcolm says:—"Among other eminent men whom he (Lord Clive) patronised, he found Rennell, then a lieutenant of engineers, employed in various surveys, encouraged him to complete the general survey and map of Bengal, communicated to him all such previous surveys as were to be found in the public offices, furnished him with a proper establishment (though before this he seems to have had only two assistants, Ensign Richards and the Armenian who was killed by the Sunyasis at Deenhotta), gave him every assistance in his power, and finally, young as he was (he was just turned 24) bestowed on him the office of Surveyor-General, which seems to have been created for him. Clive's mode of trusting officers in whom he could repose confidence, and his means of securing the speedy and effectual execution of the orders he gave, are illustrated by one of his letters to Rennell (4th October, 1765, *see ante*, p. 51). He had ordered a general map of the provinces to be completed. 'If you have occasion for any assistants, name them, and I will order them to attend you'" (Life of Clive, Vol. III, p. 162). Sir C. Markham quotes a letter of Rennell, referring to Ensign Richards:—"I have now company at all times; and luckily for me, the gentleman proves a very agreeable and cheerful companion" (Life of James Rennell, p. 46). To the other three assistants the only reference I can find is an order of Mr. Verelst's dated April 14th 1766, directing Mr. Plaisted (*see ante*, p. 38) "the Surveyor of the Burdwan province to procure and transmit to him a particular account of the Bunds, and further to join Mr. DeGloss who is upon the same Service at the Bunds of Mandergatchee and Bulrampore" (Wilson, Old Fort William, Vol. II, p. 177); and Mr. Firminger informs me that in a letter to the Board of Revenue, dated April 1771, the Supervisor of Birbhum asks for a reinforcement for the escort of Capt. Carter, "who was engaged in the survey of the bordering lands of Beerbhum and Bhagulpur, inhabited by chooars, who prevented him from proceeding further." Mr. Plaisted had been transferred from Chittagong to Burdwan in August 1765 (*Ibid.*, p. 174). The Bunds were embankments on the Rupnarain R.

[2] Dum-Dum, a military cantonment 4½ miles N.E. from Calcutta, the headquarters of the Bengal Artillery from 1783 to 1853. Lord Clive had a country house here, built on the remains of an older house and a mound, from which the place takes its name *damdama*, a raised mound or battery. The original house was a shooting box of Siraj-ud-daula. The house is still in existence and occupied as a private residence (Hobson Jobson, p. 330; Bishop Heber, Journals, Vol. 1, p. 35; List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 58).

[3] Three miles N.E. of Dum-Dum.

[4] Barasat, a resort of the Calcutta 'bucks' at this period, and closely connected with the names of Sir Philip Francis, Machrabie, etc. (*see* Busteed, Echoes from Old Calcutta, p. 135; Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. II, p. 509).

[5] The present Bengal Central Railway follows this road very closely as far as Jessore.

The 8th. surveyed 7½ miles of the Road, which runs pretty strait to the NEBE. The Countrey in general is open & well cultivated, the Produce Padda, Gram, &c.[3] There are a great Number of Tanks near the Road, & a fine Tope of Coconut & Betel Trees at Chaldibarya 6 miles from Barrasett. There is another good Tope with a Tank, at Joypool, 7½ miles from Barrasett.

The 9th. surveyed 8½ miles thro' an open Countrey. We found good Tanks at the distance of every 1½ or 2 miles. The Villages very poor, & the Land ill cultivated. At Belgurree 2½ miles from Joypool we crossed a small Nulla ; it is nearly dry at this Season, but in ye wet Season it is deep & rapid. This part of ye Countrey lies high, & is not overflown during * the rainy Season. We passed 3 fine Topes this Day; one at Plan No. 2 Jawberria 5½ miles from Joypool, & ye other 2 at Hottybur 3½ miles from Jawberria.† Near ye last Tope is a good Tank & a small Village named Chunderhāāt.

† Between Jawberria & Hottybur is a fine Road raised above ye level of the Countrey.

The 10th. surveyed about 8¼ miles, the road very crooked. We have seen no considerable Villages since we left Calcutta. After going 2 miles & half thro' a well cultivated Countrey, we came to a large Plain of about 2½ miles extent from SW to NE, & about twice that length from SE to NW. The Jubbunaw[4] Creek runs along the NE side of this Plain. We crossed this Creek at Mullicpour. It is a Branch of the Hughly River & runs out of that River nearly opposite to the Town of that Name. It falls into the Issamot River a few Miles SE of Mullickpour, & in ye wet Season is deep enough for the largest Boats. At this Season it is only 3 foot deep.

After crossing this Creek we passed thro' a remarkable thick Wood which skirts ye Eastern Bank of it. This Wood is full half a mile thro', & the path very narrow & intricate.

Leaving this Wood we entered another large & well cultivated Plain. There * are many Villages & Tanks within it, & near the middle of it a large Swamp. In ye Evening came to Coyah where there is a good Tank, but no Grove.

The 11th. surveyed about 9¼ miles, the Countrey made up of extensive Plains with some large Villages & a few Swamps. The Arable Lands seem to be all Cultivated either at one Season or another, but at present there is very little of any kind of Grain growing. In our Route this Day we passed thro' the Villages of Dogassia & Mullicpour : they both of them afford good Water & convenient Shelter. The latter of the Villages is large & the Residence of the Jemitdar[5] of these Parts.

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[1] Tope, a grove, usually of Mango trees. Hobson Jobson says that the term is only used by Europeans and is unknown to the natives of Upper India. It is derived from Tamil 'topu' (p. 934).

For an interesting discussion of the use of the word Tank in India *see* Hobson Jobson, p. 898. The word seems to be both Indian and European in use and derivation.

[2] *See* below p. 94.

[3] Gram, from Portuguese grão, *i.e.*, grain. A kind of vetch used as food for horses all over India. (*Ibid.*, p. 392).

[4] The Jabuna, a creek leaving the Hughli at Kanchrapara, and running eastwards into the Ichamati (Issamot), a branch of the Matabhanga, not to be confounded with the river of the same name in the Pabna district.

[5] Jemitdar is probably used here for Zemindar, a landowner.

In the Evening came to Bongong[1] a middling Village situated on the Western Bank of the Issamot River. At this Place there is a remarkable fine Grove; & from the side of the Issamot there is a very pleasant Prospect, the River being transparent & serpentine, & flowing through a Countrey made up of pleasant Meadows interspersed with Groves & Villages.

* The Issamot River is a Branch of the Comer Creek[2] whose head is at Custee[3] on y^{e} South side of the Ganges. The Issamot has a very winding Course as appears by a Sketch of it taken by one of my Assistants in y^{e} Year 1765. It runs by Buxypour, & Sibnybas,[4] & from hence runs to the Southward & into Sunderbound. It is not navigable for large Boats till some Time after y^{e} Waters have begun to rise; however at the crossing Place at Bonegong it is 12 Cubits deep & near 160 yards broad. The Tide rises about one Cubit.

Capt. Cameron having surveyed a part of this River together with y^{e} Company's Lands, I sent Mr. Richards to trace it from hence to the place where Cameron left off, & afterwards to proceed to Jaynagore by way of Culna, describing the Roads, Rivers & Country thro' which he passed, & to join me at Jaynagore.

This Morning copied & sent a Plan of Channell Creek [5] to the Governor agreeable to an Order received from him last Night.

* The 12th. 13th. & 14th. halted at Bonegong; the first day with an intent to refresh the People, & the two following on acct. of the Weather, which was very squally & rainy. The 13th. Mr. Richards set off on his Survey.

Plan No. 3. The 15th. surveyed about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Road. This space was extremely crooked & rough; we also crossed 2 Creeks besides the Issamot. About $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from y^{e} East Bank of the Issamot is the Village & Tope of Jaöwpour. The Tope is a remarkable fine one, & chiefly of Mango Trees. The Nowbory a Creek is crossed about a mile & quarter from the Issamot; it is only 2 foot deep. The Hokker is a mile & half farther, & must be crossed in Boats; from the crossing Place the Road lay along the Southern Bank of it to the place of our Evening's Halt, which was at the Village of Nomosgah. About half a mile Northw^{d}. from this Village is a large Jeel. We have every Day variable Winds & frequent Squalls & Showers, the Weather which commonly preceeds the setting in of the Southwardly Winds.

* The 16th. surveyed 11 miles, the Course in general EBN. The face of the Countrey here has various Appearances, some parts Jungly, others Woody, & a large part Open cultivated Plains. Seven miles from our last Night's Halt we came to the Batena[6] Creek which is crossed at the Village & Chokey[7] of Jadopour. The Batena is about 4 foot deep & 160 yards broad. This as well as the two last Creeks is a Branch of the

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[1] Bangaon, now the headquarters of a subdivision of Nadiya district.

[2] Now known as the Matabhanga, one of the three 'Nadiya rivers.' It leaves the Ganges at Maheshkunda, about 10 miles below the mouth of the Jalangi. The Kumar diverges from it at about 40 miles from the point where it leaves the Ganges and flows to the S.E.

[3] Kushtia.

[4] The Sibnibashi of Bishop Heber (Vol. I, p. 91). At the time of his voyage, 1824, the river channels had altered and he could not identify them from Rennell's map.

[5] The southern route for boats proceeding from Calcutta to Khulna and Barisal.

[6] The Bhetna. [7] *Chauki*, a police station or posting house.

Issamot River. The Countrey People inform us that there is no good Water near y^{e} Road between Nomosgah & Jadopour. In the Evening we came to the Grove of Gutcally, which lies $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Jadopour. This Wood is full half a mile broad, but not very close. We halted at the East side of it, but could find no good Water. Thro' this Wood runs a deep Gully which forms y^{e} limits of the Kistnagur[1] & Jessore Provinces.

Plan No. 4.

The 17th. in the Morning surveyed $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles; in y^{e} Afternoon I was obliged to stay in, being ill of a Fever. The Road now runs to the NEBE its proper Course towards Hadgigunge. A mile & half from last Night's Station came to the Tank & Grove * of Bannyel. They are both remarkably good. About a mile & half farther on we crossed the Kobbatuck or Koba Duke River.[2] It is said to be a Branch either of the Comer or Issamot, & is navigable from hence to Sunderbound for y^{e} largest Boats. The Tide flows up above the Ferry, & the River is about 130 yards broad. On the East side of the Ferry is the Village of Jigergutcha or Jingergutcha where there is a Grove of Peepel Trees.[3]

We stopt at a Tank situated in y^{e} midst of a thick Wood $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Jigergutcha. The Road hereabouts is intersected by several deep Gullies.

The 18th. in the Afternoon continued the Survey & went about 3 miles. The Countrey in general is open & well cultivated; in the Groves there are great numbers of Coconut Trees, & a kind of Trees named Cazir-Gatch[4] from whence they make a coarse kind of Sugar. In the Evening halted at a good Tank near Mallunchee.

The 19th. surveyed 8 miles of the Road, At Pullugot $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Mallunchee crossed the Mookterserai River; we crossed the River in Boats, but a little way below * the Ferry it is fordable. The Current of this River is very slow.

About a mile beyond the River is the Residence of the Jessoor Rajah.[5] His House is surrounded by a large Grove of Coconut Trees, & is only visible from the NE ward. Here are two good Tanks, & a small Village named Chansera. From hence the Road leads across Padda Fields to Neelgunge or Leelgunge, a Bazar lying on the Western side of the Boyrub River. At this Place is a remarkable fine Mango Grove.

The Boyrub River[6] is very deep at the crossing Place, but farther down it is shallow in many Places. Altho' it lies full as near the Sea as the Kobatuck, yet the distance by the River is so great by reason of its serpentine Course, that the Tides do not reach this Place. This is the River that runs by Daudpour and Culna. Its breadth at Neelgunge is 90 yards.

Plan No. 5.

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[1] Krishnagar, now a subdivision of Nadiya district.

[2] The Kabadak R., an offshoot of the Matabhanga. It forms the boundary between the districts of Nadiya, the 24-Parganas, and Jessore.

[3] The Pipal, *Ficus religiosa*.

[4] Khajur gachh, the bastard date palm, *Phœnix sylvestris*. The manufacture of sugar from this palm has since reached large proportions in Jessore district. A full account of it will be found in Sir. W. W. Hunter's Stat. Acc. of Bengal (Jessor), Vol. II, pp. 280-298. Jhingergachha (Rennell's Jigergutcha) is one of the principal centres of the trade.

[5] The residence of the Jessor Rajas is at Chanchra (Chansera of text), about a mile south of the Civil Station. It formerly had a rampart and fosse surrounding it, but the remains only are traceable. The Raja at this time was Srikant Rai, but at the time of the Permanent Settlement he lost the greater part of his estate. He died in 1802 (Hunter, *loc. cit.*, pp. 202, 204).

[6] The Bhairab, a tributary of the Madhumati.

At Night came to Dytulla a Dauk's stage[1] 3¼ miles from Neelgunge. The Boyrub * runs by the South side of this Village. The Countrey here lies very low & is covered during most part of the rainy Season. There is a large Jeel lying to the NNE of Dytulla & within sight of that Place.

The Boyrub River is the Limit of the Jessore and Radshi Provinces.

The 20th. surveyed near 9½ miles, the Road excessive crooked & rough. The first two Miles lay along the Northern Bank of the Boyrub & thro' a very close Countrey. From hence the Boyrub turns off to the SE. & runs by Daudpour to Culna Bunder.[2] Passed thro' the Jemitdary of Pukarya which belongs to Jessore, & at Noon came to the River Sittarya.[3] This River is crossed at Doccalee, where it is about 200 yards broad, & very deep. The Countrey People can give me no Account of the Source of this River; they say it comes from a Jeel, by which I understand that it runs thro' a Jeel in its way to this Place. It falls into the Nobo Gonga. The Tide does not come up to this Place. The Countrey hereabouts is full of Jeels & Swamps.

From the Sittareea we went 3 miles over a Jungly Plain which is said to lie under * Water during the wet Season. At this Time it has a very unpromising Appearance. At Night came to the Village of Serampour, where we had our Water from a small Jeel, there being no Tanks in the Neighbourhood. Here we enter another Jemitdary belonging to Jessore.

The 21st. surveyed 8½ miles, the Countrey chiefly made up of waste Lands and Woods. About a Mile beyond Serampour we came to a fine Tank at yᵉ end of the large Plain mentioned yesterday. About 9 miles from the first Sittarya we came to another River of the same Name. The Hircaras informed me that it is the same River, but that is impossible as both the Rivers ran to the Right as we crossed them.[4] Plan No. 6 The Tide flows up this second River & I enquired the Time of Tide, which likewise served to confirm me in the Opinion of its being a different River from the former. This second Sittarya is crossed at Gunagotta a Dauk's Stage lying yᵉ East side of the River. The Countrey People inform me that this River passes thro' the Mohamedshi * Countrey in its way to this Place, & that it falls into the Nobo Gonga about 7 Coss to the Eastward. The Western Bank of this River is covered with a very thick Wood; the Eastern Bank & yᵉ Countrey adjoining is low & swampy.

A Mile & half from Gunagotty crossed the Judacally Creek, thro' which the Tide flows up from the Sittarya. It is 4 foot deep at High Water.

Eastward from this Creek the Countrey is both Swampy & Jungly. At Night we halted at Simylya, & had our Water from a small Jeel.

The 22nd. surveyed 7¾ miles thro' a dismal Jungly Countrey infested with Tygers. About 4¼ miles from the Judacally Creek we came to the Nobogonga[5] or Lobo Gonga, a deep & rapid River. The Ferry is at Pultya, at which Place a large

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[1] A relay post for the mail runners; also known as a chauki (chowkey).

[2] Khulna, an important town lying at the head of the Sundarbans, formerly the headquarters of the Company's Salt department. Bunder=A port or quay.

[3] The Chitra. This appears to be an old offshoot of the Matabhanga, like the Nobogunga into which it flowed.

[4] This is correct, there were two rivers named Chitra. The eastern branch is now called the Katki (Kutkee of Atlas of India Sheet 120).

[5] The Nobogunga, an offshoot of the Matabhanga in Nadiya district. It is now completely dry at its head, and

Creek falls into the Nobogonga. The River is from 140 to 180 yards broad & very deep: The Tide rises near 3 Cubits at Pultya. This River is the same that I traced part of in my way down the Southern Creeks, & at the place where I left off surveying it is known by y^{e} name of the Burrasaat River.[1] This is the first navigable Branch of * the Ganges that we meet with to the Eastward of the Jelenghee River.

The Pultya Creek is said to come from a large Jeel which lies about 6 miles WNW from Pultya. The Jeel is named Berille.

After crossing the Nobogonga our Road lay thro' a prodigious thick Wood or Jungle for y^{e} space of a mile & three quarters, the Nobogunga running close on the left of it. There are many Tygers in this Jungle.

At the end of the Jungle lies y^{e} Village & Stage of Nohatta, from whence the River turns off to the Northward. The Road from hence lies thro' an open cultivated Countrey. At Night we halted at y^{e} side of a Jeel near the Grove of Luckypour; about ½ a mile farther on was a small Tank in the Grove.

The 23rd. surveyed near 10 miles, being obliged to go farther than usual on Account of the scarcity of Water. Passed thro' the Village of Mohamedpour which is by far the most regular & neatest that we have seen since we left Calcutta.[2] Immediately to the Southw^{d} of this Village there is a very fine large Tank. It is up- * wards of 700 yards long, & about two thirds of that in breadth. The Countrey round Mohamedpour lies excessive low. At this Season it is swampy in many places. Mohamedpour is upwards of 7½ miles from Nohatta.

After leaving Mohamedpour Grove we came on a large Plain which lies so low that it is a Lake or Jeel during great part of the Year. It is named Beelseral or Seral-Jeel. There are a number of Pools & Swamps at this Time, & about a mile & half from Mohamedpour is a Creek called Manickdaw: it is very shallow.[3]

At the end of this low Plain which is near 5½ miles from Mh^{d}pour we came to the Burashee River. This River though excessive deep is not more than 50 yards broad at the Ferry. It is a Branch of the Comer & is navigable all y^{e} Year for very large Boats. Its outlet from y^{e} Ganges is opposite Charbagat Island, & it falls into Sunderbound * a little above the Herengotta River.[4] The Ferry is between Mosudgotta & Doagotta.

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is drying up year by year. On Rennell's map it is shown as a continuation of the Gorroy or Garai R. which leaves the Ganges at Kushtia.

[1] *Ante* p. 21.

[2] Mohamedpour remained a large town till 1836, when it was devastated by a fever introduced by prisoners employed on the Dacca-Jessor road, and it has since become an insignificant village. It was founded at the end of the 17th century by Sitaram Rai, a landholder of Bhushna, and under him became the capital of the district. There are the remains of a quadrangular fort surrounded by a ditch, the southern portion of which forms the tank mentioned by Rennell. An account of the antiquities of the place is given by Hunter in his Stat. Acc. of Bengal, vol. II, p. 212, and in the List of Ancient Mon. Bengal, p. 126. For an account of the career of Sitaram Rai, *see* Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. V, p. 236.

[3] Rennell does not mention the Madhumati, on the R. bank of which Mohamedpur now stands. At this time the name was given only to that portion of the river which lies below the mouth of the Nabaganga. It is the southern continuation of the Garai, which leaves the Ganges at Kushtia, and it enters the sea by the Haringhata estuary. When the Ganges broke south into the Garai channel, early in the nineteenth century, the Nabaganga and Barasia (Rennell's Burashee'), its natural outlets to the sea, were unable to carry the surplus water, and a new channel was opened through a small creek, the Alangkhali (Ellenkhali of Fergusson, Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc., XIX, p. 335). Afterwards the name Madhumati was extended to the new channel (Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 174).

[4] The Haringhata estuary, or "Deer ford."

Plan No. 7. The 24th. surveyed upwards of 9 miles. In y^e^ Morning came to Jaynagore[1] which lies on y^e^ Western Bank of the Comer Creek, & about 2 miles by the Roads from Doagotta. The Comer & Burashee approach each other so near as to leave an Isthmus of only a mile & half broad. Jaynagore is a large Village, & has a Bazar, together with some good Bungaloes in it.

From Jaynagore the Road goes in general along the N.W. side of the Comer, & is consequently very crooked, however the Bengalas are fond of travelling by the sides of Rivers, partly I suppose for the convenience of Water, & partly because the River Banks are commonly higher than y^e^ rest of the Countrey.[2] The Countrey hereabouts is open & very well cultivated, & the River winding thro' it adds to the beauty of the Prospects. At Night we crossed the Comer opposite to the Village of Gopalpour. Gopalpour is 7 miles from Jaynagur.

* The Comer Creek is a Branch of the same River from whence the Burrashee proceeds. It begins to be navigable for large Boats about the middle of July, & then a Passage is open from Jaynagur to Hobbygunge, the Comer falling into the Hobbygunge or Arika River.[3] Its bed is about 160 yards broad, but the Water at this Season is confined to a Channell of 40 or 50 yards & is scarce knee deep in many places. It has a remarkable winding Course, as I experienced in 1764, when I passed through it in my way to Dacca.[4]

This Day we had a fresh Breeze of Wind at South, & the first that I have taken notice of for the Season.

The 25th. surveyed 9¼ miles: the first 2½m. was along the S. E. Bank of the Comer, when having passed Connipour the River turns off to the Westward, & the Road to the Northward, for near a mile & half, & then runs along the Southern Bank of the * Harri Gonga.[5] The Isthmus formed by the two Rivers is little more than a quarter of a mile broad. The Harri Gonga runs out of the Ganges nearly opposite to Rottingunge Creek, & from hence runs by Hadgigunge, & falls into the Ganges again a few miles below that Place. Its bed is from 200 to 250 yards wide but it is in many Places too shallow for Boats of a moderate size. The Dacca Road goes along the side of this River for about 2 miles, & then the River winding round to the N. E. we lost it for about 3 miles till we came to Furridpour a Dauk's Stage.[6] From hence the River widens, occasioned by some Sand Banks & Islands lying in y^e^ midst of it. The Countrey hereabouts is very well cultivated, but it lies very low, & must be overflown during a great part of the Year. We halted about a mile below Furridpour. The Southwardly Wind seems to be settled.

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[1] This place is shown as quite an insignificant village, Golla Jynugur, in the Atlas of India, Sheet 120. The branches of the Barasia and Kumar which flowed on either side of it are now silted up.

[2] For the causes of this *see* Fergusson, Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc., Vol. XIX, p. 324. The still water of the jhils checks the velocity of the water, flowing outwards across the banks of the rivers, when the latter are in flood, and compels them to deposit the bulk of the silt along the banks.

[3] The Arial Khan. A branch of the Bhubaneswar, now one of the main channels of the Ganges.

[4] *Ante* p. 22.

[5] Also known as the Mara Padma. According to tradition the Ganges formerly took this course instead of the present more easterly channel.

[6] Now the head-quarters of the District of Faridpur.

The 26th. surveyed 5¼ miles & came to Hadgi Gunge.[1] The first two miles lay along the side of the River mentioned yesterday ; from thence the Road turns to the * E. S. E. & goes very strait to Hadgi Gunge. The latter part of the Road lay along the S. W. side of a long Jeel, a small Branch of which we crossed about a mile & quarter from Hadgigunge.

The whole distance by the Roads from Dumdum to Hadgigunge is 133 miles 3 furlongs ; & if Dumdum be as is reported 6 miles from Calcutta the whole distance will be 139½ nearly.

I staid at Hadgigunge till the 2d. March waiting for Mr. Richards. During this time I was employed in constructing & copying a large Map of Bengall for the Governor. The 2d. of March finding that Mr. Richards had but just left Culna, I set off for Dacca to get a supply of Men & Boats for the next Survey.

Plan of y^{e} Ganges.

The Passage by Water from Hadgigunge to Dacca is about 69 miles at this Season. The Route is thro' Meggala Creek & into the Issamuty at Kardupour ; then by way of Nabobgunge & Churan ; thro' Toolsey Creek & into the Dollaserry ; by Tagerpour & Fattylur, & up the Beurygonga to Dacca. The 4th. arrived at Dacca * & continued there till y^{e} 11th. The two last days I was detained by reason of my Dandies[2] running away.

During this time I finished & sent away the Governor's Map, & procured a new sett of Boats & Coolies. Mr. Richards arrived the 7th.

The Northwest Squalls began the first of the month, & we have had several days of Northwardly Wind since that Time.

The 11th. in the Morning left Dacca in order to drop down to the Mouth of the Ganges & proceed to Jelenghee by way of the Southern Creeks. My Intention was to send Mr. Richards by way of the Burashee & to go myself by way of the Nobogonga or Burrasaat River, & to meet Mr. Richards at the head of the Comer Creek.

On my leaving Dacca I began to reduce another Map of the Ganges for the present Governor, Mr. VanSittart & some other Gentlemen having carried off all the Plans that I had made of the Ganges in 1764.[3] The Map I now began was intended to be on * a Scale of 3 British miles to an Inch, & to contain all the several Branches of the Ganges from Jelenghee to the Sea : also the River Megna from its Conflux with the Ganges to Dacca, together with the Environs of that City. The whole was to be on 3 Sheets of Imperial Paper. Mr. Richards was employed in correcting & reducing his Route from Bongong to Mohamedpour. The 11th. at Night we came near Rajabarry.[4]

The 12th. the bad Weather obliged to stay at Rajabarry great part of the Day.

The 14th. in y^{e} Morning arrived at the head of Badarashon Creek which leads out of the great River oppsite Rajanagore, & runs by Hobbygunge into the Goanuddy

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[1] *See* note p. 22.

[2] Boatmen.

[3] These are perhaps the maps referred to by Sir C. Markham in a note on p. 55 of his 'Memoir of the Indian Surveys':—"The originals are now in the Geographical Department of the India Office. They were taken home by some official and treated by him as private property, till they were accidentally discovered in the collection of a lady of rank, and purchased for £100 by their lawful owners, the Court of Directors (Bombay Quarterly Review, Vol. III, p. 140)."

[4] At the junction of the Dhaleswari with the Meghna.

River. I directed Mr. Richards to take a Plan of it, whilst I was employed on y^e^ Map

The 16th. in y^e^ Forenoon we came into the Goanuddy River by the abovementioned Creek. The distance thro' is about 20 miles. During its Course it receives 2 other * Branches of the Ganges, the Creek from Sajatpour, and the Comer which runs by Jaynagur. At its first separation from the Ganges it is scarce 150 yards broad, but below HobbyGunge it is near a quarter of a Mile broad. It is deep enough for the largest Boats during the whole Year & thro' it lies the common Route from Sunderbound to the great River.[1] In one place this River approaches within a mile & quarter of the Ganges, & at the same Place a narrow but deep Creek joins the two Rivers. This Creek is named Jaffierabad, & is used by the Boats that go from Dacca to Sunderbound. This whole Countrey is fertile & well cultivated. It belongs to the Province of Dacca.

In our way to Sutalury[2] we surveyed the Western Branch of the Goanuddy River called the Lolcherra Creek. This Creek runs out of the Goanuddy River about 2½ miles below the Village of Goanuddy, & is at first scarce broad enough for 2 Boats to pass abreast of each other, but after a few miles it increases to a considerable breadth & * leads into y^e^ Main River again. This survey of the Route from Goanuddy to Sutalury renders the Map of the Ganges pretty compleat, save only that the Course of the Burrashee & Nobogonga are wanting.

The 17th. in y^e^ Evening arrived at the head of the Sutalury River. The Burrashee River is said to fall in below SujaGunge, which is the Reason that we go so far about.[3] I directed Mr. Richards to survey the Sutalury River from the Place where I left off in 1764,[4] & to continue it to the Burrashee, I being ill of a Feaver.

The 20th. finding myself very considerably weakened, & having no Prospect of getting rid of my Disorder without proper Assistance I left Mr. Richards to pursue the Survey according to the proposed Plan, & set out for Dacca in y^e^ Evening. We were then near SujaGunge. This part of the Countrey lies so low, that at High Water Mark the level of it is not 2 foot above the level of the Water. The Countrey seems * but poorly cultivated & as badly inhabited. The Flood Tide runs to the Westward thro' the Sutalury & SujaGunge Rivers. The 23d. in the Afternoon arrived at Dacca : on the Passage I was able to do some work on y^e^ Map of the Ganges, & towards making an Abstract of my Journals for the Governor.

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[1] The route now taken by steamers during the dry season runs further E., through the Nayabhangi R., which connects the Arial Khan above Barisal with the Meghna.

[2] Jhalakati, headquarters of a police circle 10 miles W.S.W. from Barisal. On Rennell's maps this is shown as much the more important place.

[3] The Barasia or Madhumati river, as it is called in its lower course, falls into the Haringhata estuary at Firozpur, where the river from Barisal (the Sutylury R. of Rennell) joins in. This is now on the steamer route from Calcutta to Dacca and Assam.

[4] *Ante* p. 36.

Names of Places.	Distances.			Shelter.	Water	
	M.	F.	Dec. Pts.			
*From Dumdum to Gowreepour Bridge	2	7	·9	....	Nulla	Good Road.
Barrasett	4	3	·6	Groves	Tanks	High Road.
Kolpukareea Nulla almost dry	2	..	·3	...	....	Road across Pad^{a}. Fields.
Dollapukrey	3	5	·2	....	Tank	Smooth Road.
Chaldybarrya	..	4	·4	A fine Tope	....	Good Road.
Joypool	1	2	·7	Good Topes	Tanks	Good Road.
A small Nulla almost dry	1	..	..	....	....	Rough Road.
Belguree Nulla very shallow	1	5	..	....	Tanks all y^{e} way.	
Jawberria or Chawbarrya	3	..	..	Fine Tope	Water near	Good Road.
Commature	2	..	..	....	A Jeel near	Very good Road.
Chunderhaat	1	5	..	Good Topes	Tank	Very good Road.
Janapool	1	3	..	....	Sev^{l}. Tanks	Good Road.
Enter on Mullicpour Plain	1	1	..	....	....	Tol^{e}. Road.
End of the Plain. Mullicpour. Cross the Jubbunaw Creek in Boats	2	3	..	Fine Topes	River	Tolerable Road.
Coyah a fine Village	3	2	..	....	Tank	Across a large Plain.
Chanpara	3	3	..	Tope	Bad Water	Good Road.
Dogassia	1	7	..	Tope & Village	Tanks	Rough Road.
Callipour	1	2	..	Large Village	Tank	Across Pad. fields.
Bongong on the River Issamot crossed in Boats	2	7	..	Very fine Topes	River	Road across a Plain.
Jaöwpour Tope Chawgarrya	1	..	..	Rem^{e}. fine Tope	Creek near.	
Nowbonga Creek fordable	..	3	·5	....	....	Bad Road & close Countrey.
Hakkor Creek crossed in Boats	1	4	..	Woody	....	Rough Road.
Nomosgah Vill.	1	4	..	Large Vill.	Creek	Tolerable Road.
Porabarry	1	2	·5	Small Topes	..	Bad Road.
Jadopour	5	6	..	Groves	Batenau Creek crossed in Boats.	Mostly a close Jungly Countrey.
Gutcally Grove	3	3	·5	Thick Woods	Bad W^{r}.	Tol. Road.
A Gully to be crossed	..	3	..	do.	....	Bad Road.
Bannyel Tank & Grove	1	4	..	Thick Wood	Fine Tank	Across a Plain.
Kobaduck River crossed in Boats. Jigergutcha the East side	1	5	..	Peepel Grove	River	Jeels in y^{e} Road.
A Good Tank	2	1	..	Wood	Tank	Good Road.
Pullugott on the Mookterserai fordable but crossed in Boats	4	6	..	....	River	Close Countrey.
Chansera the Jessore Rajah's House	1	..	..	Groves	Tanks	Rough Road.
Neelgunge	2	..	..	Fine Tope	R. Boyrub crossed in Boats.	Bad Road.
Dytulla	3	2	..	Thick Wood	Boyrub R.	Jungly Countrey.
Side of the Boyrub	1	4	..	Thick Woods	River	Bad Road.
Doualee	5	..	..	Thick Woods	River Sittarya crossed in Boats.	Mostly a crooked bad Road.
Miles	79	6	·6			

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* This is the Table, or abstract of the route from Dumdum to Hajiganj, referred to on p. 87.

Name of Place.	Distances.			Shelter.	Water.	
	M.	F.	I			
Miles ..	79	6	·6			
A large Tank at y^{e} end of a Plain	3	7	..	Vill. near ..	Tank ..	Across a dismal Plain.
Gunagotta	4	7	·5	Thick Woods ..	R.Sittarya crossed in Boats.	
Judacally Creek Fordable ..	1	5	..	....	....	Low swampy Plain.
Nobogonga River. Pultya Village	4	1	·5	Thick Woods ..	The River crossed in Boats.	Mostly a Jungly or swampy Countrey.
Nohatta	1	7	..	Woody ..	The same R. ..	Thro' a thick Jungle.
A fine Tank in a Grove ..	4	..	..	Grove ..	Tank ..	Pass several Jeels.
Mohamedpour	3	4	..	Large Village ..	Tank ..	Swampy Countrey.
Manicdaw Creek Fordable ..	1	4	·5	No Shelter ..	Creek ..	Low Plain.
Mosudgotty. River Burrashee ..	3	7	..	Groves ..	River crossed in Boats.	Low swampy Plain.
Jaynagur	2	..	..	Large Village ..	R. Comer ..	Rough Road.
Jāāmpour	4	2	..	Large Vill. ..	R. Comer ..	Good Road.
Gopalpour. Cross y^{e} Comer in Boats	2	6	..	Groves ..	River ..	Rough Road.
Connipour	2	4	..	Small Vill. ..	R. Comer ..	Crooked Road.
To the Harrigonga ..	1	2	..	....	....	Good Road.
Leave y^{e} River	2	..	..	....	....	Along y^{e} Bank R.
Furridpour	3	..	..	Groves ..	Harrigonga close on y^{e} L.	Good Road.
Pāātpassar Hāāt	2	2	..	Groves ..	do. River ..	Good Road.
Cross a small Jeel. Fordable..	2	6	..	....	....	Low Countrey.
Hadgi Gunge	1	2	..	Large Vill. ..	River.	
Miles ..	133	2	·1			

Editor's Note:—Many of the observations recorded in the succeeding pages of the Journal have been incorporated in Rennell's 'Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan' and in his 'Description of the Roads in Bengal and Behar', a small volume printed in 1778 "by order of the Honourable the Court of Directors." The routes inserted in the latter volume are indicated by the numbers in brackets. I have also added in brackets the modern spelling of some of the names, where it seemed necessary.

Burdwan to Banchburria[1]—

To Bussool	7·6
Chaulkund or Maymary	12·4
Borinchy	5·7
Purrua[2]	5·1
Bansbarria	10·2
	41·4

DIMENSIONS OF THE PROVINCES &c.[3]—

Bengall NW to SE 465 Eng. Miles—

	EM.		Propn.
Bengall dim.	315 by 315 or square miles	99,225	99¼
Bahar	210 by 210	44,100	44
Awd[4]	270 by 120	32,400	32½
Ellahabad[5]	144 by 93	13,392	13½
The King's[6]	180 by 36	6,480	6½
France			174

British Territories	143¼
Sujah Dowlah's	46
King's	6½
France	174

New Calculation—

British Provinces	142,000 sq. miles.
England	60,000 ,,

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[1] Bansbaria, a town on the Hugli, 27 miles N. of Calcutta, celebrated for its temples. The road follows the Grand Trunk Road pretty closely.

[2] ? Pundua, the capital of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Paundravardhana.

[3] This list is revised and amplified in the 'Memoir,' p. cxiii.

[4] Oudh.

[5] Allahabad, at this time in the possession of Suja Daula, the Nawab of Oudh.

[6] The Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam.

FROM COSSIMBAZAR.[1]

Patna (55)—

	M.	F.
Bomineah	10	6
Duanserai	8	0
Comrah	10	4
Sooty (Suti)	8	2
Downapour	11	1
Furrucabad (Furrukhabad)	7	6
Falkypour	8	2
Oudinulla (Udhua Nullah)	3	4
Rajamohl (Rajmahal)	8	0
Siclygully	18	6
Terriagully	12	4
Pialapour	9	0
Colgong	10	2
Boglipour (Bhagalpur)	17	4
Sultangunge	17	4
Goorgut Nulla	4	6
Monghir	18	4
Suradgegurrah	17	4
Ruinulla	10	4
Doomrah	7	2
Bar	26	0
Boycauntp^{r} (Baikanthpur)	20	0
Jaff. Kan's Gard.[2]	10	0
Patna Factory	5	0
Miles	281	1

Burdwan (92 & 103)—

	M.	F.
Chunapour	2	7
Bobtah	8	0
Daudpour	6	4
Plassey	6	3
Cutwa	12	4
Ninghen Serai	13	6
Burdwan	21	3
Miles	71	3

Jellinghee & Dacca (84 & 99)—

	M.	F.
Bally	5	5
Dultabazar	2	5
Azimgunge	11	4
Jellinghee (Jalangi)	10	0
Horrisongkor (Harisankra)	11	2
Cometpour cross the Ganges	20	0
Pubna	6	3
Sujanagore	12	4
Rottingunge	15	0
Jaffiergunge (Jafarganj) cross the little Ganges	9	3
Niabondura cross the Issamuty	28	0
Churan	9	4
Pattergotta (Pathorghata) cross the Dollaserry	10	0
Dacca	6	0
Miles	157	6

Jellinghee—

2d. Road	M.	F.
To Gunee	2	6
Rypour	6	0
Bagretpour	7	0
Mohamedpour	5	4
Jellinghee	9	7
Miles	30	1

Bolia[3] (63)—

	M.	F.
To Mutejyl[4]	2	3
Cuttorah	2	0
Seetaram Pani	3	6
Titalya	3	2
Murcha	9	2
Codalcotty Gott[5]	1	6
Cross the Ganges to Nabobgunge	2	4
Bolia	2	6
Miles	27	5

2d. Road—

	M.	F.
To Bally	5	5
Titalya	6	6

---

[1] The British Factory at Murshidabad.

[2] Jafar Khan's Garden.

[3] Rampur Boalia, on the N. bank of the Ganges, above Jalangi.

[4] Motijhil. Lord Clive had his residence here. The Jhil is an old bed of the Kasimbazar river (Cal. Rev., Vol. XCIV, p. 335).

[5] *Ghat*, a landing place, or ferry.

	M.	F.
Murcha	9	2
Bolia	7	0
Miles	28	5

Bogwangola[1] (13)—

	M.	F.
To Mutejyl	2	3
Cuttorah	2	0
Palasbarry	5	1
Baderpour	4	3
Bogwangola	5	0
	18	7

Meenkoot & Denagep^r.[2] (26)—

	M.	F.
Bomineah	10	6
Banniagong	4	3
Sackral	3	4
Meenkoot	4	4
Cross the Ganges to Godagary	3	0
Chappygunge	15	0
Okilpour	14	4
Daudpour	8	0
Titalya	4	6
Nishanpour	8	4
Dourgunge	7.	3
Nysintah	10	2
Pransagur	7	7
Ramsagur	7	2
Denagepour	5	6
Miles	115	3

Ballitunghee[3] (123)—

	M.	F.
To Chunapour	2	7
Lowdah	6	3
Manicknagore	4	6
Callytulla	2	5
Batebarya	3	2
Ballitunghee	6	0
Miles	25	7

Birbohen[4] (120)—

	M.	F.
To Callyongunge	13	0
Seerpour	6	2
Bowdgong	8	1
Telloah	7	2
Cotemolysure (Kot Mauresh-war)	2	5
Bajetpour	4	4
Angergurrya	6	0
Soory	6	2
Nagore	15	7
Miles	69	7

Mauldah (60)—

	M.	F.
To Meenkoot	23	1
Cross the Ganges to Godagary	3	0
Chappygunge	15	0
Bangabarry cross the Mahanada	16	0
Mauldah	14	0
Miles	71	1

Rungpore (64)—

	M.	F.
To Bolia	27	5
Bowanygunge	25	0
Belloar cross the Denagepour River	10	0
Currihey	14	0
Naddyol	22	0
Goragott	14	0
Burradirgah	20	0
Rungpour Factory	17	0
Miles	149	5

Rangamatty & Gwalpara (12 & 32)—

	M.	F.
To Rungpour	149	5
Curygong	25	0
Poonkur	17	0
Dubarye (Dhubri)	12	0

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[1] Bhagwangola, a river mart on the Ganges N.E. of Murshidabad.

[2] That these notes were written some considerable time after the Journal itself is shown by the changes in the spelling—Dinajpur is always ' Denospour ' in the earlier pages.

[3] A town on the Jalangi R., S.S.E. of Murshidabad, represented in the Atlas of India by two small villages, Ballee and Toongee.

[4] *See* note, p. 101.

		M.	F.
	Rangamatty	14	0
	Dudekoar	15	0
	Gwalparah	26	0
	Miles	258	5

Calcutta (92)—

		M.	F.
	To Chunapour	2	7
	Bobtah	8	0
	Daudpour	6	4
	Plassey	6	3
	Augurdeep	14	0
	Beltully	10	4
	Jahanagur	6	6
	Summenger	7	0
69	Mirzapour	7	0
	Amboa	6	4
	Insurah	7	0
72·6	Niaserai	9	4
———	Banchbarya	4	4
	Chandernagore	8	0
	Bankibazar	6	6
	Calcutta	19	0
	Miles	130	2

2d. Road by Kistnagur (92)—

	M.	F.
To Plassey	23	6
Bickrampour	10	4
Niahaat or Bellya	11	3
Kistnagur cross the Jellinghee	9	0
Texal Ferry	10	7
Runnagott (Ranighat)	10	0
Burrua or Hell	13	1
Amedungah	13	5
Barrasett	7	2
Dumdum	7	4
Calcutta	6	0
Miles	123	0

Birkuty at the foot of the western Hills[1] (116 & 87)—

	M.	F.
To Teretcoondah	6	4
Sonkoe	15	4
Baderpour	14	0
Birkuty	3	6
Miles	39	6

	M.	F.
To Ametpour[2] (91)	6	2
Augurdeep	8	0
Pattolee Tank	3	0
Beltully	3	7
Jahanagur	7	1·82
Summutgur	4	0·18
Merzapour	4	2·27
Culna	4	0·59
Amboa	2	5·60
Inchurah	6	5·75
Niaserai	8	7·37
Bansbaria	4	4
Miles	63	4·58

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[1] The Rajmahal Hills. Berkati is now an insignificant village (Atlas of India Sheet 113) S. of Muheshpur.

[2] A road leading along the western bank of the Baghirathi to Calcutta. The river is crossed at Agurdip, S. of Plassey.

GREAT ROADS of BIRBOHEN.[1]

From Nagore to Deogurh[2] (57)—

	M.	F.
NW. To Dudapauny Gott	4	5
Cohorut	6	2
Coryaum	4	4
Jallyne	8	4
Coonjuree	7	2
Operbanda	5	2
Sarhaut	7	4
Suramma	11	4
Deogurh	11	4
	66	7

Burdwan to Kiewgong—

	M.	F.
Mayalkote	20	5
Mirryalah	8	6
Kiewgong	7	1
	36	4

To Comerabad[3] (252)—

	M.	F.
N. Lettabanny Gott	5	2
Baharow	3	4
Mobog Gaut	5	4
Futtapour	4	0
Comerabad	2	4
	20	6

NE. to Molatty—

	M.	F.
To Bolio Gott[4]	6	6
Carracoondy	8	2
Dijoucha	4	2
Damrah	7	6
Molatty	3	7
	30	7

ENE. to Margong—

	M.	F.
To Bolio Gott & Carracoondy	15	0
Peranagong	6	4
Pursundpour	7	0
Billaspour	5	4
Margong	5	6
	39	6

*To Soory,[5] 3 Roads—

EBS. North Road—

	M.	F.
To Bolio Gott	6	6
Battua	4	5
Soory	4	4
	15	7

Middle Road (the best) (49)—

	M.	F.
To Dulebpour Gott	7	5
Caddya	6	7
Soory	1	5
	16	1

South Road—

	M.	F.
To Bucclesore hot Wells[6]	7	2
Serampour Gott	1	4
Soory	9	0
	17	6

SE. to Kistnagur & Elambazar[7] &c. (147)—

	M.	F.
To Bursaul Gaut	4	1
Niagott	2	4
Dubraagepour	6	7
Kissenagur	3	1
Gowrahya	4	3
Goorshya	6	0
Paher	2	5
Elambazar	1	1
Curnagore	7	4
	38	2

---

[1] Birbhum. Orme spells it Berbohin (History, Vol. II, p. 168).

[2] Nagar or Rajnagar was the capital of the Hindu princes of Birbhum prior to the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans. It lies W. of Suri, the present head-quarters of the district. Deogarh lies to the N.W. in the Santal Parganas. For the legend of its foundation *see* Hunter, 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' p. 191.

[3] *i.e.*, from Nagore. Koomrabad is on the Mor R. to the north. Rennell notes:—"By this Pass the Mahrattas entered Bengal in 1742" (Roads, p. 252).

[4] A ferry on the Mor R., not to be confounded with Rampur Boalia, on the Ganges.

[5] Suri. Now the head-quarters of the district.

[6] These are the Bakeswar hot springs, situated about a mile south of Tantipara, between Suri and Nagar. There are numerous hot jets in the bed of the stream, and the air is impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. The locality is a noted place of pilgrimage (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. IV, p. 322; Oldham, Mem. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XIX, Pt. 2, p. 42).

[7] On the Ajai R.

SE. to Supour[1]—

	M.	F.
To Kissenagur	16	5
Jaunabaz	7	5
Rupour	6	5
Supour	6	3
	37	2

SBW.

To Lacaracoonda[2] & Okera—

	M.	F.
To Bandy Gott	3	5
Immumgur Gott (Imamghar Ghat)	1	4
Bahdee	2	3
Lacaracoondah	3	2
Ajy R.	4	6
Okerah	7	2
	22	6

SW. to Pachet[3] (90)—

	M.	F.
Lacaracoondah	10	7
Luckanpour	6	7
Jamgong	9	4
Aiturah	6	0
Damoodah R.	6	4
Pachet	7	6
	47	4

NNE From Soory to Molatty—

	M.	F.
To Mohamedbazar	7	6
Dyoucha	3	1
Damrah	7	6
Molatty	3	7
	22	4

NE. to Margong—

	M.	F.
To Peranagong	9	0
Purchandpour	7	0
Billaspour	5	4
Margong	5	6
N.B.—This is y^e^ great Road to Rajmol[4]		
	27	2

NE. to Boudgong (169)—

	M.	F.
To Amgergurrya	6	2
Bajetpour	6	0
Cotemolysure	4	4
Telloah	2	5
Boudgong	7	2
N.B.—This is the Road to Mux: (adabad).		
	26	5

E. to Deckabary, Jummucandy, &c.[5] (251)—

	M.	F.
To Bidelyparah	6	5
Hautinagore	6	4
Deckabarry	6	7
Cottree or Bellya	5	0
Moneegong	6	1
Jummu Bazar	4	0
	35	1

ESE. to Gomhi[6]—

	M.	F.
To Purrunderpour	5	1
Issarpour	6	4
Chowtah	3	4
Laatpour	4	2
Gomhi	5	0
	24	3

SE. to Bahary[7]—

	M.	F.
To Purrunderp^r^.	5	1
Jaunipour	3	3
Parpour	2	5
Omdarrah	7	5
Bahary	6	0
	24	6

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[1] Sheopur, near Surul, once the centre of the E. I. Co.'s trade in the district.

[2] Called Sakarakunda by Hunter. There is a warm spring here, temp. 85°, with the ruins of a curious old Hindu temple (*Ibid.*, p. 322).

[3] Or Panchet, a well-known hill in the Raniganj coal-field.

[4] Rajmahal, on the Ganges.

[5] Towards Berhampur.

[6] Towards Katwa on the Bhagirathi.

[7] Near Surul.

SSE. to Surrool & Supour—

	M.	F.
To Purrunderp^{r}.	5	1
Gurgurrya	3	5
Saturya	6	3
Surrool Factory	4	3
Supour	3	2
	22	6

SBE. to Curnagore (Burdwan Road) (49)—

	M.	F.
To Comah	4	7
Coostigerya	5	4
Hanserra	3	5
Roopour	4	6
Ramnagur	2	1
Curnagore	4	4
	25	3

Another Road—

	M.	F.
To Parbutypour	6	0
Munguldy	4	1
Billetty	4	0
Roopour	3	4
	17	5

To Ramnagur &c.—

SW. to Kistnagur & Cotah—

	M.	F.
To Poleserrah	3	5
Kisnagur	8	0
Cotah	5	4
	17	1

CROSS ROADS of BIRBOHEN.

From Luckanpour to Jallyne[1]—

	M.	F.
To Serascooondah	7	2
Nallah	6	0
Chowjurah	7	3
Jallyne	2	0
	22	5

Futtyp^{r}.[2] to Dyoucha—

	M.	F.
To Muncalgur Pass	9	4
Purtabpour	2	6
Jinderpour	5	7
Dyoucha	4	4
	22	5

Purchundp^{r}. to Jummu C.[3]—

	M.	F.
To Cotemolysure	3	0
Saneckpour	7	3
Cunderrah	6	5
Jummu Candy	6	7
	23	7

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[1] Running N. W. from Lakhanpur, a small village near the Ajai R.

[2] A village on the Mor R., N. of Nagar. Dyoucha lies to the north of Suri.

[3] A cross road leading towards the Bhagirathi from the Rajmahal road. Cotemolysure stands for Kot Maureshwar, a pargana of Birbhum.

WESTERN GREAT ROADS.

From Cossimb^{r}. to Jummucand, Surrool Aurung &c.[1] (90 & 130)—

	M.	F.
SW. To Moketerpour Chokey	6	0
Gokorrun	6	7
Cusbaspour	1	4
Jummu Candy	5	6
Assoah	6	1
Curroondah	8	2
Noaddah	3	4
Omdarrah	8	0
Surrool Aurung	6	5
	52	5

From Cossimbaz. to Burdwan by way of Jummucandy (90)—

	M.	F.
To Jummucandy	20	1
Assoah	6	1
Tarrapour	3	7
Culluah	3	3
Rye	5	7
Saznaure	4	6
Monglacote (Moghalkot)	8	3
Arrawah	4	6
Saggra	4	1
Massundy	3	6
Burdwan	8	0

Great Northern Road from Burdwan to Furrucabad[2] (90 & 238)—

From Burdwan to

	M.	F.
Massundy	8	0
Saggra	3	6
Arrawah	4	1
Mungulkote	4	6
Saznaure	5	0
Rye	4	6
Cullua	5	7
Tarrapour	3	3
Assoah	3	7
Moneegong	3	4
Muyser	2	7
Cargong	3	3
Nagore Atty	4	3
Seerpour	2	7
Bogaryaparah	3	4
Pazgong	2	3
Sonkoe	7	4
Bircoonda	2	6
Sheikdiggy	2	3
Mirzapour	2	4
Jungipour	4	4
Sooty	8	6
&c. &c.		

NE. Birbohen to Jungipour[3]—

From Magore to—

	M.	F.
Bolio Gott	6	6
Carracoondy	8	2
Peranagong	6	4
Purchundpour	7	0
Billaspour	5	4
Margong	5	6
Ningha	4	7
Bahdur	4	6
Sonkoe	6	0
Mirzapour	7	5
Jungipour	4	4
	67	4

N°. Margong to Noangong[4]—

	M.	F.
To Nulhatty	10	4
Kanpour	7	0
Noangong	9	2
	26	6

Nagore to Rajmol (251)—

	M.	F.
To Peranagong, Purchandpour & Margong as before	39	6
Nulhatty	10	4
Kanpour	7	0
Noangong	9	2
Omrapour	6	7
Purtabgunge	5	7
Downapour	5	2
Furruckabad	7	6
Fulkypur	8	2
Oudinulla	3	4
Rajamohl	8	0
	112	0

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[1] In Birbhum. Formerly the centre of the Company's trade in that district, and the site of an Aurung, or Factory.

[2] On the Ganges below Rajmahal.

[3] On the Bhagirathi above Murshidabad. This road is not marked in the Bengal Atlas.

[4] Part of the road from Jamu Khandi to Rajmahal.

Cossimb^{r}. to Sooty (73)—
Western Road.

	M.	F.
To Muradbaug	6	3
Ghysabad	6	6
Bellyah	5	1
Mohamedp^{r}.	4	1
Belgottah	7	0
Sooty	8	5
	38	0

Burdwan to Surrool (72)—

	M.	F.
Oregong	15	0
Gobindpour	6	6
Supour	9	4
Surrool	3	1

ITINERARIES.

GREAT ROAD FROM MOORSHEDABAD TO DELHY, MEASURED BY ORDER OF THE KING.[1]

	Coss.
From Moors. to Duanserai	7
Aurangabad	10
Furrucabad	8
Rajamohl (Rajamahal)	8
Siclygully	8
Shawbad	8
Kahalgong	10
Bogolpour (Bhagalpur)	12
Janghira	9
Monghyr	9
SuroodgeGurrah (Surajgurh)	9
Derreahpour	12
Barrah	9
Bykuntpour	10
Patna	5
Beckaramabad	12
Mungulpour	8
Punnarah	9
Doudnagur	8
Gotelee	9
Shahuserabad[2]	7
Zelautabad	10
Monea	9
Curruah	9
Mogulla Serai (Mughalsarai)[3]	10
Baranushy (Benares)	5
Tornaushabad	9
Mando Sing	9
Hundea	11
In(nal) Serai	8
Elliabad (Allahabad)	3
Ameninchem Serai	10
Shazadabad	6
Chuveer Serai	12
Belunda Canarp^{r}.	12
Korah	12
Shahunabad	12
Moolump^{r}.	9
Moosapagur (Muzafargarh)	9
Boogulee Mydan[4]	10
Sicanderah	9
Attypour	12
Etagooah	14
Meelypour	12
Surrungabad	12
Raja ke Tallow[5]	12
Admedpour	12
Agra	12
Gogattah	8
Muttorah (Muttra)	4
Suller Serai	12
Horisha	12
Shungoon	12
Ferisdabad (Faridabad)	12
Delhy	12
Coss	519

N.B.—Bindarabund[6] is 3 coss W. from Muttura—

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[1] Shah Alam was Emperor of Delhi during the period of Rennell's career in India. The road ran along the south bank of the Ganges to Patna, then up the Son to Dandnagar, where this river was crossed. Thence across country to Mughalsarai and over the Ganges at Benares. Along the north bank to Allahabad, where the Ganges was again crossed, and up the Doab to Agra, crossing the Jumna at that place. It is shown on Maps IX and X of the Bengal Atlas.

[2] Sasaram. Rennell's form of the name is derived from the Afghan Sher Shah Suri, the conqueror of Humayun and afterwards Emperor of Delhi, whose tomb is situated here.

[3] Sarai, a house for the accommodation of travellers.

[4] Maidan, an open space or plain covered with grass.

[5] Talao, a tank or reservoir. The name signifies 'The King's tank.'

[6] Brindaban. The traditional habitation of Krishna in his youth, and a famous place of pilgrimage.

Midnap^{r}. to Jellasore (30 & 103)—	Coss.
Carickpour	2
Narangur	6
Culnagur	4
Ranyserai	2
Dantoon	2
Jellasore	4
	20

Midnap^{r}. to Gongacally[1] (248)—	
Patra	3
Shawpour	5
Cassejurah or Purtap^{r}.	4
Gongacally	6
	18

Jellasore to Ballasore (30) —	
Multanny	3
Bustah	3
Gurpuddah	2
Ramchandap^{r}.	2
Ballasore	3
	13

Ballasore to Cuttack (30)—	
To Surow	10
Caunsbansi Br.	2
Baderuck on y^{e} Sollundree R.	7
Chundee Bridge	2
Chura Kooty	2
Domnagur	2
Georgepour	3
Mogadanny	1
Churrua R.	1
Barwah	1
Bahmounee R.	2
Comreea R.	1
Gulgulgottee Br.	1
Gingootty R.	1
Gobria R.	1
Hurryp^{r}.	2
Pudamp^{r}.	2
Cuttack	2
	43

Cuttack to y^{e} Sea (31)—	Coss.
Cautjuree a large R.	1
Balcantha Tanna	5
Noar Pipley	5
Daudmocundp^{r}.	2
Jancandyp^{r}.	4
Attara Nuddy	3
Jaggernaut[2]	1
	21

Midnap^{r}. to Balramp^{r}. (168)—	Miles.
To Mudipour	3
Dermah	2
Derwah	2
Pirtapour	4
Bulramp^{r}.	2½

Burdwan to Soopour (72)—	
3 Tanks bet. y^{e} Road & y^{e} Vill. of Tallit	3
Kipalpour to Balessy Baug[3]	4
Curry R. to Khizop^{r}.	3
Oragong	4
Nulla & Slough to Govenp^{r}.	6
Bilea	2
Cunoor R. to Buxy Baz.	4
Ajy to Supour	2
	28

Midnap^{r}. to Calcutta—		Coss
Muncagur	Mid. Dist.^{r}	3
Daira		4
Buckleshaw		5
Doannee		5
Cuncadee		3
Mancohar (45)		5
Bognaun		4
Pullareah		3½
Seesburreah		2
Buzbuzeah (Budge-Budge)		2
Douahpurrah		2
		38½

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[1] On the Tamluk road.

[2] The famous temple at Puri.

[3] Bagh, a garden.

Midnap^{r}. to Burdwan (103)—

	Coss.
To Shawpour	8
Chitwa	5
Bally Duan G^{e}. (Gunge)	9
Woochalen	8
Burdwan	8
	38

Ano. Route—

	Coss.
Amely	4
Asseramp^{r}. or Asshrifpour	3
Jaukerah	3
Beubanp^{r}.	2½
Cottah	2½
Pucka Serai	3
Balchan	3
Uchalan	2
Burdwan	6
	29

Another Route—

	Coss.
Amily	4
Bulchunserai	5
Mobaruck Munzil	5
Beubanp^{r}.	5
Assarapur	5
Amily	3
Midnap^{r}.	4
	31

PURGANNAHS OF BIRBOHEN.[1]

Sarhaut.[2] Cutch.[3] at Sarhaut 50 miles NWbW from Soory. Dim. 22 by 17 miles. All Hilly & Woody. The Ajy forms the Western Boundary.

Carryah.[4] Cutch. Luckanpour 20′ WSW from Soory. 20′ by 10. Hilly & Woody, only a few cultivated spots in the Valleys.

Chonit. Cutch. Oudgerya 19′ WbN from Soory. 22 by 11. The Northern part Hill & the rest Woody.

Belputtah.[5] Cutch. Comerabad in the Hills 25′ NW from Soory. 24′ by 15. All Mountainous. It is bounded on the North by the Districts of the Herboe (?) Rajah[6] & on y^{e} East by Sultanabads.

Baharon[7] or Mohamedabad. Cutch. Barrow on the River More 15′ NW from Soory., 14′ by 8, the Northern part Mountainous & y^{e} rem^{r}. a thick Wood.

Noney.[8] Cutch. Dyoucha on the River Derkah 9½′ NBE from Soory. Dim. 12 by 9. Jungley & barren, all except a spot between Dyoucha & Jinderpour. Forges for Iron are wrought at Dyoucha & Mh. bazar.[9] The ore is brought from the Malarp^{r}. Purgannah.

Herpour.[10] Cutch. at Gwallerra 9½′ West from Soory. 11 miles by 10. The City of Nagore lies in the West part, & is skirted on each side by a prodigious Wood. The hot Wells are 6 miles SE from Nagore. There are fine cultivated spots at Rannypour & Gwallerrah, the rest of the Purgannah is a thick Wood.

Malarpour.[11] Cutch. at Damra 16 miles NEbN from Soory. 11′ by 7′. The middle part Cultivated, the rest barren or Jungley. Iron Mines are wrought near Damra & Forges at Damra & Mysara.

Kirny.[12] Cutch. at Boggarshola[13] in Sallump^{r}. Purgannah. This is a small P. & chiefly a Jungle. Dim. 7 miles by 5. It joins Herpour on the Southwest.

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[1] A list of the fiscal divisions or Parganas of Birbhum is given in Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. IV, p. 421 *seq.*, from which, and the new edition of the Imperial Gazetteer, the details given in these notes are taken.

[2] Sarath Deogarh. Now transferred to the Santal Parganas district, 952 sq. miles.

[3] Cutch. = Cutcherry (Hind. Kachahri), an office of administration or court house.

[4] Apparently this pargana, with the next, form the pargana of Kundahit Karea, now included in the Santal Parganas (Hunter, op. cit., Vol. XIV, p. 377), area 406·35 sq. miles.

[5] Marked as a subdivision of the Santal Parganas on the Atlas of India Sheet No. 113, now included in the Dumka subdistrict.

[6] I can find no mention of this Raja in any of the old records. On Rennell's map of Birbhum, No. II of the Bengal Atlas, this part of it is bounded on the N. by a district called 'Hendooa.'

[7] Baharan, mentioned by Hunter but no particulars given.

[8] Nani, Nonee of Atlas of India. Area 51 23 sq. miles. In 1852 there were still 30 iron smelting furnaces at work at Deocha, and as many more for refining it. The ore is a brown hæmatite obtained from lateritic deposits.

[9] Muhammad Bazar, a village situated between Suri and Deocha.

[10] Haripur Tappa. Area 103·14 sq. miles. The hot springs mentioned are those of Bakeswar (*ante* p. 101).

[11] Mallarpur. Area 36·49 sq. miles. There were 4 iron furnaces at Dhamra in 1852.

[12] Khirni. Area 32·53 sq. miles.

[13] Bajasula in Shah Alampur pargana.

Cuttungah.[1] Cutch. Soory or Hyderabad. The Western half barren or Jungly, the rest a fine open fertile Countrey. Soory lies on the Skirts of the Jungle & about 3 miles from the southern Bank of the River More. Dim. 11′ by 8′.

Burra.[2] Cutch. Boggarshola in Sallump^r^. Dim. 5½′ by 3.′ It borders on the Ajy & is clear & fertile.

Sallumpour.[3] Cutch. Boggarshola 18 miles SW from Soory. Dim. 12½ by 7. Open Countrey & fertile. On the N. it is bounded by the great Wood, & on the South by the Ajy.

Jinnijol.[4] Cutch. Saapour 9 miles SbW from Soory. Dim. 10 by 6½. The NW corner a Jungle, but the rem^r^. a fine Countrey. Iron Mines are wrought at Kistnagur.

Sehnboom.[5] Cutch. Paher near the W side Ajy & 19 miles SbW from Soory. 12 miles by 7. All arable Land save a Wood of 4′ extent near Elambazar.

Supour.[6] Cutch. Soopour a large Town on the Ajy 22′ SSE from Soory. The Talook belonging to the Town is reckoned a Purganna of itself, tho' but 3½′ by 2½.

Barbucksing.[7] Cutch. Baharee 23′ SE from Soory. Dim. 12′ by 5½ chiefly arable Land, & remarkably open. The NW part consists of high Downs interspersed with Jungle. The Factory of Surrool lies in this part & is only 3′ NW from Supour. This P. produces much Cotton.

Burkoondah.[8] Cutch. at Cosbah 13′ SEbS from Soory. 8½ by 4½. It is chiefly high barren Downs.

Allinagore.[9] Cutch. Jaunipour 9′ SE from Soory, & on y^e^ Baccasore River. Dim. 13 by 4½. The Land mostly barren.

Cootubpour.[10] Cutch. Gomhi 23′ ESE from Soory, & on the South side Baccasore or Queyah River. 11 by 4 miles. The Land in the western parts high & barren the eastern parts cultivated. This is a District of y^e^ same name bordering on it belonging to Radshi.

Acburshi.[11] Cutch. Peranagong 9′ NE from Soory. 4½ by 4. It consists chiefly of high barren Downs.

Savack Mowlisher.[12] Cutch. Mettyarah 9′ ESE from Soory. 10′ by 6. The SW part high Downs, the rest clear, fertile Land.

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[1] Khatanga. 81·54 sq. miles.

[2] Bara Taluk. 36·79 sq. miles.

[3] Shah Alampur. 76·62 sq. miles.

[4] Zain-ujial. 68·21 sq. miles.

[5] Senbhum. 93·90 sq. miles. The patch of jungle or wood near Ilambazar was still in existence in 1852.

[6] Supur Taluk. A 'Talook' in Bengal is a tract of proprietary land, sometimes not easily distinguished from 'Zemindaries' (Hobson Jobson, p. 894). Area ·22 of a square mile. In Rennell's time it probably included the small pargana of Sheopur.

[7] Barbaksingh. 65·40 sq. miles.

[8] Bharkanda. 32·63 sq. miles.

[9] Alinagar. 59·40 sq. miles. The Bakeswar R. runs through the northern portion.

[10] Kutabpur. 45·75 sq. miles.

[11] Akbarshahi. 27·55 sq. miles.

[12] Maureshwar Sabak. 61·94 sq. miles.

Dowrah Mowlisher.[1] Cutch. Same name 15′ ENE from Soory. 13 by 6½. Open Countrey & arable Land.

Surroofsing.[2] Cutch. Deckabary 19′ East from Soory. Its figure is extremely irregular & many Talooks of it lie in the midst of Radshi. Its Dimensions may be reckoned 12 by 10. The Lands are chiefly arable & produce Paddy & Cotton.

The Talooks of Purrunderpour & Omdarrah[3] are called Purgannahs likewise. The first borders on Cuttungah and the latter on Cootubpour. NB.—The Purgannah of Futtypour* & Jemy.[4] of Burkoondah lie in the midst of Birbohen.

* Belonging to Radshi.

The general Dimension of Birbohen is 64 miles by 36 & contains 2304 square miles or Beagers[5] 4,605,440. The Arable Land may be reckoned 646 sq. miles or Beagers 1,250,656.

From Agra to Delhy.[6]

	Miles.
To Jundipour	10
Mootra (Muttra)	8
Chautra	10
Hoorhul	12
Pulwall	12
Furreezabad	12
Delhi	12

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[1] Maureshwar Dari, divided into two portions by pargana Mallarpur. 146·60 sq. miles.

[2] Swarupsinh. 85·35 sq. miles

[3] Purandarpur. 13·79 sq. miles, Omdarrah is not mentioned by Hunter or shown on the Atlas of India.

[4] Jemitdary, a corruption of Zemindary, an estate.

[5] Hind. *Bigha.* A measure of land area, varying greatly in different parts of the country. In Birbhum it was about one-third of an acre. The present area of the district is 1752 sq. miles. of which 1056 sq. miles are cultivated.

[6] These places are shown on map No. X. of the Bengal Atlas. The road runs along the right bank of the Jumna.

Note.—The weather table that follows covers the period of Rennell's third expedition and is referred to on p. 44.

MAY 1765. Dacca & y^{e} Baramputrey.

D.	Winds.		Weather.
	AM.	PM.	
R.1	Var. ..	....	Fine W^{r}. all day. Ev. close. Some Rain in y^{e} Night.
2 3 4	Wind in y^{e} Morning from y^{e} NE, y^{e} rem. of y^{e} day W. & SW.		Remarkable fine Weather.
5	W ..	....	Weather very hot all day.
R.6	Squall ..	W ..	Morning very hot. At Noon squally & rainy.
R.7	Variable	....	Much Rain.
R.8	S. SSE	Var^{e}. SE	Much Rain. At Night a hard Gale at SE.
R.9	SSW. S.	W. S.	Morning cool. Afternoon hard Squall & Rain.
10	SE ..	NBE Var^{e}.	Morning dry. At Noon hard Gales SE. Aft. & Night squally. No Rain.
11	S. SE ..	NNW ..	Fresh Gales. At 10 PM a Squall.
12	SW ..	SSW ..	Fresh G. & Cloudy. Dry W^{r}.
13	SSW. SW	WSW ..	Mostly fresh Gales.
14	SSW ..	SBE. S ..	Weather as yesterday.
R.15	SE. S ..	Calm ..	Morning cool. Aft. very hot.
16	S. Calm..	Calm ..	Excessive hot all day.
17	Var^{e}. &	Calm ..	Mostly excessive hot.
18	Calm SSW.	Var^{e}. & Squally.	Morning drizling Rain Aft. close & sultry. R.
19	NE ..	ENE ..	Heavy Rain. R.
20	Var^{e}. from NE to East.		Flying Showers, Wind fresh. R.
21	SE. S.	SSW. SW.	This day a hard Gale var. as p. margin. R.
22	SW SSW	NNW Squall.	Fresh Breezes all Day. At Night a slight Squall. R.
23	SBE ..	SE ..	Much Rain. R.
24	SEBS ..	SE ..	Very fresh Gales. Dry W^{r}.
25	SSW	SE	Fresh Gales & cool Weather.
26	SE. E^{t}. ..	SSE ..	Cool Weather. Very Cloudy.
27	SE S NE	S SSE	Morning fair. At Noon Squall from y^{e} NE & Rain. R.
28	NE SE	Calm Var.	Forenoon cool & Cloudy. Aft. & Ev. very hot.
29	S SE	Calm ..	Forenoon cool. Aft. & Night very hot.
30	Calm ..	SW Calm	Morning Foggy. Sultry Weather.
31	SE Calm	Calm SSW	Morning Foggy. All day very hot.

Rain 13 Days in May.
8 Days very hot Weather.

JUNE 1765, Baramputrey.

D.	Winds.		Weather.
	AM.	PM.	
1	Calm ..	NE Calm NNE.	Morning Foggy till 7. Most of the day very hot. Night cool.
R.2	ESE ..	Calm NE	Mostly cool W^r. At Noon Rain.
R.3	Calm S	NW NW. SW.	Mostly cool. Ev. much Thunder & Lightning, Rain Night.
4	SE ..	SEbE ..	Fresh Breezes & Cloudy.
5	SE ..	ESE ..	Mostly fresh Breezes & cool.
6	SE. SSE	S ..	Forenoon cool. Aft. very hot. A fine Night.
R.7	Calm SSE	Squall SE	Morning Foggy. Much Rain in y middle of y day.
8	SE ..	SE ..	Fresh Breezes. Cool Weather.
9	SE SSE	SBE ..	Fresh Breezes & frequently squally.
10	SBE ..	to S. ..	Very fresh Gales. Cool Wea^r.
R.11	Calm NE ENE.	East ESE	Rain during the greatest part of the Day.
R.12	East ..	ESE .. Calm	Much Rain.
R.13	East ESE	SW NNE.	Forenoon rainy, the Aft. variable Weather.
R.14	ESE ..	ESE S	The Day fair. At 10 Night began Rain, & a stiff Gale.
15	ESE ..	SE ..	Rain all y^e Forenoon. R.
16	East ESE	SE Calm	Cloudy & cool Weather all Day. In y^e Evening some Rain. R.
17	SE ..	SEBS ..	Squally & Rainy all Day. R.
18	SE to ..	EBS ..	Fresh Breezes with frequent Showers. R
19	ESE EBS	SEBE ..	Rainy Morning, a fresh Gale of Wind. R.
20	ESE	SE ..	Fine Weather.
21	N NNW Calm	Calm ..	Some Rain in y^e Morning, the rem^r. of the Day calm, the Weather fine. R.
22	SE SBE	NBE ..	Fine Weather all Day.
23	S SBE Calm.	ENE Calm.	Forenoon fine Weather. Afternoon very hot. Some Rain in y^e Night. R.
24	SE East	EBN ..	Morning & Night rainy. Mid. of the Day cool. R.
25	ESE ..	SE. SSE	Rain the most part of the Day. R.
26	S. ..	SSE ..	Rain half of the Day Wind moderate. R.
27	S. ..	SEBS ..	Pleasant Weather.
28	ESE East	SSE ..	Much Rain during the Forenoon. R.
29	S. ..	SSE SE	Thick Cloudy Weather all Day.
30	WBS S SE	SE ..	The Morning Hot. The rem^r. of the Day rainy. R.

19 rainy Days in June.

JULY 1765, Baramputrey.

D.	Winds.		Weather.
	AM.	PM.	
R.1	SSE ..	SE ..	Most part of the Day rainy, the Night also.
R.2	ENE Calm	NEBE SSE.	Thick Cloudy Weather with some Showers.
3	S SE	SSE Calm	Cloudy. Mid. of y Day hot, y rem^{r}. pleasant W^{r}.
R.4	SSE to	ESE ..	Much Rain.
R.5	SE SSE	NBE to S	Several heavy Showers.
R.6	SE Calm	SE ..	Most part of the Day heavy Rain.
R.7	SE ..	SSE ..	Rain great part of y Day.
R.8	SSE ..	SE ..	Hard Rain in y^{e} Morning & several Showers aft.
R.9	SE ..	S SSE	Much Rain, Wind mod^{t}.
R.10	S to ..	SE	Morn. & Ev. rainy. Mid. of y Day pleas^{t}. W^{r}.
R.11	SE Calm	SSE ..	Morn. rainy. Most part of y^{e} Day Fair. Rain all Night. Squall fr. y^{e} SSE.
R.12	SSE SE	Calm ..	Forenoon rainy. Clear Aft. & Night.
R.13	SE Calm	SSE	Forenoon rainy. Aft. & Ev. fair. Rain in y Night.
R.14	SE E^{t}.	ESE ..	Pleasant W^{r}. all Day. At Night Rain. & a Squall from y^{e} ESE.
R.15	SE ..	SE ..	Mostly fresh Breezes. Only one Shower this Day. Some Rain in y^{e} Night.
R.16	E^{t}. SE	SSE ..	Morning & Ev. rainy. y^{e} rem^{r}. of the Day fair. Wind fresh.
17	SE ESE	E . SEBE	Forenoon Wind squally, y^{e} Weather dry till 8 PM, then some heavy Rain. R.
18	ESE E^{t}.	EBN E^{t}.	Fresh Breezes, some Rain in y^{e} Forenoon. Aft. fair. R.
19	E^{t}. EBS	SE ..	Morning y^{e} air cool. During y^{e} Forenoon some Rain. Rain in y^{e} Night. R.
20	EBS SE	ESE ..	Morning fair. Wind very cool. Much Rain in y^{e} Forenoon. R.
21	SEBE	ESE Calm	All Day fresh Gales, & some flying Showers. Night calm. R.
22	SE	BE	Very fresh Breezes. Fine Weather.
23	ESE SE	Calm ..	Forenoon fresh Breezes. Aft. calm & hot. Clear W^{r}.
24	SE ..	Calm ..	Mod. Wind with Showers. Aft. quite calm. Fair Night. R.
25	Calm NBW.	N Calm SE.	Forenoon Calm, hot W^{r}. at Noon a Breeze NBE. All Night fresh Gales.
26	ESE East	EBS ..	A hard Gale all Day at EBS. & ESE. Much Rain. R.
27	SEBE SE	ESE ..	Squally & Rainy all Day. R.
28	SSE SE SEBE	SE ..	Morning clear, the rem^{r}. Squally & Rainy. R.
29	SE SBW	S SSE	Fresh Gales & Squally. Much Rain. R.
30	SSE ..	SBW ..	Very Squally & Rainy all Day. R.
31	S SBE	SBW ..	Weather nearly as yesterday. R.

27 rainy Days in July.

BEARINGS AND DISTANCES.

From Culpee[1] to Ninedally near Badutolah Point	N 4-15 E.	30·75
Do & Gowreepour Bridge[2]	E 30-30 N.	13·1
Do. & Hadgigunge	E 33-25 N.	113
Do. & Luckipour	E 39-15 S.	67·9
Do. & Jurilgunge[3]	E 7-10 S.	48·4
Do. & Islamabad R. Mouth[4]	S 24 E.	48·2

Nudya to Pattolee[5]	23
Augurdeep	32½
Cutwa	42½
Plassy	62
Satti	82½
Meeneasa	95
Cossimbazar	105
Saddekbaag	118½
Bellya	130
Jungip^{r}.	148
Sooty	157½
Ganges	163

Jel(enghee) to Sooty—

Bagwangola	38
Meenkoot	45
Sooty	61½

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[1] A village on the Hugli 8 miles below Diamond Harbour. A road is shown on Rennell's map of the Hugli, No. XIX Bengal Atlas), running north to Calcutta. Ninedally and Badutolah Point are not marked on Rennell's map of the Hughli (Bengal Atlas No. XIX) and I have not been able to identify them.

[2] Near Dum-Dum.

[3] On the road from Lakshmipur to Chittagong.

[4] Mouth of the Karnuphuli R.

[5] This list is entered in pencil.

ASIATICK RIVERS.[1]

	°Lat.	Length of Course.
Kian Kew (China)	73	38
Hoanho do.	67	34
Amur do.	28	19
Cambodia	26	
Ava	24	
Ganges	24	
Burrampooter	24	
Indus	14	
Lena	29	
Wolga	24	
Oby	26	
Jennisea	25	
Euphrate	21	

Africa.

Nile	32

Europe.

Danube	17
Rhine	6½

America.

Amazons	69
Missisipi	40

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[1] This list was evidently the basis of the calculation of the proportionate lengths of course of some of the most noted rivers of the world given in Rennell's 'Memoir of Hindoostan,' p. 337.

The list as given there runs—

European rivers—

Thames	1
Rhine	5¼
Danube	7
Wolga	9½

Asiatic rivers—

Indus (probably)	6¾
Euphrates	8½
Ganges	9½
Burrampooter	9½
Nou Kian or Ava river	9½
Jennisea	10
Oby	10½
Amoor	11
Lena	11½
Hoanho (of China)	13½
Kian Ken (of ditto)	15½

African river—

Nile	12½

American rivers—

Missisipi	8
Amazons	15¾

MEMORANDUMS FROM THE FIELD BOOKS.

Purgunnahs in ye Rangamatty Phousdary[1]—

Currybarry.
Burrahazary.
Measpara.
Hobberagott.
Bickally (Garrows)
(Chief Place Ombue).[2]
Beesnee.
Batyamarry.
Solaā
Biddagong.
Purbutjoär.
Jammyra.
Julkur.
Turya.
Guredalaa.
Saappour or Chawppour.
Patyladaw.
Saupour (Desconya).

Other Places (or Gotts)[3] belonging to Rangamatty,
Allumgunge, Tombacubary, Jeekeer.

Dewangunge is in the purgunna of Jaffiersee.[4]
Chilmary in Baharbund.

Pora Doar,[5] a Place in Boutan lying to ye NE of Catchubary.

Sackatee in Assam 1 day E 15 S from Commerputa.[6]

Guahatty in ye Assam Countrey on ye Baramputrey, 3 Days by Pulwar from Gwalpara.

6 Rajas under the K. of Assam. Revenues of ye Bisnee Raja 6,000 Rup. P. Ann. He pays an Annual Tribute of 60 Elephants to ye Bengall Nabob.[7]

Cobytukan a Chokey 1½ par above Mallansa, & near ye Village of Sunederdee. Nagarabara Purg.[8]

Ombue Hills from Commerputa E 30-30 S. 36 miles.

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[1] Faujdari, a district under a military governor. Rangamati was the frontier district bordering on Assam, now the Goalpara district. Most of the 'parganas' of Rennell are now permanently settled estates under various Rajas or Zemindars. The following are those mentioned in the District Gazetteer of Goalpara published in 1905:—

Karaibari.
Mechpara.
Habraghat.
Bijni.
Parbatjoar.
Jamira.
Taria.
Chapar.

[2] Ombue probably stands for Um Bu (Um, Khasi=water), a small stream in the Khasia hills.

[3] A landing place or 'Ghat.' Often applied to a river-side village.

[4] On the Bengal Atlas map No. V the Pargana in which Dewanganj (on the Brahmaputra below Chilmari) is situated is called Patladah, now the Patiladaha estate.

[5] Perhaps Paro, the head-quarters of the Paro Penlop, in Western Bhutan (Lat. 27°-23′; Long. 89°-27′).

[6] Kamarpota and Shakhati were both villages on the frontier line of Assam, the former lying on the Brahmaputra. Gauhati is now an important place. A day's march in Assam is considered to be from 10 to 12 miles.

[7] The Imp. Gaz. states that under Moghul rule the Raja of Bijni paid a *tribute* of Rs. 5,998, afterwards commuted to an annual delivery of 68 elephants. The estimated rent-roll of the estates at present is 2 lakhs of rupees.

[8] These villages were across the frontier of Assam on the south bank of the river. For the definition of 'par' see p. 127.

The Bisnee Rajah's Residence at Bisnee on the R. Bonaash 2½ days by Boat from Jugygupa. 1 Day by Land. Catchubary in Boutan from Jugygupa 2½ days Land. Sering 1 day farther. Aāndypour the Thibet Rajah's Residence 2 days from Sering. In all 5½ days from Jugygupa. Rajah's Name Mocun-Naran. Roco-Cotta a Place on the Bonaash 4 days up from Jugygupa.[1]

Rangamatty & Cutchubary 2 days by Land.

Howeragott on the Keestry River 2 Par from Gwalpara.

Deelma a Garrow's Town 1½ Day from Howeragott.[2]

Commerputa & Howeragott 1 Day.

RIVER PASSAGE FROM CALCUTTA UPWDS.

	Calcutta[3]—	M.	
	To Ghyretty	17	¼
	Chinsurah	8	
	Hoogly	2	
	Niaserai	7	½
	Chogdah	7	
	Puleeah Haut	14	½
	Culna	12	
82¼	Nuddeah	14	
	Kistnagur	10	¼
	Rookpour Creek	15	
	Taegaree	12	½
	Putimary	10	½
	Notyputah	13	
	Ballitunghee	12	¼
	Buxypour	5	
	Peeapour	15	¼
	Boyrub Creek	15	
117	Head Jellinghee	8	¼
	Head Surda Reach	12	½
	Cutlamary opposite Bowlia	9	
	Bogwangolah	17	
	Meenkoot	7	¼
62½	Head Coss^{r}. River	16	¾
261¾			

	M.	
To Nuddea as before—	82	¼
Augurdeep[4]	33	
Cutwa	10	¼
Plassey	20	
Satty	21	½
Jumjumcolly	16	¼
Cossimbazar	6	½
Saddekbary	13	
Bellyah	16	¼
Jungipour	17	
Sooty	10	
Head R.[5]	4	¾
	250	¾
	261	¾
Difference	11	
Furrookabad[6]	24	
Oudinulla	11	¼
Raujimol[7]	7	
Siclygully	18	½
Terriagully	11	¾
Pointee	8	
Colgong	18	
Boglipour (Bhagalpur)	17	¼
Sultanp^{r}.	18	

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[1] None of these places are marked on the Atlas of India Maps, but Wandipur (Aandypour) is mentioned as one of the chief towns in Bhutan in the Imp. Gazetteer. The relations of the British with Bhutan did not arise till 1772, six years after the date of Rennell's visit to Goalpara (*see* Memoir of Hindoostan, pp. 301, 302).

[2] Howeragot (Habraghat) village is shown on Rennell's Bengal Atlas No. V, 10 miles S. of Goalpara Neither village nor stream are marked in the Atlas of India, but Dilma (Deelma) is shown in the Garo Hills 22 miles S. of Goalpara.

[3] *Viâ* the Jalangi R.

[4] *Viâ* the Baghrathi.

[5] Junction of the Bhagirathi and Ganges.

[6] Up the Ganges from the head of the Bhagirathi.

[7] Another spelling of Rajmahal.

	M.
Monghir	26
Sur(agegurra)	19
Ruinulla	8½
Der(riapour)	14
Bahr	21
Bykuntpour	24
Patna	14
	260¼

	260¼
	261¾
Miles	522

Moneah[1]	
Buxar	
Gazypour	
Benares	
Chunar	
Merzapour	
Mouth Townse R.	
Ellahabad	

Calcutta to Dacca—

	M.
To Head Jellinghee[2]	199¼
Horrisongkor (Harisankra)[5]	9
Chocula	10
Shaapour	14½
Comitpour	11¾
Custee (Kushtia)	6
Pubna	8½
Boolbaryah Creek	23
Soondry	19
Rottingunge	8¾
To the Ganges	5¼
Jaffiergunge	6¾
Comercally	7
Gwalparah	7¾
Pialapour	12
Saapour	14
Callyteer Creek	7¾
Dacca	11½
Miles	382¼

Dacca to Gwalparah[3]—

	M.
Demrah	14
Molaparah	5
Jamalpour	20
Akedallah (Ekdala)	8½
Saghordee	17
Dugdugga	12
Callygunge	22
Cassergunge	11
Bygonbarry (or Maimansingh)	7
Pykerhaut	17
Sanashygunge	13
Dewangunge	22
Chilmary	20
Baggoa	20
Arrya-curyah	11¼
Dubarye	19
Rangamatty Gaut	11
Jughigupah	34
Gwalparah	5¼
Miles	289

To Meercaserai[4]—	11-4
Seetacoon	12-4
Cuddumrusil	13-4
Islamabad (Chittagong)	12
	49-4

Dacca to Luckipour[5]—

Fattylur	6¼
Fringybazar	7½
Rajabarry	14
Chandpour	11
Luckipour	28½
	67¼

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[1] These distances are not entered in the original text.

[2] Down the Ganges to Pabna, through the Ichamati R. to Jafarganj, and then along the Dhaleswari to Dacca.

[3] Up the Lakhmia R. and along the old Brahmaputra to Dewanganj.

[4] From the crossing of the Fenny R. east of Lakshmipur.

[5] Down the Meghna.

	M.
Dacca to Silhet[1]—	
Fringybazar	13¾
Allynya	14½
Gagatyah	18½
Corallya	17
Gusipour	11½
Sunerampour	8½
Cottilbar	18
Lacki	11
Allipour	19½
Azmerigunge	8
Moradpour	11½
Momadnuggur	11
Currimgunge (Karimganj)	3¾
Gussyah	16
Jummulabad	16
Solagur	21
Pannyle	16¾
Chattuck	8½
Digley	12
Silhet	18½
	275

Distances from Luckipour to the Fenny.[2]

	M.	F.	P.
To the Nulla	4	0	29
To Hazarypara	8	1	5
Chandergunge	2	5	12
Currimpour	7	1	19
Colinda (Kaliyandi)	7	5	5
Little Fenny	8	2	14
Cassidya Haat	0	5	8
Meerjapour Bazar	4	7	5
To y^{e} Fenny	2	7	39
Here follow some arithmetical calculations in pencil, now almost indecipherable.	46	4	16

LATITUDES.

	°	′
From Ironside.—Calcutta	22	33 N
Chinsera	22	53
Burdwan	23	11
Cossimbazar	24	4
Muxadabad	24	11
Nabobgunge	24	29
Goah	24	35
English Bazar[3]	24	53
Maulda	24	55
Purneah	25	40
Modduban[4] (the end of my Survey, *sup. Capt. Adams's*)	25	41
N.B.—Campbell's[5] Map—		
Ellah(*abad*)	25°	25′
Ben(*ares*)	25	17
Pat(*na*)	25	37

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[1] By the Burigunga, Little Meghna, Meghna and Surma rivers.

[2] See pages 75 to 78 of journal.

[3] Near Malda.

[4] I cannot identify this place.

[5] ? Donald Campbell, Captain of a cavalry regiment in the service of the Nawab of the Carnatic, and author of 'A journey overland to India, comprehending his shipwreck and imprisonment with Hyder Alli, and his subsequent negociations and transactions in the East'' (London, Cullen & Co., 1795).

LONGITUDE OF PLACES FROM D'ANVILLE'S MAP.[1]

					°	′
			Cape Comorin	From Paris E^{t}.	94	45
			P^{t}. Din		87	18
			Bombay		89	25
			Delhi		94	55
			Corragenabad		97	40
			P^{t}. de Galle, Ceylon		97	48
			Pondicherri		97	25
			Agra		95	45
			Madras		98	3
			Allahabad (Iliabad, Helobas)		99	..
			P^{t}. Gordeware		100	10
			Benaras		100	18
			P^{t}. Palmiras		104	45
			Patna		102	18
			Muxadabat		105	53
			Calcutta		106	5
Corrected ..	108	5	Dacca		107	20
	109	41	Islamabad		108	34
			Great Andaman middle		109	30
			S. Nicobar I.		110	55
			Negrais		111	..
			P. Ronda near Achien		112	18
			Ava		114	18
			P. Pinang (Str. Malacca)		116	18
			Siam City (or India)		118	30

OBSERVATIONS OF LATITUDE & VARIATION OF THE NEEDLE 1764, 1765.

Time Observed.		Places' Names.	E. Variat^{n}.		W. Variat^{n}.		Latitude N.	
1764.			°	′	°	′	°	′
May	13	Negareen Jelenghee R.	3	3				
	21	Jelenghee R. Head	..	..				
	27	Silah, Ganges	..	36				
June	3	Jawnpour near Custee	1	8				
	28	Serampour in y^{e} Chunnunah	..	54				
October	1	Rottingunge	..	..	1	..		
	3	Gondaëly	.	..	1	10		
	16	Coberpour	..	..	1	2		
	20	Jattapour	..	..	..	38	23	27
	23	Seneckondy	..	..	..	16		
Novem^{r}.	10	Pokera	..	..	1	6		
	16	Rypour	..	..	..	55		
	25	Nagulpara	..	..	1	10		
	27	Monerpour	..	..	1	..		
Decem^{r}.	28	Kesserpour	..	..	1	14		
1765.								
Jan^{y}.	21	Daadpour I. Megna	..	..	1	7		
Feb^{y}.	8	Luckypour	..	..	..	..	22	55
May	13	Allynya in y^{e} Megna	..	..	..	37		

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[1] D'Anville's map of India was produced in 1752. All the figures given are much too far East.

Time Observed.		Places' Names.	E. Variat^{n}.		W. Variat^{n}.		Latitude N.		
			°	′	°	′	°	′	
Feb.	9	Solacally Creek Megna *Omitted in Place*	..	..	1	30			
June	22	Ossunpour	..	..	..	38			
July	21	Chilmary	..	..	..	..	25	25	Medium of y^{e} last 2 observ^{s}. 25-27.
	23	do.	..	..	..	..	25	28	
	25	do.	..	..	..	..	25	26	
Octo^{r}.	25	Sunacalley	..	..	..	32	..	..	
	18	Bolasa	..	..	..	..	23	52	
	23	Osunpour	..	..	..	..	24	26	
	25	Bagunbary	..	..	..	..	24	45	
	28	Cuttermary	..	..	..	58	..	..	
	29	Dewangunge	..	..	..	55	..	..	
	30	1½ mile N. of the Parallel of do.	..	..	..	..	25	11	
Nov^{r}.	7	⊙[1] Above Baggua	..	..	...	..	25	43	30
		Near do.	..	..	..	46	..	..	
	21	Same Place	..	..	..	51	..	..	
	..	Chilmary 4th. Observation ..	..	..	..	..	25	29	
	28	Soatterpour near Gwalpara ..	..	..	..	52	..	..	
	25	⊙ 100 near Rangamatty ..	..	..	..	..	26	4	

			Lat.	N.	
			°	′	″
Dec.	18	Beejurah ..	26	24	..
	23	Japarachor near Rangamatty.	26	2	30
	24	⊙ 2 near Bagolamarry	26	6	..
	25	Dheer Hill ..	26	8	45
	27	⊙ 14 opp. Chanduchoar	25	51	15
	28	⊙ 22 opposite to Cossabatcha.	25	41	15
1766.					
Jan^{y}.	4	At Gurygong Factory	25	46	45
	22	Nabobgunge ..	25	43	..
	23	Gungepour ..	25	46	30
	24	Jaffiergunge ..	25	48	30
	25	Bambund ..	25	55	45
	26	Banchdaw ..	25	58	45
	27	Dam : Choc : ..	26	5	..
	28	Dewangunge ..	26	5	30
	29	Curume ..	26	8	30
	30	Taledar ..	26	16	30

1766.			Lat.	N.	
			°	′	″
Feb^{y}...	4	Sanashygotta ..	26	32	30
	5	⊙ 32 near y^{e} Ballasun	26	29	30
	6	⊙ 49 Dulelly ..	26	22	..
	10	⊙ 23 Balagury ..	26	4	30
	11	⊙ 38 ...	26	4	..

N.B.—All y^{e} above Latitudes want 50″ allow^{ce}. for Refraction so that they should be 50″ more N.

1767.					
Nov...	25	Lat. Baggoa Hadleys Qud^{t}. wth. refraction ..	25	41	22
		Land Qud^{t}. ..	25	39	15
		Var. new Theod^{e}. ..	..	12	Wt.
		Foot Isl^{d}. below Gwareea ..	23	26	..
		Calcutta ..	22	32	30

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[1] ⊙ Is the usual field note-book sign for a surveying 'station.'

MEMORANDUMS.

A Coss of Indistan[1]

1760) 4000 (2·480 yds. or
3520
——
480   2¼ miles nearly.

200 yards—1 Zarieb.
20 Zariebs—1 Coss.
———
4,000 yd. in a Coss (Capt. Polier).

Ganges rises 30 feet Perpendicular in y^e^ Rains, measured at Jelenghee.

Boats 20 days from Patna to Jelenghee.

No Coconut Trees (or very few) on y^e^ Banks on y^e^ Ganges.[2]

Price of Calcutta Boats
of 90 Maund. Hire pr. Month.

4 Dandies	..	12
1 Mangy[3]	..	4

Variation of y^e^ Needle near Negarin in y^e^ Jelenghee 3°-3′ East by Knight's Compass.

Rising of y^e^ Rivers* in y^e^ Rains.

1764				
May 19th.	..	1¾	Cubits	Jelenghee.
,, 29th.	..	3	Cubits	Sappour.
June 4th.	..	4	do.	Custee.

*Jelenghee & Ganges.

From Mr.————'s Journal. Entered Channell Creek 7th. March. Came to Sewtylewry 25th. do. May 19th, left Hobbygunge, the 20th. entered the Puddaw,[4] Came thro' Rottingunge & Pubna Creeks.

From Maudapour to Boostna or Goostney 3 days by the Chunnunah & Comer Creeks. In y^e^ dry Season only Boats of 100 Maund can go from Maudapour to Boostna.[5]

---

[1] Originally Sansc. '*krosa*', a call, the distance to which a man's call could be heard. It varies much in different parts of the country, but is generally taken to be about two miles (Hobson Jobson, p. 261). For a discussion of the length of the Coss, *see* Rennell 'Memoir of Hindustan,' p. 4, and note, p. 151.

[2] There are cocoanut plantations in many parts of East Bengal, and the tree ascends both the Ganges and Brahmaputra to a considerable distance.

[3] Manjhi, the headman or steersman of a boat.

[4] The Padma or Padda is the name given to the main channel of the Ganges from the head of the delta to its conflux with the Meghna. The route taken was the southern route through the Sunderbuns. The name of the traveller is not given.

[5] Maudapur was at the head of the Chandna (Chunnunah) river, and Bhushna on the Barasia, a little to the east of Muhammadpur. In the Bengal Atlas, No. I, it is shown due north of the latter town.

Boats of 3500 Maund loaded, draw	..	4½	Cubits.
300	.. ..	2½ & 2	,,

From Moanpour in ye Chunnunah Creek to Hobbygunge by Land 4 days, Culna 7 do.

*Silet River is called ye little Megna.

*This means ye Creek leading from Corallya to Allynya; ye Silet R. being called the Surma.

Dimensions of ye great Gun at Dacca [1]—

	Feet	I.	
Diameter at Muzzle	3	1	
Do. Breech	3	2½	61,673 lb.
Do. of ye Trunnions ..		11½	or Tons 27 9.
Do. of ye Bore	1	3½	
Length	22	6	Wt. of Shot 474 lb.

H. Water at Dacca full & change nearly VII½ Hours.

---

[1] Further particulars of this gun are given in Rennell's 'Memoir of Hindustan,' p. 61. "It was made of hammered iron; it being an immense tube formed of 14 bars, with rings of 2 or 3 inches wide driven over them, and hammered down into a smooth surface; so that its appearance was equal to that of the best executed piece of brass ordnance, although its proportions were faulty.

Whole length ..	..	22 ft. 10½ inches.
Diameter at the Breech ..	..	3 ,, 3 ,,
,, 4 feet from the Muzzle	..	2 ,, 10 ,,
,, the Muzzle	..	2 ,, 2½ ,,
, of the Bore	..	1 ,, 3⅛ ,,

The gun contained 234,413 cubic inches of wrought iron; and consequently weighed 64,814 pounds avoirdupois or about the weight of eleven 32 pounders. Weight of an iron shot for the gun 465 pounds."

The dimensions and weight vary somewhat from those given in the text, but the entry in the Journal was probably merely a rough note.

Rennell further remarks that the gun "has since fallen into the river, together with the bank on which it rested."

I have been supplied by my friend Mr. H. E. Stapleton of the Educational Dept. with particulars of the great gun now preserved at the Chauk (an open place in the middle of the city) at Dacca, whence it is appears that this is not the one described by Rennell. The dimensions of the existing gun are quite different, being:—

Length ..	..	11 ft. 0 ins.
Diameter at Muzzle	..	1 ,, 7½ ,,
,, ,, Breech	..	2 ,, 3 ,,
,, of Bore	..	0 ,, 6 ,,

Mr. Stapleton has also kindly sent me a translation of a passage in the Tarikh-i-Nusratjangi, published in 1908 by Babu Harinath Dé (Memoirs, As. Soc. Beng., Vol. II, No. 6) confirming the statement of Major Rennell that one of the guns had been lost in the river, and giving some account of their history. The translation runs:—"The big cannon which was placed at Sowari Ghat and the other cannon which, together with two big cannon balls, went down into the water at Mughlani Char, were built for the purpose of training the soldiers of the Khankhanan Mouzzim Khan (*circa* 1660) in their handling, and also for serving as a protection against danger. * * * * * In 1246 A.H. (1830-31 A.D.) Mr. Walters the Magistrate had the cannon at the Sowari Ghat taken away from there and placed in the Chauk."

There is another big gun at Murshidabad, the dimensions of which are nearly the same as those of the one now at Dacca. An inscription in this states that it was made in the reign of Shah Jahan and governorship of Islam Khan (*circa* 1637) at Jahangirnagar (Dacca) by Janarjan blacksmith (Cal. Rev., Vol. XCIV, p. 339).

Different Quality of y^{e} Strata, of Soil in y^{e} neighbourhood of Jelenghee River.[1]

1st. ..	1½ feet	Fine Mould.
2d. ..	2 ,,	Brown Heavy Sand.
3d. ..	1½ ,,	Light Sandy Earth.
4th. ..	1½ ,,	Clayish Earth.
5th. ..	1½ ,,	Stiff Clay.

A Boat of 4,000 Maund seen in y^{e} Chunnunah Creek drew 4¾ Cubits Water. Burthen in Tons 141, Dra^{t}. in Feet 6^{F} 10^{I}.

May 10th. 1764. A small Nulla at Chogdah (in Hugghly R.) not inserted in y^{e} Map.

June 4th. Chain measured at Jamalpour & found 6 inches too long.

Sept^{r}. 1st. Chain measured at Dacca found 8.5 In. too long or 56^{F}. 8^{I}. in an Eng. Mile[2].

Mem^{d}. The Waters at Dacca at their greatest Height the 15th. of Sept^{r}. 1765. They did not rise above a Cubit from y^{e} beginning of August to that Time.

In y^{e} year 1764, the Waters were fallen more than 3 Cubits y^{e} 19th. September.

Berrisgunge from Jelenghee	.. ..	5 Coss.
Chocculo do.	.. ..	13 ,,
Custee from Calcutta	.. ..	6 days by Land.
Culna from Custee	.. ..	10 days, Boat.
Comercalli from Custee	.. ..	8 Coss.
Jaynagore from Custee, by way of y^{e} Creek	..	8 days Boat.
Mola[3] from Hadgygunge	.. ..	1 day by Boat.
Dacca	.. ..	3 do.
Jelenghee	.. ..	3 do.
Pubna	.. ..	1 do.
Paunchiferra	.. ..	2 do.
Jelenghee	.. ..	3 do.
Do. by Land	.. ..	1½
Jochillampour & Maudapour	.. ..	6 Coss.

Noatchygonga	Name of y^{e} R.	from Rungpour to Jaffiergunge.[4]
Bummisore Nuddy	do.	y^{e} Creek from y^{e} great River to do.
Corattygonga	do.	from Bummisore tow^{d}. Dacca.

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[1] This is the only geological section in the Journal. It is of interest only as showing what such an acute observer as Rennell might have done in this way, if his opportunities had been greater.

[2] *See* Introduction, p. 4.

[3] Mola, a small village on the Ganges above the mouth of the Chandna R. All these places are on or near the Ganges Padma. Most of them are mentioned in the Journal of the first Expedition.

[4] The lower channel of the Karatoya R.

Allachypour,[1] & Mullopara pour.[2]
Coratcally. Name of y^e Creek from Saleenagore to Hadgygunge.

Hadgygunge from	Connipour	1½	par. by Land.
	Hobbygunge	1	day Boat.
	To do. & then to Jaynagore	1½	do.
	Jaynagore	½	day Cossid.[3]
	Connipour	1½	pour do.
	Hobbygunge, Land	1½	or 2 days.

Creek from Monsudabad[4] to Dacca dry in y^e Month of November—

Mongulcundy & Rajanagore	1	day.
Amidabads[5] E. from Luckypour	1¾	Land.
Hadgygunge	3	pour.

Jattypour Octo. 20th. 1764. ⊙ Mer. Alt. 55°-48′[6]
Height above y^e level of y^e W. 5½ feet.

Bromgumge to Seibgunge		5 or 6 hours Land.	
Comerpour	from Hobbygunge	2 pour.	Land.
Bickeramp^r. Purg.[7]	Luckypour	1½ day.	
Gonganagore I.[8]	from Luricool	1½ pour.	
Amidabad	Rajanagore	4 hours.	
Rypour from Goanuddy		1½ pour Land.	

Gozarya in y^e Ganges[9] High Water full & change IX hours—
Soynary near do. ⊙ 55 saw a white Pagoda N 37°-45′ E.
Tyger I. south P^t a white Pagoda N 30°-15′ E. 3½′ or 4′.
Baramputry Point Dec^r. 5th. at Noon ⊙ Mer. Alt. 44°-33′.
Height of y^e Eye 5 foot.

Little B. Gunge[10] H. Water full & change 4^h 45′.
Conederopour } do. 5 hours.
Jungle Island }

Litt. B. Gunge opposite y^e Creek, Tide ran to y^e Southward at 10′ past 11 h. Moon ½ day old.

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[1] Elaichipur, opposite Goalundo.

[2] For definition of pour or par *see* p. 127.

[3] Arab. *kasid*, a courier or running messenger (Hobson Jobson, p. 262). Connipour is on the Kumar R. west of Hajiganj.

[4] On the Ganges opposite Hajiganj.

[5] Ahmirabads of map No. 1 in the Bengal Atlas; a pargana of Noakhali District.

[6] *See* p. 29. Jattrapour of map XVI, Beng. Atlas.

[7] A pargana in the Dacca district.

[8] West of Rajanagar.

[9] A small island due S. of Rajanagar.

[10] Little Bakarganj, near the old conflux of the Ganges and Meghna.

Tarrachoar (in y^{e} Creek bet. y^{e} E. & W. Branches of y^{e} Ganges) H. W^{r}. 9h.
Goanuddy, just above do. a small Creek to Basundra
Hautcola 4 hours.

Kalkenny Creek[1] from Hobbygunge 6 hours (false)
In 4 h. come into y^{e} great R. by do. Creek.

Backergunge from Culna	.. 3	days.
Sewtylewry	.. ½	day.
Gubindapour	.. 1	day.
Buckinagore	.. 1½	days.

Luckypour (Dec^{r}. 20th. 1764) ⊙ Mer. Alt. 43°-20′.
Height of y^{e} Eye 6 foot.

Experiments for finding y^{e} distances of y^{e} Bengall Par or Pour.[2]

Medium Pour 5½ Eng. Miles
Days Journey 22 E. Miles
on a strait line, tho'
nearly 25 by the Roads.

1½	Pour	7	British Miles.
3	do.	15	,, ,,
6	do.	35	,, ,,
2	do.	9½	,, ,,
4	hours	3½	,, ,,
1½	pour	10¼	,, ,,

Luckypour Feb$^{y.}$ 4th. ⊙ Mer. Alt. 50°-47′.
Height of y^{e} Eye 6 foot.
Lat. of Lukypour by a good 6bs. 22°-55′ N.

Chundergunge more than half-way from Luckypour to Colinda.

Serampour & Soylerhaut[3]	.. 1	pour.
Cotalpour & Rajabarry	.. 2	pour.
Golychel & do.	.. 1½	do.
Noadda ⊙ 55 near it, Rajanagore	1½	do.
Chiddypour Mulputgunge[4]	.. ½	a pour.
Rajanagore	.. 2	pour.

Daadpour I. (Jan. 21st.) ⊙ Mag. Amp. at setting W. 20 30 S. Var^{n}. 1°-7′ W.

Moral Feringybazar	.. 2	pour.
Comarya Chandpour	.. ½	a day.
Nursingpour Luckypour	.. 1	day Land.

Solacalley Creek Variation West^{ly}. 1°-30′.

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[1] A branch of the Kumar R. south of 'Hobbygunge.'

[2] The Par (Hind. pahar) or Pour (Pahar, Pore, Pyre) is strictly a measure of time, equal to a fourth part of the day and of the night (Hobson Jobson, p. 736).

[3] Across the neck dividing the old Ganges from the Meghna, S. of Rajabari.

[4] On the old Kirtinasa R.

Mulputgunge Rajanagore .. 1 pour.
Rajabarry .. do.
Sonergam[1] from Kallagatchy .. 1 pour.
Meercadim[2] Nundakitchel .. 3 Hours, land.
Meergunge .. 2 do.
Mulputgunge .. 3 pour.
Dacca .. 2 do.

Doarsanny[3]

near do. ⊙ 30 Saw Rajabarry Pagoda W. 38-30 S.
a sharp Pagoda 17-10—
like another do. 10-54—

Allynya,[4] May 13th, Mag. Var^n. 0°-37′ West^ly.

Nishenpour to Dacca 1 day by Land.
Pobaregong to Sonergung .. 1 par SW.
Dacca .. 3 par.
Sheangacandy ⊙ 97 } To Ossunpour 2 par.
Lautangore to Dacca .. 1 day.
Osseetpour to Nursing .. ½ a par.[5]

Nursingdee Creek to y^e Baramputrey .. 2 pour.
First Reach Baramputrey called y^e Poggolah—

Chor-subadee & Nursing .. 1 pour.
Ouësalabo[6] & Dacca .. 2 days by Land.

Corallya. River[7] near it comes from Silet. Sujetpour lies 3 or 4 days up it. The Water of y^e same Colour as that of y^e Jeels. Called the Megna.

Toank[8] or Toak Banaar R. { Creek runs out of y^e Baramputrey near it. The Creek soon after receives another from y^e Baramputrey & afterwards falls into the Luckya River, Baugunbary 4 or 5 days up y^e Creek, by Pulwar.

---

[1] Sonargaon was the ancient Mahomedan capital of Eastern Bengal, from 1351 to 1608, when the seat of Government was transferred to Dacca. (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. V, p. 71; List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 208). 'Kallagatchy' lies at the mouth of the creek connecting it with the Meghna, marked Burrampooter Cr. on Map No. XVII of the Beng. Atlas.

[2] Close to Firinghi bazar.

[3] South of Rajanagar.

[4] Close to Daudkhandi at the mouth of the Little Meghna.

[5] These places are all on or near the Meghna above Dacca.

[6] A village on the Narsingdi creek N.E. of Dacca.

[7] The Titas R., draining the jhils of the Tippera District.

[8] Tok, a small village on the old Brahmaputra opposite Agarosindur. The Banar R. leaves the Brahmaputra above Maimansingh, at Baiganbari.

Osunpour. From do. to Chilmary & Gwalpara—

		To Moddepour	1	day E^{t}. side River.
	from do.	to Cassergunge	1½	do. E^{t}. side.
		to Bozerapour	1½	W^{t}. side.
	Dewangunge	to Dobagunge	1	W^{t}. side.
Baggua 1		to Chilmary	1½	do.
Chandchor 1	Dubarye	to Dowhly	2	do.
Rang^{t}. 1		to Jagagupa	2	
Dudekoar 1		to Gwalpara	½	
Jugygupa 1				

Creek to Rangamatti runs out above Dowhly.

Sosongo Mountain opposite Chilmary.

Chandpour. ⊙ 31 near it. Sosongo Hill[1] bore N. 5°-45′ E$^{t.}$ distant by Estimation 9 or 10 nautic Leagues.

Chornuddy Island. ⊙ 53 on y^{e} N. side of it. Sosongo Peak N. 9°-30′ E^{t}.

Seltya, Dacca from do.	3	days by Land.[2]
Borya & Buzerapour	2	days Land.

Assistant's Intelligence rec$^{d.}$ down Dugduga Creek June 26th. & 28th.[3]

Habbetnagore a large Village.	To Banagong	5	Par or Pour.
	Lilliedapour	1	do.
	Asmarygunge	4	days.
	Akarasonda	3	do.
	Silet	5	do.
	Delolpour	3	do.

Junglebary[4] a large Village.	To Kanna Dugdugga		3	Par.
	Adampour		2	days (Water).
	do.	Land	1	day.
	Osunpour		1½	day.
	Asmarygunge		1½	do.
	Silet		7	do.

---

[1] Kailas (3375 ft.), in the Garo Hills. The distance in a direct line from Chandpur is 145 miles.

[2] On the bank of the old Brahmaputra, below Maimansingh.

[3] The 'Dugduga' creek run into the old Brahmaputra near 'Ossunpour,' and connected that river with the Meghna (Map No. VI, Bengal Atlas). Habbetnagore is probably the Hybutnuggur, close to Kishorgunj, of Atlas of India Sheet 125 S.W.

[4] Junglebary was on a branch of the same creek to the E. of 'Ossunpour.' Asmarygunge (Ajmirigunj) is a large trade centre in the Habigunj district, South Sylhet, on a branch of the Surma R.

Hazaradee.[1]	To Deroa	2 Hours.
	Kalpassa	4 do.
	Licklee	2 Par.
	Asmarygunge	2 Par.
	Akarasonda	1½ do.
	Adampour	2½ (Water).
Dellyapara.	To Assmere(gunge)	3 Par.
	Delolpour	3 do.
	Akarasonda	1 Day.
	Adampour	1 do. (Dingey).
	Abdulapour	Land 2 Par. Water 1 Day.
	Silet	6 Days.
Licklee. A Pagoda at that Place.	To the Megna	2 Par South.
	Baramputrey	2 do. S. 20° W.
	Adampour	Water 2 Days. Land 1½ Par W. 38° S.
	Abdulapour	2 Par S. 20° W.
	Firridpour This Creek falls into ye Baramputrey, then	1½ Par.
	Akarasonda	Land 3 Par.
	Asmarygunge	1 Day.

⊙ 34 R. Base of Mountn.[2] E. 35 N.

Baganbarry. ⊙ 35 opposite to it. The Peak of Sosongo bore N. 40°-45′ E.

⊙ 39 Do. Mountain N. 35°-40′ E.

N.B.—At this ⊙ ye top of ye Peak was seen very distinctly.

The long Range of Mountains.[3]

L. Base	N. 9° W.
1st. L. Peak	4-40.
2d. do. the highest of all	2.
Round Hill	13-15 E.
⊙ 42 Sosongo	N. 32°-30′ E.
R. of all ye dist. Mountains seen[4]	E. 26° N.

Saampour. ⊙ at ye Hāāt Tree[5] of Saampour

Sosongo .. E. 21 N.

---

[1] Neither Hazaradee, Dellyapara, nor Licklee are marked on Rennell's maps.

[2] Probably Sosongo Hill or Kailas.

[3] The Tura Range of the Garo Hills. Highest peak Nokrek, 4652 ft.

[4] The Khasi Hills.

[5] A tree in the Market place (Hât).

Jamalpour in y^{e} Luckya River.[1]	Dacca from do.	Land 3 Par.
	Nursindy	do. 2 Par. Boat 1 Day.
	Sultansuddy	Land 1½ Par.
	Sagordee	do. 3 Par.
	Akarasonda	do. 1 Day.
	Noranda Creek	do. 2 Hours.
	Mullopara	do. 2 Par E^{t}. side R.

1765 Mr. Galloway's Intelligence 21st. Octo^{r}.[2]

Curygong or Gurrygong[3] is situated on y^{e} little River Dherla, which has its Source in y^{e} Bootan (Badtan) Countrey & falls into y^{e} Baramputrey on y^{e} west side about one day or 20 miles above Chilmary. The Place's Name where y^{e} River joins y^{e} Baramp^{y}. is Bagway or Boggua. The Dherla is navigable for large Boats all y^{e} Year. Course fr. y^{e} W^{t}. & WNW. Curygong is situated with respect to Chilmary WNW or NW dis^{t}. 30 miles, or one day Journey for a Cossid. It is said to be nearly y^{e} same distance from Dewangunge as from Chilmary.

Rungpour lies SW or South Westerly from Curygong, y^{e} distance one day's Journey for a Cossid or 25 or 30 miles. (14 Coss said to be). There is a good Road all y^{e} way. Rungpour is 4 days Cossid from Muxadabad.

Curesa is 6½ Coss to y^{e} N. w^{d}. of Curygong, & lies on y^{e} frontier of Baär.[4]

Tangrapara[5] ⊙ 78 near it. Mount Sosong E 6°-10′ N or True E 7°-5′ N.

Rungpour lies from the Mouth of the Teesta Creek near Manusmerra W 23°-30′ N dis^{tce}. 32·2 E. miles.

Manusmerra & Olyapour
W 29-45 N 10·05 E M.

Olyapour & Tytari
W 11 N 5·73.

Tytari & Rungpour
W 13 N 16·5.

From Olyapour W 12°-20′ N. 22·2.
From Tytari W 13° N 16·5.

The Estimated Distance from Rungpour to Olyapour is 12½ Coss. The true distance by the Road is 24 Miles, & the distance on a Line 22·2, so that a Coss must be reckoned about 1·8 Miles on a streight Line. By y^{e} Roads it nearly agrees with 2 Miles, the common Calculation.[6]

---

[1] A village below the junction of the Lakhmia and Banar rivers.

[2] On the 21st Oct^{r}. 1765 Rennell was surveying the 'Bermya' creek (*ante* p. 52) between the Lakhmia and old Brahmaputra rivers, at the beginning of his expedition to Goalpara. I can find no mention of M^{r}. Galloway elsewhere.

[3] Kurigram, on the right bank of the Dharla R. in the Rangpur district.

[4] Cooch Behar.

[5] A village on a large island in the Brahmaputra below Chilmari.

[6] *See* ante p. 123.

A Journey of Mr. Walker's.[1]

	From Rungpour to Gora Gatt ..	S½W	17 Coss.	These 3 Places lie on y^{e} same River.[2]
	To Gooangunge ..	SSE	6	
4 Coss to the NNE of Rungpour is y^{e} Monaash Creek,[3] & a Coss farther E$^{t.}$ is y^{e} Teesta.	To Seebgunge ..	SBE	6	
	To Jamalgunge ..	W½S	10	On a small Creek.
	To Shawpour ..	SW	5	Do.
	To Saamgunge ..	N.	6	Do.
	To Budall ..	N½E	2	
Guzgotta is 4 Coss from Rungpour, & lies on the Monaash.	To Buxygunge ..	NE	6	
	To Nabobgunge ..	NBE	7	On a small Creek.
	To Rungpour ..	NNE	13	

Mr. Walker's Route from Rampour Bolio to Gorygott[4]—

From Bolio to Bobbanygunge[5] NE 13 Coss.

To Bullowah .. .. 5 do. Here he Crossed the Purnabubah River which comes from Raasgunge & Denospour.[6]

From Bullowah to Carrihey ..	7	Coss	a large Village.
to Naddiol ..	11	do.	do.
to Gorygott	7	do.	do.

Mr. Walker's Intelligence—

In y^{e} District Of Denosp^{r}.	From Rungpour to Raasgunge	WSW	..	21 Coss.
	From do. to Fazydunga[7]	NWBW	..	22 do.
	To y^{e} Boutan Countrey	N.	..	30 or 35 Coss.

Computed Distances—

	From Olyapour[8] to Gurygong ..	6	Coss.
A Par is here reckoned 3 Coss or 5.4 miles on a streight Line.	to Rungpour ..	12½	do.
	to Raasgunge ..	3	days Travell^{g}.
	to Baggoa ..	6	Coss.
	to Chilmary ..	12	do.

Stages—From Olyapour to Curygong—

To Maldywary	2	Gurry[9]	2 Par.
Cotipour	2	do.	
Durgapour	2	do.	
Lowwa	2	do.	
Potyapar	2	do.	
Malwanga	6	do.	

---

[1] To the south of Rangpur. [2] The Karatoya. [3] The Manas, now a branch of the main channel of the Teesta.

[4] Rampur Boalia, on the Ganges, to Goraghat, an old military outpost of the Muhammadans, south of Rangpur.

[5] Bhawaniganj. [6] Rajganj and Dinajpur.

[7] A village on the Teesta to the south of Jalpaiguri.

[8] Ulipur, in the peninsula between the Dharla and Teesta rivers.

[9] Ghari, a clepsydra or water clock, measuring 24 minutes, the eighth part of a 'Par' or 'Pour.'

Collyana--Consuma on y^{e} R. Mallyjole.[1]
Continagore[2] on the Doppaw R.
Corenaw on the P. Bubaw.[3]
Raunpour on the Mohananda-Chera.[4]
(Mr. Walker.)

---

[1] The Malijol is an artificial canal connecting the Atrai with the Dhapa (or Doppaw of Rennell), a tributary of the Purnabhaba (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VII, p. 361). Buchanan Hamilton says that it was dug by a Mahomedan Chief named Sadut Ali, and until the Teesta deserted its old channel in 1787, carried a large quantity of water (Martin, Eastern India, Vol, II, p. 597).

[2] Kantanagar, a celebrated temple dedicated to Kantaji, 11 miles north of Dinajpur, on the Dhapa R. The temple is built on the ruins of a fort belonging to Virat Raja, one of the heroes of the Mahabharata.

[3] The Purnabhaba R., on which Dinajpur is situated.

[4] Probably the Chiramoti, a tributary of the Mahananda.

APPENDIX A.

RAJNAGAR AND LURICULE. (*See* Journal, pp. 31, 39.)

I am indebted to Mr. F. D. Ascoli, of the Indian Civil Service, for the following information collected while he has been engaged on the settlement of the District of Faridpur :—

Rajnagur :—This place was swept away by the Kirtinasa river in 1871-2, and Luricule by the same river nine years later, together with Jaopsa pagoda. The ground on which they stood has since re-formed, and that course of the Kirtinasa is now practically dry.

Rajnagur was built by Raja Raj Ballabh, who flourished in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Originally a poor man, he acquired a large fortune as peshkar (agent) of the Nowarrah mahals at Dacca (lands, the profits from which were used for the maintenance of the fleet), and built a house at Rajnagnar, which was at that time a 'bhil' or lake, called Bhil Deema. This he drained, and covered the site with extensive tanks and buildings, which were added to by his sons and grandsons. The most notable buildings were the temples Naba Ratna (nine spired); Pancha Ratna (five spired); Saptadas or Shata Ratna (seventy or one hundred spired); and the Ekeesh or Ekabinsha Ratna (twenty-one spired). A description of these with a photograph and several drawings has been published in a Bengali work, the History of Bikrampur, by Jogendra Nath Gupta. Old men of the locality remember to this day the beauty of the architecture of the place.

Luricule or Noreekole :—These names are identical, ল and ন being readily interchangeable in Bengali. The old name of the place was Sripur Shahabunder and it is mentioned by Ralph Fitch, who visited it in 1586, as an important town, where "great store of cotton cloth is made."[1] Since the place was swept away by the Kirtinasa the land has been re-formed, and old men of the locality still remember the buildings, which were yet standing some 30 years ago. The principal buildings were a mosque, a ghat or landing place, and a masonry bridge over the Callygonga, not mentioned by Rennell; besides these there were the ruins of many brick houses, one of which may have been the Portuguese Church. It appears that the name of the place was changed to Luricule about 150 years ago, which would agree very well with its derivation from the title of the Marquis of Louriçal, as suggested in the note on p. 39.

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[1] J. Horton Ryley, 'Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India and Burma', London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1899, p. 118. It may be noted that Ryley identifies the 'Serrepore' of Fitch with Serampur, the former Danish settlement on the Hughli above Calcutta. But this cannot be the case, for Fitch says that Serrepore is six leagues from 'Sinnergan' (Sonargaon), the ancient Muhammadan capital of East Bengal, near Dacca, and it was on his way up the Meghna and Ganges, from 'Chatigan' (Chittagong) that Fitch visited Serrepore. It is correctly identified by Blochmann (Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XLII, Pt. 1, p. 230) as "Sherpur Firinghi, marked by Van den Broucke a little south of Idrakpur, on the Dalasari" (T. H. D. L.)

Traces of the Portuguese are still to be met with in the neighbourhood. They were great traders in the days of Akbar, as Fitch relates, and were employed by Raja Raj Ballabh in managing his estates. Two distinctly Portuguese names still exist near Luricule, *viz.*, Howla Gonzales, an old land tenure in the neighbouring 'mauza' of Kamarpur, and a tank at Naria (a mile west of Mulfatganj), called Dorta Dighi (or Da Orta's Tank), after a 'Firinghi' still remembered in the locality for his kindness and liberality.

Finally, it may be noted that the 'Chiddypour Creek', which passes by Luricule, is the real Callygonga River; the river marked as the Callygonga in Rennell's Atlas is the Naya Nadi Rathkhola, *i.e.*, the 'New Chariot Path River,' so called because in the early part of the eighteenth century this was the path, so it is averred, along which the chariot was drawn at the Sripur Rath-jatra festival. The deepening of the path led to the formation of the creek, and it has finally become the bed of the mighty river Kirtinasa.

APPENDIX B.

(*See* Journal, p. 62.)

The Revd. W. K. Firminger has very kindly placed at my disposal the following letter of Rennell's, which he has recently discovered among the Records preserved at Murshidabad. Godagary, near which place the incident occurred, is on the left bank of the Ganges, due north of Murshidabad:—

To Richard Becher Esq.
Chief of the Controuling Council of Revenue
at Murshidabad

Bowanygunge

Decr. 9 1770.

Sir,

I beg leave to lay before you a Complaint against Caddar Beg, a Mogul & Zemindar of a small District named Pulsah, lying about 5 Coss inland from Gadagary. I am employed on a Survey of the Roads, etc., on the North side of the Ganges, & halted near Pulsah, the 5th instant, at Noon. A few minutes after our Arrival the Villagers came arm'd, & threatened to fall upon us. I asked them if they had any Complaint to make. They abused me, told me no, & insisted that I should go away. We soon dispersed them without making use of any Weapons, as I never suffer a Sepoy to fire till matters come to an Extremity. Whilst they were in the action of running away, we caught one of them, a Burkundass, who had entangled himself in the Jungle. I enquired of him who the Village belonged to, & (after disarming him) sent him with a message to Caddar Beg, informing him of my Business in these Parts.

From this Time none of my People enter'd the Village, altho' everything seemed quiet: yet, about two hours afterwards, a Mogul (Caddar Beg) appear'd on Horseback, & with him a very great Rabble, some of them armed with Matchlocks, and the rest with Pykes and Swords, etc. Without sending me any Message, he came within Call and told me that he was come to fight me. I was obliged to have Recourse to my Sepoys, but hoping to end the matter with little Bloodshed, I aimed a single shot at the Mogul which, however, missed him, but killed a man close by him. This had the desired effect of making them retire to a greater Distance; but they kept us in continual Alarm by sending parties into the Jungles on every side of us: During this time the Mogul remained in Sight, and sent me several insolent Messages—one of them in particular so full of Abuse and Menaces that I thought myself fully authorized to chastise the Messenger, which I did. The rest contained hints of his Independence, together with Orders for me to depart. To one of these I replied by showing the Messenger the Sepoys, Arms, and camp Equipage, by which he might be assured that we belonged to the Company, for the Mogul affected to believe that we were Robbers. Even after this, he persisted in sending his Messenger, & using threatening Gestures, till, finding it had no Effect, he fell into the opposite extreme, and began to apologise for his Behaviour, which he imputed to his ignorance of my Station & Employment. You may imagine, Sir, that his Plea was extremely ill-grounded, after I had taken such Pains & exhausted my Patience to convince him. As he now acknowledged his Conviction, I desired his personal Attendance, which he declined.

I flatter myself, Sir, that the above Relation needs no comment to convince you of the great Affront I have rec'd, &, through me (as I humbly conceive) my Employers likewise. I have not yet laid an Acct. of it before the Governor, hoping that you will do me the justice the Case requires.

In these Expectations,
I remain with Respect, Sir,
Your most Obedient Servant,
J. Rennell.

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BENGAL *and* BAHAR

No. IX.

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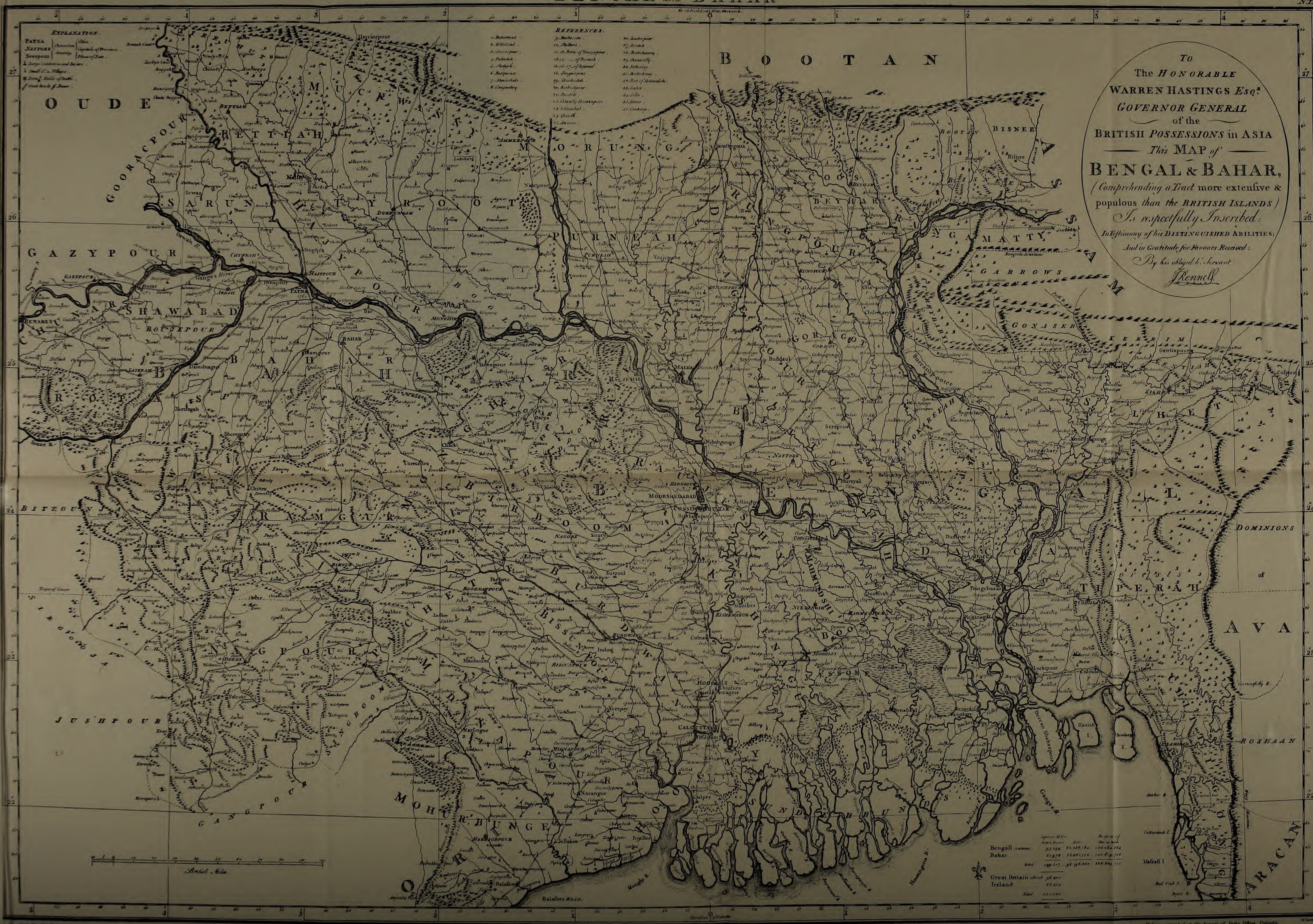
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The HONORABLE
WARREN HASTINGS Esq.r
GOVERNOR GENERAL
of the
BRITISH POSSESSIONS in ASIA
This MAP of
BENGAL & BAHAR,
(Comprehending a Tract more extenſive & populous than the BRITISH ISLANDS)
Is reſpectfully Inscribed:
In Teſtimony of his DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES;
And in Gratitude for Favours Received;
By his obliged h.ble Servant
J. Rennell
EXPLANATION
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BOOTAN
BISNEE
SARUN
BETTIAH
MUCKWANPOUR
MORUNG
TYROOT
PURNEAH
COOSBEYHAR
RUNGAMATTY
GARROWS
ASAM
GAZYPOUR
SHAWABAD
BOUJEPOUR
ROTAS
BAHAR
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DACCA
TIPERAH
DOMINIONS of AVA
RAJEMAL
MOORSHEDABAD
CALCUTTA
JUSHPOUR
SINGBOOM
CHETA NAGPOUR
PACHETE
MIDNAPOUR
MOHURBUNGE
ORISSA
GANGPOOR
SUNDERBUNDS
ROSHAAN
ARACAN
CHITTIGONG
Balasore ROAD
British Miles
Meridian of Calcutta
Bengall
Bahar
Great Britain
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Total

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LISU (YAWYIN) TRIBES OF THE BURMA-CHINA FRONTIER

BY

ARCHIBALD ROSE, F.R.G.S.

AND

J. COGGIN BROWN, B.Sc., F.G.S.

SIR·WILLIAM·JONES
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Historical Introduction.

Near the south-east corner of Thibet lies a tract where three great rivers, the Salween, the Mekong and the Yangste, run side by side within a belt of 50 miles,[1] fed by few tributaries and divided by the great mountain masses which here, and for a considerable distance to the south, have made the geography and history of the little-known and deeply interesting region marked out by Nature as the Burma-China Frontier.

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[1] "The Rivers of the Himalayas and Thibet," Part III of "Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Thibet," by Col. S. G. Burrard and Mr. H. H. Hayden (1907), p. 127.

The province of Yunnan and its surrounding areas form the present home of numerous tribes, which have been driven towards it in a succession of human waves, and there is probably no district in the world where the tides of humanity have left so varied a deposit as in these mountain tracts forming the frontier lands of two great empires. Whilst the forces of Nature have been driving man from his northern home, the Chinese have been making a steady and irresistible advance from the east, till the high mountainous tracts of Yunnan, Kueichow, and Ssu-chuan in part, have become the refuge and the home for those whose physical or numerical weakness has compelled them to cede the fertile places of the earth to a more powerful invader. The earlier migrations have been gradually pressed back, the Thibetan races proper have been unable to force their way further south and the Chinese have pressed slowly in, occupying the favoured places and leaving, in western Yunnan for example, only the malarial though fertile valleys to the once powerful race of Shans.

Century after century the same process has been repeated throughout the provinces of China, new races have been met and conquered, or absorbed with untiring patience, leaving a people with the striking physical dissimilarities of the Cantonese, the Shantung men and the Ssuchuanese, but with a common language and literature and a common social system which has welded them into a great empire. In the outlying province of Yunnan the same process is at work at the present day, the Chinese have posted themselves as far west as Tengyueh and even here, where they form an island community amidst a sea of varying tribes, the forces of law and wealth, of organization and intermarriage, are gradually impressing their neighbours with a terror of the Chinese power and winning them to a desire for absorption without appeal to arms. Of all these early races the Shans for a time succeeded in founding an empire, but, after a term of power lasting five hundred years, they fell back before the advance of the Mongol emperors in the 13th century, whilst the wilder tribes have probably remained un-united, and are now isolated in their mountain fastnesses, awaiting the time when their call shall come and " the dew-drop slip into the shining sea."

Glancing back over the early history of western Yunnan,—a history known to us chiefly through the researches of Professor E. H. Parker[1] and his translations of the Chinese Annals,—we find that the Chinese had clearly defined relations with the Shan or Ailao empire of (modern) Talifu in the first century of our era. In about A.D. 50 the Ailao king Hien-lih came into conflict with the Chinese, was defeated and became a vassal of China. The submission of other chiefs followed, and upwards of half a million of their subjects were grouped together to form the prefecture of Yung-chang Fu. In A.D. 220 China was split up into three empires, and the Ailao drop out of sight for some four hundred years, when they reappear again (A.D. 650) as the Nanchao. On the west the Nanchao empire touched Magadha (modern Bengal), on the north-west it reached Thibet, to the south it is supposed to have extended into Cambodia whilst its boundaries to the east and north-east are not known. After varying fortunes the Tali State was finally won by the all-conquering Mongol Khan, the great Kublai, in 1254, and a few years after the establishment of Mongol power Marco Polo, the Venetian, travelled through the province. From the descriptions of *Ser*[1] Marco it is clear that the wilder tribes fringed the valleys much as they do to-day, and the marches of the more civilized Shans and Chinese were doubtless constantly harried by bands of their lawless but disorganized neighbours. In the intervening centuries the Chinese have gradually strengthened their influence, but their hold is still of the lightest, and the Lisu of the Upper Salween are even to-day entirely independent of their power and influence. As far as authentic records go, therefore, we find little change in the position of the tribesmen, and the date of their arrival in these frontier mountains must be sought in other places than the pages of history. One thing is certain however, disunited and unorganized as is the Lisu Tribe to-day, it adheres to its simple animism or nât-worship, in which the ancestral ghost plays a most important part, and no branch shows any trace of Buddhist thought or legend. There seems little doubt therefore that the date of their departure from their northern home must have preceded the wave of Indian thought which swept across Thibet and into Eastern Asia, leaving an unmistakable influence on the simple creeds with which it came in contact.

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[1] "Translation of the Annals of the Chinese Dynasty of Tang," by Prof. E. H. Parker, taken from his book "Burma, with special reference to her relations with China."

Life in a Lisu Village.

But let us climb to the mountain tops, to the sources of the frontier streams at a height of eight or nine thousand feet, and see these people in their homes. Nestling in some mountain cleft will be found a village of bamboo-wattled houses, thatched with grass and betrayed only by the smoke curling upwards through the thickets of fir and dwarf bamboo. The first thought of the inhabitants is a shy terror of the invader, the suspicion natural in a race living in a land where every man's hand is against them. Reassured as to the intentions of their visitors, however, the first instinct of the Lisu is one of hospitality and a ready welcome is extended by the oldest lady in company to enter, to sit round the fire on the rough stone hearth, and to drink the spiced country spirit, fermented from millet or from maize. In the houses there is little to suggest the industry of their Chinese neighbours, a few bamboo baskets and a rough loom for weaving their hempen clothes being the only evidences of the labours of the Lisu day, whilst the children toy with their tiny cross-bows and notch the fuel billets with their dâhs.

Stories of the Chase.

It is soon evident that the men are more congenially employed in the adventures of the chase than in cultivating their roughly-tilled fields for a scanty supply of grain, and a hunt is suggested with fire-side tales of bears and panthers and the little barking deer. At the first grey of dawn we are awakened by our wild neighbours and told that we must be moving, a motley gathering assembling outside the tents, every man armed with a cross-bow and a dâh—the big two-handed sword in a section of a wooden-sheath—whilst their families swell the gathering and every child turns out who is big enough to carry his bow.

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[1] The "Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian."

Struggling along the steep mountain sides, through bracken and bramble and rough low cover, many pheasants are put up by the native lurchers, and it soon becomes evident that every man is out for the best sport he can get and that there is little idea of an organized campaign.

Still no sight of the animals which had sounded so near from the tales of the evening, and it is whispered confidentially that it may take six to seven days to track down a bear ; small game abounds however, the shooting is good, and one young Lisu's cross-bow brings down a partridge at a distance of fifty paces. But before the day is over the clouds roll up, the whole country-side is wrapped in mist and the rain comes down in torrents, as we wend slowly back to the village through the dripping undergrowth and huddle round the fires, rejoicing in the heat and the stinging smoke, as our clothes are dried and food prepared in the great iron pot suspended from a beam. Bamboo tubes are handed round, and the strong pleasant wine makes the blood run faster as the men vie with one another in describing the day's sport. As we rise to go our hostess steadily resists, insisting that the cellar of the house is not yet empty—surely the strongest proof of Lisu hospitality.

Evening in Camp.

And so to our tents on the grassy knoll beyond the village, with a thousand frontier peaks, dominated and crowned by the great Salween Divide, deepening from rose to heliotrope and then to purple in the soft autumn lights of :—

"..................... a sun's slow decline
Over hills, which resolved in stern silence
O'erlap and entwine
Base with base, to knit strength more intense."

Suddenly a waving mass of pine torches winds along the hill and the camp is filled with tribesmen, young men and old, gay striplings and shy maidens all in their best, half reluctant but wholly pleasing as they gather round the fire. The men are in long hempen coats and short breeches, with broad turbans and leggings from the same rough loom, their ornaments being necklaces and bracelets of white cowries and plaited straw. The women are in brighter robes, their short coats, skirts and hoods all of hemp but designed in shades of maroon, blue, buff and white, whilst their great silver ear-rings, their bead necklaces and the broad silver plates fastening their tunic give a dainty finish to the whole. They are sturdily built, cheery people with sepia skins, and in the firelight and in contemplation of a brimming bamboo tube, their faces show a vivacity and sympathy which is unusual among the Chinese. Tale follows tale as the evening wears on, and the old blind chief at last unfolds his story of the birth of Man, the flood and the scattering of the races. Let us tell it in his own words, broken and cheered by the occasional applause of his fire-lit audience.

Legend of the Origin of the Lisu Race.

In the beginning the Heavenly Lord was angry with the people and he chose out a pumpkin-grower and called him, saying, "Take the seed of a gourd and plant it in the ground and wait for the fruit, for you will need pumpkins no more." And the man heard and did as he was bid, and his gourd grew daily till it became the greatest in the land. And the clouds gathered and the rain fell without ceasing and the water rose over the earth. Then the man took his younger sister and said, "We will cut a hole in the gourd and hide ourselves lest we also perish in the flood." And they were carried in the gourd for many days, now high, now low, as the waters rose and fell, till at last they reached earth once more, and, opening the fruit, they found all living things destroyed and they alone were left. Now they would have married, but the man said, "You are my sister so how can it be." But they consulted together, saying, "We are saved from the flood through the Heavenly Gourd, let us ask the Great Lord and he will decide." And they climbed to a mountain peak carrying with them two round mill-stones, one with the axle fixed through its centre, the other empty, and they agreed if the empty one linked to the axle of the other, it should be for a sign that they might wed. So they rolled the stones down the mountain side and, as they rolled, they linked together and so reached the valley below. Then the man married the woman beneath the plum tree, and they were fruitful and nine sons were born to them. Now as the sons grew to be men they wandered forth, each to his own country, and founded the races of men. But two sons loved one another, and journeying together set out for the mountain lands, and they were hunters and the first of the Cross-bowmen. And the elder brother took a monkey to wed but the younger, not knowing, slew the monkey, and his brother was sorrowful, saying, "You have slain my wife." So the younger brother prepared sweet food and the monkeys came to eat, and he took another which pleased his brother so that he kept her for a wife. But the younger brother grew angry and, taking his cross-bow, he slew this monkey also, and his brother was wroth and drove him from his home. Then the Spirit of the Hills comforted the wanderer saying, "Do not grieve, I will send two maidens whom ye shall wed." And behold the maidens, one very fair, but the other homely. And the younger brother cunningly took earth and rubbed it on the face of the beautiful maid and, leading them to his brother, said, "See here the maidens I have found, choose which shall be for you." And the elder chose the homely maid, but, when the younger washed the earth from the face of his bride, the elder rose up and in his rage he cast him into a great cavern and took the beautiful maid for himself. Now the younger brother travelled down and down into the dark cavern till at last he came to the Underworld, and he found it like the world above with sky and trees, but the tigers came and troubled him grievously. So he took the stem of a tree and he struck them as they came, slaying many. And the Flying Squirrel came to him saying, "You have killed the tigers and are surely a holy man, why do you grieve?" And he answered, "My world is the world above and I am driven here below." Then the Flying Squirrel made a compact and would carry him to earth again if he would only promise not to mock at him, to which the younger brother then agreed. Now the Flying Squirrel had nine tails, and, grasping one of them, the cross-bowman was carried up towards the earth until he chanced to laugh, and as he laughed, one tail fell from the squirrel's back. Then the man narrowly escaped, grasping another tail, and so nine times he disobeyed, nine times he laughed, and nine times fell a tail, till only the stump remained. Then fear seized him lest he should not reach his home and he clung to the last stump, laughing no more, and so he hardly escaped and was brought at last safe back to earth again.

Lisu Dance.

As the story wears on the younger boys and girls show signs of restlessness, looking evidently to some faster and more furious fun. Fresh logs are brought in and piled on the fire whilst a guitar and bamboo Jew's harp are lightly touched in a low and not untuneful measure. Gradually the lines form, boys and girls locking their fingers together or throwing their arms round each others' shoulders and swaying their bodies to the rhythm of the music, as the old blind man and an old dame in turn lead them in a chant. "Alas the great Lords will leave us," sings the leader, and the whole group rejoins, their voices rising higher and the measure moving faster as they circle round the fire, slowly at first, then with growing enthusiasm as the logs blaze brighter on their flushed faces, their bright dresses and silver ornaments, till at last they are singing and circling in a glory of revelry, the wildest, weirdest dance well set in that background of dark peaks and fire-lit pines. The fire dies down, the last cup of wine is drained and the revellers vanish into the night silently and unexpectedly as they had come, whilst we are left alone by the dying embers. At our feet the ranges stand dimly outlined against the infinite blue of the night, and the sweet influences of the Pleiades and the bands of Orion look down upon the Lisu village with its festivals and its struggles as peacefully as they have regarded the ways of men from the beginning of time.

Lisu Songs.

The minstrel is charged with the theme, and weaves into his legend such wandering thoughts as the occasion suggests or as the inspiration of his muse dictates. Distant as is the village of these songs from any great stream, their festivals carry them at once to their early home at the head of the waters of the mighty Salween, and there is evidently a wild poetry in these highland minstrels which can produce so beautiful a simile as that of the two converging streams sung in the chant below :—

First Chanty.[1]

Alas, alas the great Lords will leave us.
Great are the strangers from afar
Now come to our mountain homes.
Let their names be our song.
Let our welcome be warm though our gifts be poor.
When they came fortune smiled :
In our song, in our dance, hail our guests.
Long years ago from the swift-running river,
From the head of its waters our ancestors came.
But now we are scattered far over the land.
In the beginning man was created by the Heavenly Lord ;
A brother and sister were made to inhabit the earth.

---

[1] The words of these songs are literally translated from the Lisu, as given by the old singer.

They married, they were fruitful
And nine sons were their offspring.
They married, were multiplied and scattered afar.
From these nine have sprung the races of men ;
And now they are divided, spread over the mountains,
Countless are they and numberless the tongues they speak.

* * * *

Second Chanty.

Alas, alas the great Lords will leave us.
Like two streams from the mountains our waters have met,
Have met and for awhile have flowed together.
Now they must part again, each taking its own course,
Winding through the valleys, turned by the mountains
Till the current of our lives at last shall meet again,
Meet in the great flood and our waters flow together
Swift and deep, to part no more.

"Black" or Independent Lisu.

Remote as are the homes of the "White" (Pai) and the "Flowery" (Hua) Lisu, the branches of the tribe which have been even so slightly affected by Chinese influence, the "Black" or independent Lisu hold the upper reaches of the Salween river between Latitudes 26°-30′ and 27°-30′, and no authority has dared to question their freedom in those wild and inhospitable regions. The late Mr. George Litton and his companion Mr. Forrest[1] endured great hardships during an advance into their country as far north as Latitude 26°-45′ in 1905, and in the spring of the present year an expedition has tried to learn more of this wild valley, which has been so closely guarded by Nature. The two German travellers[2] who led the party lost their lives at the hands of the tribesmen near O-ma-ti (about Lat. 27°-15′), and their Indian servant alone survived to tell the tale. From all accounts these Black Lisu differ little in their way of life, their customs, their dress or their language from their less savage kinsfolk, save that they are hemmed in by steep, snow-clad peaks to a narrow river valley choked with dense tropical jungle and tough lianas, where there is little opportunity for obtaining the bare necessaries of life. They have learned the art of arming themselves better than their neighbours, their cross-bows of wild mulberry wood will carry an arrow smeared with deadly aconite into an enemy at a distance of fifty or sixty paces and, known to the Chinese by the name of "Lutzu" or Salween Men, they have become the terror of the Upper Salween. Even the neighbouring villages are generally at feud, owing to cattle raids and reprisals, and when the men are not engaged in hunting or in harrying their neighbours, they lay wait for the rare Chinese traders who cross the ranges from the Mekong, and rob and murder all who venture near their inhospitable homes. This branch of the tribe is evidently utterly savage, filthy in their persons, too lazy to till the ground except for the barest subsistence, and living on millet, maize, pork and wild honey. According to the Indian, who escaped after five months of captivity among them, they have no lamps or candles and at night the men sit round the fires smearing their faces with lard and ashes, drinking deeply of their fiery spirit and for ever plotting robbery and murder.

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[1] Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XXXII, Mr. Forrest's Account of Journey to the Upper Salween.

[2] Dr. Brunhuber and Herr Carl Schmitz.

Above latitude 27°-30′ the Salween Valley opens out into broader reaches and the wild Lisu are replaced by a more tractable folk, the real Lutzu, who appear to be unconnected with them in language or in customs. At present the Independent Lolos of western Ssuchuan and the Lisu of the Upper Salween are the only two of the frontier tribes which have effectually resisted the onward advance of their powerful neighbours, and, for the Lisu, it will probably be many years before the Chinese venture to cross that great limestone barrier with its snow-clad peaks, to penetrate the dense jungle of the malarial Salween Valley—of which they have a superstitious dread—and to face the cross-bows and poisoned arrows of this disunited but fierce and warlike race.

Whilst the above description will serve as a general idea of the life of the Lisu, it may prove useful and suggestive to give a more detailed account of their customs and their language, and also a series of anthropometrical measurements, from which a clue may eventually be found to link them with some at least of the many tribes living near at hand.

Previous Workers.

Scattered through various publications many of which are difficult to obtain, there are numerous references to the Lisu people, and a brief notice of these is given below:—

DR. JOHN ANDERSON,[1] Medical and Scientific Officer to the expeditions under Colonel Sladen and Colonel Browne to Western China in 1868 and 1875, mentions the existence of Leesaws in the hills around the Hotha and Sanda valleys between Tengyueh and the Burma Frontier. He drew attention to the fact that they appeared to be the same people that Cooper[2] met, under the name of Leisu, on the northern frontiers of Yunnan and in Yunnanese Thibet. Anderson also gives a brief and incomplete account of their dress, and a short vocabulary of their language "which," he remarks, "shows a strong affinity to Burmese."

SIR J. GEORGE SCOTT, K.C.I.E.,[3] in the ethnological chapters of the "Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States," has brought together much information collected by Captain H. B. Walker, Mr. E. C. S. George, Mr. G. C. B. Sterling, C.I.E., and other workers. We have compared this with our own observations in the present paper. Sir George Scott, however, separates the Lihsaws or Lisaws from the Lisus, and seems inclined to regard them as a separate race.

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[1] See "A report on the expedition to Yunnan *viâ* Bhamo," by John Anderson, M.D., etc., Calcutta, 1871. Also "Mandalay to Momien," a narrative of the two expeditions to Western China of 1868 and 1875 by the same author, London, 1876.

[2] Cooper "Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce."

[3] See "Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States," Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 587-588. Rangoon, 1900.

The late PRINCE HENRY OF ORLEANS, in the course of his adventurous journey with MM. Roux and Briffaud, travelled along the valley of the Yunnan Salween inhabited by the Lissou (Lisu) tribes. He has given accounts of their marriage customs, worship, dances and sorcery, and also vocabularies of their language. Prince Henry's experiences form the basis of the remarks on the Lisus in the Burma Gazetteer.

The late MR. G. J. L. LITTON, His Majesty's Consul in Tengyueh, probably possessed a more intimate acquaintance with and deeper knowledge of the Lisu people than has fallen to the lot of any other European. He travelled extensively amongst them and made a journey through the portion of the Salween where they live uninfluenced by Chinese civilization, and his death shortly after his return has probably robbed us of much valuable information. A most interesting account of this last journey, however, has recently been published by Mr. Forrest in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XXXII.

MAJOR H. R. DAVIES,[2] in the course of his extensive journeys in Yunnan came across the Liso (Lisu) tribes in various places, and has given an excellent summary of his observations, to which reference is made in the body of this paper.

MR. E. C. YOUNG[3] met numerous Lissu villages when crossing from Yunnan into Assam.

MR. R. F. JOHNSTON[4] found Liso and Moso living together on amicable terms in the Yung-ning district, and in the description of his travels makes numerous references to these people.

MR. T. W. KINGSMILL'S[5] contributions to the general question of the enthology of the tribes of the western frontier of China will also prove of value to those interested in this subject, though he does not deal specifically with the Lisu race.

GILL, BABER, and DESGODINS have also mentioned the Lisu under various names in their writings, but their work unfortunately has not been accessible for reference in this paper.

THE PRESENT WRITERS have personal knowledge of the Lisu communities scattered through the Northern Shan States (British), have lived with the Hua Lisu of the Tengyüeh, Kuyung Kai and other frontier districts, have travelled amongst the same people in the Likiang prefecture, and have met them in their most easterly settlement near Wu-Ting Chou, and their most westerly settlement near Myitkyina in Upper Burma. They are perhaps the only living Europeans who have come into contact with the Black Lisu of the Upper Salween.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 616-617. See also "Burma", a handbook of practical information, by Sir J. G. Scott, K.C.I.E., London, 1906, p. 95.

[2] "Yunnan", the link between India and the Yangtse, by Major H. R. Davies, Cambridge, 1901, pp. 391-392.

[3] "A journey from Yunnan to Assam" by E. C. Young, Journal, R.G.S., Vol. xxx, No. 2, Aug. 1907, p. 152.

[4] "From Peking to Mandalay" by R. F. Johnston, M.A., F.R.G.S., London, 1908.

[5] "The Mantse and the Golden Chersonese," and "Ancient Thibet" by T. W. Kingsmill, Journal of the R. A. Society (China Branch), Vols. xxxv and xxxvii.

Early home and present distribution of tribe.

There seems little doubt that the Lisu came originally from the south-east corner of Thibet, following the Salween River, and the tribe still stretches along the Salween Valley from Latitude 27° 40′ to Lat. 25°. The "Black" or independent Lisu inhabit the reaches between Latitudes 27°-40′ and 26°-15′. They are found along the river below this point as far south as Lat. 25°, but gradually becoming more touched with Chinese influence in their southerly advance. In the confused mass of mountains between the Burma-China frontier and the Salween they are scattered in isolated villages over a large tract. The late Mr. G. Litton found them lying between the Yangtse and the Mekong in Lats. 27°-28°; Mr. R. F. Johnston met them on the Ssuchuan-Yunnan border at Yung-ning Hsien; they have also been found near Yangpei Ting, as far east as Wu-ting Chou and as far south as Keng-tung in the British Shan States. Major H. R. Davies believes that the Che-ti in French Laos (Lat. 20°-55′ and Long. 101°-45′) belong to the same race.

Accounts of earlier travellers report that the Lisu came from Nanking in Central China, but the evidence scarcely appears to warrant this conclusion, for the more southern communities are those most touched by Chinese influence, whilst the wilder and purer Lisu are found in the northern reaches of the Salween. We have found the Lisu convinced of an early home "by the head waters of the great River, where rice is unknown and mountain-goats abound," and strongly opposed to any exodus from Eastern China. In this connexion, however, it is interesting to notice that such tribesmen as are at all affected by Chinese blood and influence, persistently ascribe their origin to the eastern provinces of China, whence their new Chinese relations have doubtless come within the last few centuries or even generations.

Physical Characteristics.

Both men and women are stoutly built and of average height, though it is not unusual to find them tall and cleanly built especially among those of purer blood. They have sepia skins, hair which is coarse and practically black, and features cut more cleanly than the Chinese, their noses often being aquiline, their eyes straight and their chin well-pointed. In every branch of the tribe, even among the independent Lisu, the men shave the front of their head and leave a queue. In the Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai districts of Yunnan the women shave their heads, leaving only a lock at the back, which is plaited into a tail, but their heads are covered and their tonsure concealed by a drooping hood of many colours. Among the independent Lisu, and even in some communities near Tengyueh, the women's heads are not shaved, their hair being plaited in two tails, with a fillet bound across the front.

Dress of Men.

The distinctive dress of the Lisu is a long, undyed hempen coat reaching to the knees and open in front, short breeches and a pair of leggings hanging loosely at the ankles without shoes or socks. A broad hempen turban usually covers the head, though a Tam-o-Shanter is occasionally seen, also of hemp, whilst the wilder Lisu often wear a hat of deer-skin, which acts as a helmet and is sufficient to guard against an arrow wound. Among those who have been affected by Chinese influence and who attend the Chinese markets, the hempen clothes are inclined to give way to cotton cloth and the coat to be shorter and more in conformity with the Chinese cut. Even these men, however, will generally wear their buttonless gown below their Chinese outer coat, whilst all retain the leggings and make a profuse use of cowries, discs of bone, white buttons and seeds for decoration, chiefly in the form of necklaces, bracelets and bands for their hempen bags and dâhs. Necklaces and bracelets of plaited straw are common amongst them all. The wild Lisu wear a large silver ring ornamented with a cornelian suspended over their ears, which are also pierced for gold or silver wires, but the more southerly tribesmen wear no ear ornaments.

Dress of Women.

The original costume of the Lisu woman appears to have been a short coat and skirt of hemp, with leggings, and a fillet across the hair studded with silver or cowrie ornaments, and this is still retained in the Upper Salween district. Nearly every community and clan, however, appears to have its distinctive woman's dress; at Lotsolo (Salween about Lat. 26°-15′) Prince Henry found them "In a dress with parti-coloured sleeves, an armless blue waist-coat with miniature white checks and a brown border, and an apron and broad sash. Their costume was completed by a turban of, in some cases, a blue and red scarf fringed with cowries. Almost all had small coral earrings said to be peculiar to these "Hua" or "Flowery" Lissous." The most elaborate dress appears to be one used in the Kuyung Kai district and we, therefore, give a detailed description.

Head-dress: about 5 ft. long and 1½ feet broad; the central breadth a long piece of blue cloth, 5 times as long as each of the ends; the ends are made of pieces of cloth, sewn in strips of maroon, white and deep yellow. The ends are about 2 inches broader than the blue cloth, which is fringed with blue where the ends join it. On the outside edges of the end pieces and at each junction of the strips are long, double tassels consisting of clear beads in the upper part, joined by a cowrie to a large tassel of maroon wool; there being seven tassels at each end. Four inches from one end of the blue there is a strip of cloth about 3 feet long and 1½ inches broad, covered on one side with 42 white bone discs, varying in diameter from 1½ inches near the blue cloth to ¾ inch at the extremity, the cloth diminishing with them. This narrow strip is edged with red and yellow thread. To the 4th button are attached quadruple tassels of the same colour as the strips, and from the end button are suspended a series of eight tassels, consisting of beads and white seeds with fringes of maroon, buff and dark blue wool. The head-dress is worn like a puggaree, the blue part being twisted round the head and the stripes hanging in a double fold over the back, whilst the narrow, beaded strip is looped over to keep it in place, the whole having the appearance of a striped and tasselled hood.

Costume.—The women wear breeches reaching to the knee, and over these a blue coat, which reaches to the waist in front and to below the knees at the back, and to which is attached a loose over-jacket in alternate buff and cream squares, whilst a strip of cream and buff stripes about a foot deep edges the tail of the coat. The long tail has two rows of ornaments, an edging of white seeds and a row of white cowries about four inches above. Attached to the waist by a belt, and hanging over the long-tailed coat, is a long folded strip of blue cloth, pointed at each end and edged and tasselled with chocolate and cream shades, and which forms a triangular lappet. In front is a double apron of blue cloth, edged with cream hemp and a row of cowries at the bottom, which, in combination with the tail of the coat, has the appearance of a skirt and is held by a broad belt, bossed with rosettes of red cloth and cowries. The bodice is finished by a collar of dark red cloth and cowries hanging over the breast, where it is finished by great square plaques of silver. Big hooped earrings of silver are worn, and a number of bead necklaces of various shades of blue, red and yellow, thus completing a gay and striking costume.

Villages and Houses.

The houses are of plaited bamboo, thatched with grass and provided with a small verandah, which is usually enclosed. In the upper Salween they are raised on piles, with floors of bamboo poles, below which the animals are housed and from which a stair leads to the ground. In the mountains near Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai, however, they are built on the earth which is beaten to form a floor, and both houses and courtyards are kept neat and clean, a point in which our experience differs from other travellers. The poorer houses have only one room, but many are divided into three divisions, the stone hearth which is the social centre and round which men and women sit together smoking and drinking, being always at one end of the largest room, and having a big iron pot suspended above it. The pig-sties and byres are built apart from the house, and the Lisu has a fondness for an overhanging trellis above his rustic courtyard, generally covered with pumpkin vines, from which the golden fruit hang invitingly before the door. The villages are built in a nook in the mountains, often in small clearings in the forest, and are always hidden carefully from sight and approachable only by steep and difficult tracks. The houses have no windows or chimneys and the smoke escapes through the thatch and the open doorway, whilst the sunbeams dance through the latticed walls, which are doubtless penetrated with equal ease by the cold and driving mists.

Birth and Naming Customs.

Unlike the Kachins the Lisu women are not obliged to abstain from certain foods during pregnancy, and they go about their household duties as long as they are able. When the birth is imminent the husband calls to his ancestors by their spirit name, offering to them sacrifices of salt, poultry and wine whilst invoking their aid in the safe delivery of the child. The older women gather at the house and use a hempen string to tie the cord. The child is washed, whilst the birth is heralded to the ancestors by the attendant priest.

On the third morning after birth the child receives its " Buried " or Spirit name, a name which may be used by the parents for a few times during childhood, but which is never spoken as the child grows up and will cause great offence or even bloodshed from the mouth of a stranger. As the child is being named by its parents the father announces the buried name to the ancestors, and it is then seldom used until death, when the priests use it to summon the departing spirit, speeding it to its ancestral home.

On the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth day both mother and child are bathed, and neither are allowed to leave the family home until the last bathing is complete, lest disease overtake them. The young mother is forbidden to taste chillies, sour bamboo sprouts, strong liquor or sweets during this period, and she is attended by her friends and allowed to take no part in the duties of the household. When the month is complete a fowl is sacrificed to the ancestral ghost and mother and child are free to enter the village, no offering for the purification of the woman being demanded by Lisu custom. During the thirty days of confinement in the house the birth-bed is not moved, even the father avoiding it lest his skin be affected, and at the end of the period bed and bedding are either cleansed and purified or are destroyed by fire.

Death and Burial Customs.

Sir George Scott writes: "The Lishaws have no fixed cemeteries. The dead are buried in any remote place. The body is put in a wooden coffin and the spirits are consulted as to the time for interment. Till this arrives the body is kept in an open place, closely fenced round by stakes. When the fixed time comes the male friends and relatives cut down this fence with their dâhs and the coffin is then carried away to some lonely spot. The graves are not marked or tended in any way." Sir George does not state from what part of the country this custom was taken. In speaking of the "Pai" or White Lissou Prince Henry writes: "The instruments of the defunct are placed upon his tomb, with the addition of a sapeck inserted between the dead man's lips, none other than the ancient provision of Charon's obole for the ferry."

The wild Lisu of the Upper Salween and their kinsfolk of the frontier mountains are consistent in this care for the dead. As the end draws near nine grains of unhusked rice and nine small pieces of silver are given with water to the dying man to swallow, woman receiving only seven of each. When life is extinct two of the watchers take the hands of the dead man and crying to him by his spirit name they bid him return to his ancestors, taking care lest he stray from the path or be lured aside by enemies. Guns are fired to notify the village of the death, the body is washed and laid in the hollowed trunk of a tree or in a coffin, in which is often laid a wrap and cups of food and wine. Three cowries and a small lump of silver are thrown into the nearest torrent as an offering to the spirit of the streams, who will provide drinking water for the departed in his long sojourn. Should the funeral party cross a stream on their way to the grave, an offering is also thrown on behalf of the dead, who must pay for the privilege of crossing. On the day of burial it is not essential that an offering be made to the nâts, but a pig is always killed, and a feast prepared for those who assist in the ceremony, the festival of the dead being postponed until after harvest or some other time when food is plentiful. The priest then summons the departed spirit by its buried name and a pig and other offerings are presented, and are afterwards handed to the priest as his reward. On the way to the ancestral home there are nine hills, nine streams and nine roads for the spirit to traverse, and the priest warns it not to be misled by tracks of wild pig or other animals, at the same time crying to the ancestral ghosts that their child is starting to their home, bidding them watch for his approach and receive him in the spirit land. Above the grave from the branch of an overhanging tree or from some wooden stake, are hung the cross-bow, the sword and the rice-bags of the fallen tribesmen, and an earthen jar is buried in the grave with neck exposed above the ground. For three years the kinsmen and friends go regularly to the grave bearing offerings of cooked meats and refilling the vase with wine. In the spring of the third year they assemble again at the grave, now bearing uncooked rice and water for the funeral urn. Pouring their offering of water and scattering the grain upon the grave they call to the spirit of the dead to arise, to take the food and prepare it, for their ministrations will be needed no more. There seems in these customs some definite thought of resurrection, nor is it impossible that, as in the resurrection of Osiris, the Egyptians saw the pledge of a life everlasting beyond the grave, believing that every man would live eternally if only his surviving friends did for his body what the gods had done for Osiris,[1] so to these simple Lisu the last rites of the dead herald their comrade to the life beyond, as the springtime resurrection of the world releases the imprisoned spirit from the chains of death.

Marriage Customs.

Mr. Stirling, writing of the Lihsaws from Kengtung in the British Shan States, says: "They intermarry with Chinese but never with Shans, and they celebrate the Chinese New Year. The same house is sometimes occupied by more than one family, but there is no set custom. A wife is stolen from her parents in the first instance. The pair hide in the jungle for a day or two and then return to the village. A feast is given and a money payment made to the girl's parents proportionate to the means of the husband. Formerly the price of a wife was 150 rupees, but it is now very much less. Parents always consent to a match after the man has succeeded in abducting his bride. After the marriage feast and payment to the parents, the woman becomes her husband's property. There is no divorce, but he can sell her if they do not agree together."

Prince Henry, writing of the Lisu of Lotsolo (Salween, Lat. 26°-15′), says: "A curious marriage custom is observed amongst them. The wedding feast over, at nightfall the betrothed retires with her parents into the mountains and the swain has to seek them; which quest successfully achieved, the parents withdraw, and the newly wedded couple remain till morning upon the hill-side when they return to their homes. They have to repeat this ceremony for three nights before they may settle down."

Among the Lisu tribes of Kuyung Kai the marriage is arranged by a middleman, and the bridegroom usually pays to the parents of the bride a sum varying from eight to ten ounces of silver (about 25*s.*), although this money payment is declared to be a matter of arrangement and not an unchanging custom. On the wedding day the bride is escorted by a maiden from her village, and by her parents, relations and friends, to the door of the bridegroom's house, and in her procession comes the middleman bearing on his back a basket with the trousseau consisting of four or five garments made in her home. The party is met by the bridegroom and his friends at the door, a gun is fired, a bowl of wine is passed round from which all drink as a loving-cup, and the bride then enters the house with her party. For three days festival is kept up in the bridegroom's house ; wine, presented by the neighbours, stands in four large vessels on the floor, and all are expected to drink deep and to join in the dancing and singing, which mark the revels for these days. During this time the bride must remain in the house, but she is accompanied by her attendant maiden and may not join her husband until the revellers leave on the third evening, when the wine is finished and the bride then enters the house with her party. There is no abduction in this district and no divorce, even for a childless wife. The Rev. J. G. Geis of Myitkyina, who has worked for many years among the scattered Lisu villages on the Burma side of the frontier, and to whom we are indebted for much interesting information regarding the customs prevalent in his district, compares the moral standard of the Lisu very favourably with that of their Kachin neighbours, stating that there is little sexual intercourse before marriage and that it is counted a great disgrace for a Lisu girl to give birth to a child out of wedlock. The father of an illegitimate child has no claim on it, such as that of a Kachin father, and he is heavily fined unless a marriage can be satisfactorily arranged. In the Sadon and Sima Hill Tracts the village elder or a male relative act as go-between, seeking a bride from one of the classes which can properly intermarry. The price demanded for a maid is the same as was paid for her mother, and is kept in a family record. On the marriage day the village elders proceed to the house of the maid, first serving out wine to the youths who will assist them in bearing away the bride. At first she will make a show of resistance, kicking and biting her carriers, whilst her family cry to the ancestral ghost that their child is being borne away and that they are powerless to keep her. Arrived at the village boundary, however, the struggling maiden is released and she walks gaily to her future home with the wedding party. As she enters the bridegroom's house a fowl is killed and thrown behind her on the threshold, whilst water is sprinkled on the path, to cleanse it and cut short the progress of any evil spirit which might design to follow her into the house, and guns are fired to notify the village that the bride has been received and welcomed there. As the first meal is served the village elder calls upon the ancestral spirits of the two houses, and in their spiritual presence the father of the maid says to the bridegroom : "Here I bring to you my child : guard and keep her : hereafter we are friends." Then the middleman says to the man, "I have found you a wife who is handsome and strong : care for her and treat her kindly." The bridegroom in reply addresses the father and go-between, promising that he will play his part, the meal is eaten, an offering of food and wine is placed before the ancestral shrine, the three days of feasting begins, and the ceremony of marriage is complete.

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[1] "Adonis, Attis, Osiris" by Dr. J. G. Frazer. London, 1907, page 309.

We can only add that, although present-day proprieties may demand the offices of the middleman in matrimonial negotiations, there is in these highland tracts little of the cold-blooded and vicarious match-making, which is usual among the Chinese, and the young Lisus evidently have a personal vote in the management of their love affairs. One autumn day it chanced that we were encamped in a village where the mountain torrent was being bridged, an annual affair, marking the close of the freshets and the rainy season. The tribesmen had gathered from every village in the neighbourhood and worked with a will, felling trees from the hill-sides, slinging them from rock to rock, and binding the logs with bamboo strands. All were dressed in their best with their broadest turbans, their cowries and their swords, but one young gallant stood out as the finest of them all, most profuse in his ornaments, most strenuous in his work, the first to leap into the water for the fixing of a stay, the first to cross the single log that crossed the dangerous chasm. The onlookers whispered that he had come a courting from a distant village, and the lady of his choice looked on from among the bevy of gaily-dressed maids on the bank above. The completion of the bridge was celebrated with high festival, the wine flowing freely and the dance lasting far into the night. At first the men and maids formed in separate semi-circles, facing one another, but it was not long before they were dancing together and all shyness gone. Suddenly a maiden left her place and, wine-cup in hand, slipped into the darkness outside the fire-lit ring taking with her the young hero of the bridge. Cheek pressed to cheek and arms encircling each other's necks they drained the cup together and so their troth was plighted. In the cold light of morning came the father of the maid intriguing for the happy youth to serve as guide for us across the mountains. "Behold the prudent parent," quoth a neighbour, "honour and glory there may be in this affair, but he looks to those more solid benefits which will serve to make a worthier marriage gift."

Government.

The Lisu of the Upper Salween have their own hereditary chiefs, who generally exercise control over several villages lying close to one another. There appears, however, to be no unity among the race as a whole, and isolated villages are often found which recognize no chief. Between Latitudes 26°-15′ and 27°-40′ the tribesmen are entirely independent, and the Chinese show no desire to penetrate their ill-reputed land. Up to about Latitude 26°-15′ of the Salween Valley the "Pai" or White Lisu are subject to hereditary Sawbwas or chieftains, who recognize the Chinese authority and are called upon to pay an annual tax to the neighbouring district officials. These Sawbwas are often of Chinese or mixed descent and are assisted in their duties by Chinese clerks—doubtless in the interests of the suzerain power.

On the east bank of the Mekong the Thibetan Chief of Yetche exercises authority over a large number of Lisu, and in the Tien Tang Kuan, Ming Kuang and Ku Yung Kai districts hereditary Fuyi or chiefs, generally of Chinese descent, control the Lisu population and collect from them a small land tax. In the districts near Tengyueh, which are more directly under the influence of Chinese officialdom, the headmen of villages are allowed a small annual subsidy, in return for which they undertake the responsibility of protecting travellers and trading caravans from molestation and robbery when passing through their districts.

There appears to be little control over the land in these inaccessible mountain tracts, anyone who is sufficiently active to bring it into cultivation being free to do so—a privilege in which the Chinese hill-men find few competitors among the neighbouring Lisu, whilst they receive all encouragement from the officials who watch with satisfaction the peaceful advance of the men of Han, the onward march of progress and industry.

With regard to inheritance, the property of the father is divided equally amongst his sons, whilst the daughters are left portionless, as assets to the rest of the family, who may be expected to benefit from their wedding gifts in the fullness of time.

Accounts vary with regard to the keeping of slaves, it being generally reported that among the Black Lisu men are held in captivity and made to work as tillers of the fields, as hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are allowed to marry Lisu women and their children are free. It is also reported that they have no female slaves. Prince Henry was informed, however, that their prisoners were held to ransom (which is undoubtedly true), and that women were kept as bondswomen, rarely married, but that slaves might intermarry and their children would be free.

Language.

Unlike the Lolos, the Lisu have no written language, and it is strange to see their homes, even in proximity to Chinese settlements, utterly devoid of any written character, the most treasured possession of their literary neighbours. Three vocabularies are attached to this paper, which may prove useful as they are fuller and more complete than any which have been published before. They are chiefly interesting, however, in showing the close relation between the language of the different branches of the tribe, that of the Black Lisus being taken from a tribesman from the extreme North of the Salween area, whilst the Hua Lisu use the words given in the third column with little variation throughout the frontier mountains. It is believed that no vocabulary of the Black Lisu has been published before.

Crops.

The chief crops are maize, millet, buckwheat and hemp, the two first being much valued as producers of wine, whilst the last is needed for their clothes, the strands being boiled in wood-ashes to loosen the fibres. The independent Lisu have great trouble in obtaining salt, and their predatory habits may be traced in part to their desire for this necessary of life. Wild honey is collected by all and forms an important part of their diet. Both men and women are fond of tobacco, which is grown by the wild Lisu in the lower and warmer clearings near the river bank and is much prized by them. Opium is little used except in close proximity to the Chinese, and we have not met any of the tribesmen who are addicted to the drug. Pigs, goats, sheep and dogs are kept in most of the villages, but pork is the only meat which is used for food.

Religion.

The religion of the Lisus appears to be a simple form or animism or nât-worship, sacrifices being offered to the spirits of the mountains and hills, for whom little swinging altars—not unlike the nât altars of the Chingpaw (Kachins)—are suspended from the trees. The ancestral ghost is also an object of reverence if not of terror, and is honoured by an altar placed opposite to the door of the house—a simple shelf with shreds of red and white paper unmarked by characters—and offerings of wine. Their ancestral worship does not appear to have been borrowed from the Chinese, and is more probably one of the primitive acts of homage, from which the more elaborate Chinese system has been developed. Among the wilder Lisu medicines are not recognized, all ills being attributed to the influence of some malign spirit, whose wrath must be appeased by offerings and sacrifice. Prince Henry gives an interesting account of a thankoffering to the spirit of the Earth on behalf of an old woman who had recovered from illness. "On the ground in front of the sufferer's door had been set up a small wooden frame-work model of a house, with a bough stuck at each support. The structure covered some saucers of seeds and cakes, and behind it was arranged a measure of rice with two cups of wine upon it, and a distaff the thread of which was turned round the frame. A coarse paste effigy of the spirit presided over the whole. Before it was a basket containing a straw and three vertical bits of wood. An old Tongpa (sorcerer) squatted beside it uttering incantations. In one hand he grasped a fowl, which he first sprinkled with a twig dipped in the libation, while he recited the names of the spirits invited to the feast. Then, having opened the fowl's throat, he smeared the idol and the posts with the blood, and applied feathers to the parts thus anointed. The bird was then plucked and thrown into a pot, and the repast was ready for the invisible guests, while for his own portion the wizard received the plates of rice."

While speaking of the religious rites of the Lisu it may be well to refer to the "Spirit of the Bed" to which an altar is erected over the couch in every home, though the tribesmen are unable or reluctant to explain its significance.

The principal Nâts of the Lisu are MISI the great jungle Nât, MINA the earth Nât, MUHU the lightning demon, MIHI the spirit of the wind, MAKWA the Lord of Heaven and CHYI who has the healing power. These are Nâts of the first rank and take the highest honours of sacrifice, whilst the HINI or ancestral ghost plays the most important part in family festivals, such as marriages, births and deaths, or the departure of a man on some important expedition. The offerings are in the form of fowls, pigs, goats and wine, and they are usually made at the time of sickness or of harvest. When the ground is cleared for the new sowing MINA receives the promise of a gift, but the actual offering is not made until the in-gathering of the crops, when gifts are sacrificed to all.

There are two methods of consulting the Nâts, the first being through the prophets, by whose mouth the spirits speak, whilst the second is found in a family ceremony. Thirty-three strips of bamboo about a foot in length are taken in the hand and counted over, every ninth strip being retained between two fingers. The position of the strips then indicates whether any demand is being made by the Nâts and the nature of the offering which would prove acceptable. In the case of disease great preparations are made for consulting CHYI NI, who must be appeased in his capacity of healer. On the evening before the sacrifice all who will be expected to assist in the ceremony are duly notified and warned to abstain from all food, from betel, tobacco and all labour unconnected with the sacrifice. The sacrificial animal is eaten only by those who participate in the ceremony, and enough men are therefore chosen to prevent any waste, whilst the greatest care is taken in slaying the beast lest blood be drawn from

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Note.—We are indebted for the information regarding the Lisu Nâts to the Rev. J. G. Geis of Myitkyina, who has made a special study of this subject among the Chingpaw (Kachins) and Yawyin (Lisu) tribes on the Burma side of the frontier.

any man and the offering thus rendered unacceptable. Whilst the Chingpaws (Kachins) make offerings to ancestors who have been dead for many generations, the Lisu confine their offerings to those with whom they have been personally acquainted, and in all times of trouble or danger their first appeal is to MAKWA the Heavenly Lord, who can deliver them from every evil. There is no priestly caste among the Lisu, and any man or boy who is willing to learn the priestly language may act as intermediary in the appeals and sacrifices to the spirit world.

Position of the Lisu in the present classification of the tribes of Yunnan.

Chinese historians [1] with a regard for detail and a wealth of imagination which is staggering to the western mind have divided the tribes of this area into numberless groups of no value to the investigator, or have passed them by with the general application of "savage" or "barbarian." [1]

All attempts at scientific classification up to the present have been based on resemblances of language, but, in the study of questions of comparative philology,—especially in a country with the geography and history of the Burma-China Frontier,—it is too often forgotten that a resemblance of language is not necessarily a proof of close racial connexion. The reasons are obvious to the student and need not be discussed here. As to whether the evidences of history and customs, tradition and folklore, coupled with detailed and comprehensive anthropometrical research, will eventually bridge the gulf, which philology is always liable to leave, and will reduce order from the present chaos, is a question which cannot be answered at the present stage of the enquiry. Major Davies has said—"It can be asserted with confidence that nothing has been written on this subject that does not contain errors"; and with him we also agree that "The present attempt will doubtless be found equally open to such criticism."

Earlier Classifications.

Mr. Eales in the first volume of the "Report on the Census of Burma of 1891" has placed the Lishaw (presumably Lisu) vernacular in the Kachin-Naga group of the Thibeto-Burman family of the Polytonic division, in his detailed classification.

Sir George Scott does not attempt to classify the Lihsaws in his tentative grouping (Gazetteer of Upper Burma, p. 481) but he says—"the linguistic test points almost irresistibly to the conclusion that the Lihsaws are practically identical with the Lahu, or at any rate form only an earlier or later swarm from the main stock from which the Lahu came." M. Bons D'Anty is satisfied that the Lahu are a half-breed race. It is possible, he says, that the Lihsaws are so also, but as to the connexion of the two there can be no manner of doubt.

Captain H. B. Walker, Mr. E. C. S. George, Major (now General Fenton) and others class the "Lihsaws or Yaoyens" with the Kachins. Lieutenant Pottinger, who speaks of them as Yawyins, says that in appearance they are more like Chinese than Kachins. Prince Henri d' Orleans would connect the Lisu with the Lolos.

Major Davies, in a classification which shows some agreement in its broader groups with the divisions adopted by Forbes, Grierson and other eminent scholars, places the Liso or Li-su language in the Lolo Group of the Thibeto-Burman family.[1]

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[1] "Yunnan T'ung Chih," Volumes 32 and 33.

After a careful consideration of the whole question we are of opinion that this is the truest position to which the language can be assigned at present.

The Lihsaw, Liso, Lishaw, Lee-shaw, Yaoyen and Yawyins appear to be the same tribe, and we have adopted the name Lisu to supersede these varying and confusing terms as it is the name by which the people generally call themselves and is, therefore, better than the Chinese corruption of Liso ; the independent Lisu also refer to themselves as " Anu " or Cross-bowmen, but this is evidently a clan rather than a tribal name. The principal clan names are WO-PA, NO-PA, LAMA, TZE-PA, WA-PA, LA-PA, NUR-PA, PIA-PA, CH'-IH-PA, LI-PA, SHE-PA, and NU or LU-PA, of which the members probably give to the Salween the Chinese name of LU-TZU CHIANG, the river of the clan of Lu.

Attempts have been made by earlier writers to connect the Lisu with the Yao (Lanten) tribes of southern Yunnan, or with the Chingpaw (Kachins) of the frontier hills (Burma Gazetteer, p. 482). In the case of the former, dress, features, customs and temperament are so entirely dissimilar, and the later linguistic evidence so unfavourable, that there seems full authority now for discarding any theory of relationship between the Lisu and the Yao. In the case of the Chingpaw it has been clearly proved that the dress and physical characteristics of the Lisu are distinct both from these people and from the Maru and Lashi.[2] At the same time there is a strong probability that the Chingpaw derive their origin from a Thibeto-Burman stock similar to the Lisu, and fuller information may serve to trace the two tribes back to the same northern home.

Anthropometric data from the living subject.

The difficulties which beset the anthropologist, in his investigations among these scattered and semi-savage tribes on their own ground, must be experienced if one would gain a full appreciation of their weight. In many parts of Asia long familiarity with the European has led the people to submit with some show of willingness to the operations of the student, even when the subject is all unconscious of the value and inner meaning of the cult of the skull. In the frontier districts of western Yunnan, however, conditions are not so happy and a legion of obstacles must be overcome before any measure of success may be attained. We trust, therefore, that any students of anthropology to whose notice these figures may come will look indulgently upon our small and incomplete table, not weighing its deficiencies but seeking to strengthen such slight foundations as have now been laid. It is believed that this is the first attempt which has been made to approach the subject on an anthropometric basis, and it is equally believed that this is the only certain way of reaching a true solution of the intricate and difficult problem of the classification of the tribes. The data given below are the result of measurements taken on a series of 15 subjects, three of whom were Black Lisu from the Upper Salween, and the remaining twelve Hua Lisu living to the north-west of Tengyueh, of whom nine were men and three were women. We are fully conscious of the danger of drawing conclusions from so limited a field of research, but great care has been taken in the selection of suitable subjects, and we trust that this work may render investigation less difficult for future enquirers and may possibly prove a small but useful link in the great chain of research for the grouping of the tribes on the Burma-China frontier.

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[1] Page 337 of "Yunnan."

[2] See Pottinger's description.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, the present writers are of opinion that the evidence points clearly to some close relationship between the Lisu and the Lolos, and, although our present information is an insufficient foundation, it is believed that the two tribes will be traced to the same stock and linked at last in one of the great families which will claim these disunited and wandering tribesmen. For the Lahu, the Woni and such other branches there is much to confirm the belief that they are half-breeds, who have drifted from the homes of the main tribe and, whilst retaining the language of the more highly developed and purer Lolo stock, have lost their tall figures and clean-cut features in mingling with the older and more primitive races, amongst whom their settlements may have been numerically small and such as are installed by right of conquest. We take this opportunity of expressing our indebtedness to our predecessors, the Consuls, the Frontier and Military Officials and the few travellers into Yunnan, all of whom have found time for some contribution to our knowledge of these tribes from the rush of a hard and busy life in a land where both Nature and Man are more picturesque and interesting than inviting or kind. It is hoped that the actual evidence gathered in Lisu homes of Lisu lives and customs may prove suggestive and helpful to those students whose interests have been awakened for this medley of races and whose lines have been cast in more favoured places than the mountains of the Burma-China Frontier.

LISU VOCABULARIES.

Annex I.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween valley, Lat. 27°-30′.	(II) White Lisu, Salween valley, Lat. 26°-15′.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Frontier, Lat. 25°-20′.
Above	Ke-po	....	La-mu-mu.
Apricot	Ssu-sau	....	....
Arm	Lê-p‘ê	Pê-chi	Mê-tzu.
Arrow	Chieh-chueh	Chia-tze	Chieu’rh.
Ascend	Kê-pu-kêi	Ta-kei	Ka-ku-k‘o.
Ask	A-shih-pe	....	A-ni.
Awaken	Ma-i-mêh	....	Hua-ch‘i-lá.
Baby	Za-nüsh	....	....
Back	Ka-tê	Ka-tê	Kai-ya-k‘u.
Bad	Hêhu	Ma-chi	Ma-chi.
Bag	La-pieh	Mê-no	Lai-hsia.
Bamboo	....	....	, ...
Bear	....	....	Wo.
Before	Mu-té	....	A-mi-tá-ssu.
Behind	Ke-nieh	....	Kan-ya-ssu.
Below	Chu-po	....	La-pa-ch‘i.
Big	A-pêh	Mo mo	La-wu.
Bird	Nieh	Nieu’rh	Nia.
Black	Nei-tê	Ê-né	Nei.
Blue	....	I-chieh-la	Lau (-ch).
Blow to (wind)	Chu (mi hi chu) Ma chu = it is not blowing.	Mê-hei-chi	Mi-hi.
Boat	Li-t‘u	Tei-lei	Li.
Book	....	....	Ssu-tse.
Bracelet	Leh-chü	....	La chu.
Bridge (rope)	....	Lo-hin	....
Bring	Ju-la	Tai-la	Te-le.
Broad	Wu	....	La-kua-hin.
Brother	A-yi	....	Ni-la.
Buffalo	A-nga	....	A-ná.
Call	Wu	T‘i-ka-la	A-mi-la.
Candle	....	....	Tê-ho.
Cat	A-ni	A-ssu	A-ri-tse.
Chicken	A-ke	A-yeu’rh	Ai ya.
Chief	Mu-ka	Hsi-p‘a	Se-p‘a.
Child	Zu-rüeh	Za-né-za	Tsa-re‘tsa.
Chinaman	Hê-p‘a	Hê-p‘a	Hê-p‘a.
Coat	Poo-tse	Pei-ch‘i	Mu-tse.
Cold	Ch‘ieh (chieh ma chieh?)	Chieh’rh	Chia.
Come	La	La	La.
Cook (rice)	Tsa-chê	Tsa-chih’rh	Tsai tsa.
Copper	Chi	Chi	Chi.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 27°-30′.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 26°-15′.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Frontier, Lat. 25°-20′.
Cotton	Sasu	Sala	Sala.
Cow	....	A ni	A-ni.
Cross-bow	Ch‘ieh	Ch‘ieu’rh	Ch‘ia.
Cup	Ssü-ké (wooden) I-ma- ké (porcelain).	Ts‘a-pei tsa (Chinese)	Le-ke
Dance	Wa-k‘e	....	Kun-t‘ieh.
Dark	T‘in-hein	....	Na-tsce-li.
Daughter	Za-mu-za	....	A-mi.
Day	T‘iu-ni	....	Ni.
Deer	Ts‘e	....	A-ma-lu.
Descend	Chin-pu-kêi	Tse-ts‘e-kêr	Le-yêh.
Devil (or evil spirit)	Nieh	Nieh	Nieh.
Die	Shih-kou	Ssu-kou	A-ts‘o-shih.
Dog	Anâ	Aná	Anâ.
Door	Â-kê	Â-kê	Ka-k‘ê.
Drink (wine)	To (chi-p‘é-to)	To	To.
Dry	I-ch‘üeh	Chi’rh	Fu-lueh.
Duck	....	Ê-’rh	Ein.
Ears	Nappo	Nâbo	Nâbo.
Ear-ring	....	....	Na-k‘uo.
Earth	Menné (earth) Hamī (land)	Hani	Ména (earth) La-pa-ch‘i (land).
East	Mi-mi-to	....	....
Eat	Tsa-tsa	Tsa-tsa	Tsa-tsa.
Egg	A-le-fu	....	Ai-ya-k‘u.
Eyes	Mieh-ssu	Mieh-ssu	Mieh-ssu.
Fall	Chu-po-tsei	Ts‘ei	Ch‘üeh.
Far	Wo-yüeh	Nö	Ngö-ja.
Father	Aba	Apa	Pa-Pa.
Father-in-law	....	....	....
Few	A-tieh-cho	Ni	Ni.
Field	....	....	....
Fire	A-to	A-to	A-to.
Fish	Wa	Wa	Ngwa.
Floor	Ma-hin	Ne-hei	Po-p‘i.
Flour	Tsa-he	....	Lu-hê.
Flower	....	Ssu-wei	Ssu-wyeh.
Fly (to)	Pien-ké	Pye-kei	Pi.
Foot	Tchipé	Ch‘ipê’rh	Chipê’rh.
Friend	Ke-ch‘u	....	....
Fruit	Ssu-ssu	Ssu-chi	A-ku.
Get up (to)	Kê pu-tu	Tê-kei	Tu-a.
Girl	A mi	....	Lao mei.
Give	Nu t‘a ko	Ko	Wa-ke.
Go	Kêi	Kêi	Chi-lo.
God	....	....	Emg-kua.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 27°-30′.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 26°-15′.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Frontier, Lat. 25°-20′.
Gold	Shih	Shih	Shih.
Good	Chi	Chi	Chi ; chüeh.
Good weather	Mu-ts‘a tso	....	Mu kuo chia
Green	....	....	A-chih.
Grind (to)	Lu chüeh chüeh	....	Mo-ché.
Hair	O-ch‘üeh	Wu-ch‘ê	Wu-ch‘i.
Hand	Le-pé	Le-pé	La-kua.
Hat	La-ngung	Na-ho	La-hōn.
He	....	....	Nu.
Hear (to)	Pei-chua	Na-na-wa	Pei-cha.
Heavy	A-kê-li	A-kê-li	Li.
Hemp	Tse	Tse	Tse.
Here	T‘a-pa	....	T‘a-pa-ssu.
Honey	Pieh	Pieh	Pia.
Horse	A-mu	A-mu	A-mu.
Hot	Ch‘a	Ch‘a	Wa-ts‘o.
House	Tsu-hin	Ngâ-hei	Hin.
I	Nga	Nga	Ngo.
Inside	Hin-kua	....	Na.
Iron	Ho	Ho	Huo.
Knife	A-t‘a	A-t‘a	A-t‘a.
Know	Sê (sê ma sê = do you know ?)	Sê ni	....
Lance	Mieh-tu	....	Lam-t‘a.
Laugh	Sê	Hê	Wa-si.
Leaf	Se-p‘ieh	....	Sê-pieu’rh.
Left (hand)	Lieh-wu	Ê-tsa	La-ê.
Leg	Ch‘i-pê	Ch‘i pei’rh	P‘i-hsien’rh.
Light	A-kê-yueh	A-kê-mà-li	Lo.
LISU	Lisu-p‘a	Li-su	Li-su.
Love	A-kê-chi	....	Wa-ni-shih.
Long	Shih	Shih shih	A-cha-shih.
Low	Yüeh	....	Ê-en’rh.
LUTZU	Nu-p‘a	Nu-p‘a Sa-p‘a (tame)	....
Maize	Shua	....	K‘e-sha.
Make	Ma-yi	....	Yêh.
Man	Ts‘ou-tsa	Ts‘o-tsa	La-ts‘un.
Mandolin	....	....	Ch‘i po.
Many	A-mieh cho	Myêh	Myêh.
Marry	....	....	La-mu-ts‘e.
Meat	Hua	....	Hua.
MINCHIA	La-pei	La-pei	....
Month	Ha-pa-t‘i-ma	Ha-pa-t‘i-ma	Ha-pa-t‘i-ma.
Moon	Ha-pa	Mu-ko (Ha-pa = moonlight)	Ha-pa-chi.
Mother	A-ma	A-ma	Ma-ma.
Mountain	Wa-p‘ê	Ko	Wa-chi-la-ku.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 27°-30′.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 26°-15′.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Frontier, Lat. 25°-20′.
Mouth	K‘ua-p‘ei	K‘ua-p‘ei	Me-ne.
Mule	....	A-mu-lo-tzu	A-mu.
Music	Chi lü	....	....
Narrow	....	....	A-niu.
Near	T‘ieh-kua	Ma-nö	P‘a-t‘ieh.
New	Yi-shih	Yi-shih	Yi-shih.
Night	Mu-k‘é	Mei-woo	Mê-ti-ti.
No; not	Ma	....	....
North	Ni-nêh	....	....
Nose	Na-kê	Na-pé	Na-pé.
Now	....	....	Tieh-mo.
Numerals: One	T‘i	T‘ei	Chieh.
,, Two	Nieh	Nieh	Nieh.
,, Three	Sa	Sa	Sa.
,, Four	Li	Li	Li.
,, Five	Ngwa	Wa	Ngo.
,, Six	Tso	Ts‘o	Ts‘o.
,, Seven	Shih	Ssu	Shih.
,, Eight	Hei	Hei	Hin’rh.
,, Nine	Ku	Ku	Ku.
,, Ten	Ts‘e	Ch‘i	Ts‘e.
,, Eleven	Ts‘e-t‘i	Ch‘i-tei	Ts‘e-t‘i.
,, Twelve	Ts‘e-ni	Ch‘i-nieh	Ts‘e-ni.
,, Twenty	Ni-ts‘e	Ni-ch‘i	Ni-ts‘e.
,, Hundred	T‘ing-hei	T‘u-hâ	T‘ing-hsien’rh.
,, Thousand	Ti-tu	Ch‘i-hâ	T‘i-ta.
Old (men)	Ts‘o-mu	Mo	Mo.
Old (things)	I-lü	Yi-pé	Yi-pé.
Outside	Nü-ssu	....	Mi-ssu.
Ox	A-ni	....	A-ni.
Panther	La-sa	La	La-ma.
Peach	....	....	Sê-ô.
Pear	....	....	Shih-chih.
Pheasant	Tao-ku-lüeh	....	Li-su.
Pig	A-vé	A-vé	A-vé.
Pipe	Yeh-kua	....	Ko.
Plum	....	....	Se-li.
Poison	Tu	To	To.
Poor	Ti-chi-li-ma-cho	....	Ts‘o-sha.
Pork	A-vé-hua	A-vé-hua	A-vé-hua.
Pretty	A-kê-pi	....	Pia.
Quick	A-mi	....	A-mi.
Rain	Ma-ha-(li)-to	Ma-ha-sé	Mé-ha-hao.
Read (to)	....	T‘on-ni	Ssu-tse-k‘ê.
Red	Ssu-ssu	Hsi	Ni.
Rice	Tsa	Tsa-pu	Tsa.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 27°-30′.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 26°-15′.	(III) Hua Lisa, Kuyungkai Frontier, Lat. 25°-20′.
Rich	T‘su-po	....	Ts‘o-po.
Ride (a horse)	(A-mu) tsê	(A-mu) tsou	(A-mu) tsê.
Right	....	....	La-ja.
River	Nêh-yi; I-ma	Nêh-ta-ma (big); I-ma (small).	Na-yi.
Road	Chieh-ku	....	La-ku.
Run	K‘eh	....	A-mi-ô.
Salt	Ts‘a-po	Ts‘a-po	Ts‘a-po.
See (to)	Mo	Ni-wa	....
Sheep	A-ch‘ê	A-ch‘ê	A-ju.
Short	Tu	Nye-Nye	Ê-ngya.
Silver	P‘u	P‘u	P‘u.
Sit	Ni-ta	Nge-tse-ke	Ni-na.
Sky	Mêh-wo	Wu-sa	Mu-kua.
Slave	Ch‘u-pa	....	Chüeh-pa.
Sleep	....	....	I-ta.
Small	A-ti	A-li-tsa	A-tin.
Snake	Fu	....	Fu.
Snow	Wa (Wa li = to snow)	Wa	....
Son	A-tse	Hsi-p‘a-tsa	A-pi.
Song	....	....	Mu kuo pu.
Soul	Haug	....	....
South	Yi-mêh	....	....
Speak	Pei-mu	Sa-t‘ei	Sha t‘üeh.
Spear	Mieh-sü	Po	....
Stand (to)	Hin-ta	Hei-tse-ke	Hin’rh ta.
Star	Ku-mê-sê	Mê-sa	Ku-sa.
Stick	....	Hsi-ken’rh	Sê-ta.
Stomach	Hi-ma	Hei-ma	Hin-chi.
Stone	Lu-ti	Lo-ti	A-ch‘i.
Strike (to)	....	....	A-mi-tu.
Summer	....	....	Mê-shi.
Sun	Mu-ts‘a	Mê-ch‘a	Mi-mi.
Swim	....	Ê-che-ko	I-chia-chih.
Sword	A-t‘a	A-t‘a	A-t‘ong-ch‘u.
Table	Sha-la	Cho-tzu (Chinese)	Cho-tzu (Chinese).
Talk	Mu	....	Mu.
Teeth	....	....	Ts‘e-chu’rh.
There	Ko-pa	....	Ko-pa-ssu.
Throw	Lo-ti-lo	....	Lo.
Thunder (to)	....	....	Mu-kuo-pei.
Thou	Nu	Nu.	....
Tie (to)	Ts‘o	....	Ts‘o.
Tiger	La-ma	La-ma	La-ma.
To-day	Ni-mi	Ni-ni	Ni-ni.
To-morrow	Se-ke	Sa-ni	Sa-na.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 27°-30′.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 26°-15′.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Frontier, Lat. 25°-30′.
To-morrow (day after)	...	....	Wa-ni.
Tobacco	Tsʻa-pʻo	....	Kua-yen.
Tomb	Ha-ku-tu	Lei-tsu	....
Tongue	La-chʻueh	....	....
Tree	....	....	....
Trousers	Mu-chʻi	Mê-chʻi	Mi-chʻi.
Turban	.....	Wu-tʻö	Wu-tʻö.
Ugly	Ma-pi	....	Ma-pi.
Village	Kʻê	Kʻê’rh (small); Kʻe ta ma (big).	Chih.
Want	A-tʻa-ko	Wa-no	Ti-kê-la.
Water	A-chia	Ê-chieu’rh	I-chia.
Weep	Ngu	Ngu	Kʻua.
West	Mi-mi-mi	....	....
Wet	I-tse	Pʻa	I-chʻih.
Wheat	....	....	Lu.
White	Pou-Pou	I-pʻu	Yu-pʻu.
Wife	....	....	La-mu.
Wind	Mi-hi	Mê-hei	Mi-hi.
Wine	Chi-pê	....	Chi-pʻê.
Winter	...	....	Mu-tsʻu.
Woman	Tsa-me (-in)	Tsa-mei	Tsa mu; tsa.
Wood	Ssu	Hsi ken’rh	Ssu-ta.
Write	....	Tʻou-po	Tʻou-po.
Year	Kʻo	Kʻo	Chieh-ko.
Yellow	Shih	....	Shih.
You	Nu	....	Nu.

The men are coming.	La ts’o la.
The men are going.	La ts’o cho.
He has gone.	La ts’o cho.
Go!	A-mi cha.
Let them go.	Nua mi cha.
Is this a good woman?	Lisu ma chi ma chi.
This is a good man.	La-tso chin.
What do you call this?	A-t’i ma shih.
What is your name?	Nua shih shih.
I do not know.	Wo mo ssu.
How far is it to the village?	Ne wa-ka a-ke cho la.
It is a journey of one day.	Tin yi cho.
I want some water.	I-chia na-lo.
Tell him to light a fire.	A-to a-ti tzu.
I am hungry; give me food.	Wa-hé mé la: tsa-tsa kei.
By day we eat; by night we sleep.	Ma-la tsa-tsa: mu-ke i-ta.
Where is my horse?	A-mu la-tia.

Show me the way.	Cha ku ho ma-ke chi-la.
I want to buy a chicken and some eggs.	Wa ch'ih ti a-ya a-ya ho-wo.
Tell him to come here.	Chia ch'a lao.
Bring me some water (wine).	A-chieh ju-la (chi-pé ju-la).
To cross a bridge.	Lo-hin kei.
To go (along a road).	Chieh ku-ssu.
On the other side of the river.	Nei-yi ko-pa.
To go.	Kei.
Not to go.	Ma-kei.
Where?	A-li kua.
Is there a bridge?	Lo-hin cho ma cho.
There is none.	Ma-cho.
Have you seen my horse?	A-mu mo ma mo.
Go slowly (the greeting of the road).	A-tza tso chieh.
—answer.	Nui-nui na-to.

Annex II.

	3 Black Lisu men.	3 Hua Lisu women.	9 Hua Lisu men.	
Average height, standing	..	1·517 cms.	1·595 cms.	....
,, height, sitting	..	1·282 ,,	..	....
,, height, kneeling	..	..	..	1·206 (4 Hua Lisu men).
,, "Grande envergure"	..	..	..	173·2 cms. (3 Hua Lisu men).
,, cephalic Index [1]	75·9	75·9	75·5	....
,, bimaxillary breadth	10·8 cms.	10·6 ,,	10·7 cms.	....
,, maximum bizygomatic breadth.	12·9 ,,	13·0 ,,	13·3 ,,	....
,, nasal height	..	4·63 ,,	4·93 ,,	....
,, nasal width	..	3·70 ,,	3·88 ,,	....
,, bi-orbital breadth	10·27 ,,	10·03 ,,	10·79 ,,	....
,, orbito-nasal arc	11·2	10·8	..	11·5 (6 Hua Lisu men).
,, height from vertex to the root of the nose.	..	..	7·27 ,,	....
,, height from vertex to tragus.	..	..	12·5 ,,	....
,, height from vertex to clim	..	..	21·2 ,,	....
,, bi-iliac crest breadth	..	..	..	25·5 (6 Hua Lisu men).
,, length of left foot	..	22·9 cms.	21·9 ,,	....
,, length of middle finger, left hand.	..	9·5 ,,	9·8 ,,	....

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[1] The Lisu skull, therefore, comes into Broca's sub-dolichocephalic division: see Topinard, "Anthropology," p. 240.

The instruments used in these observations were kindly sent by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The measurements were based on Sir H. Risley's instructions: see Manual of Anthropometry by Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Director of Ethnography for India.

LIST OF PLATES.

Annex III.

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FIG. 2.—Hua Lisu girls.
PLATE 3. FIG. 1.—Lisu man and wife.
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FIG. 2.—Lisu village scene, Ku-yung-kai district.
PLATE 5. FIG. 1.—Young Lisu cross-bow man.
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PLATE 6. FIG. 1.—Lisu of Upper Burma.
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PLATE 8. FIG. 1.—Lisus weaving hempen cloth.
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FIG. 3.—Husking grain by water power.
PLATE 9. Map showing the distribution of the Lisu tribes.

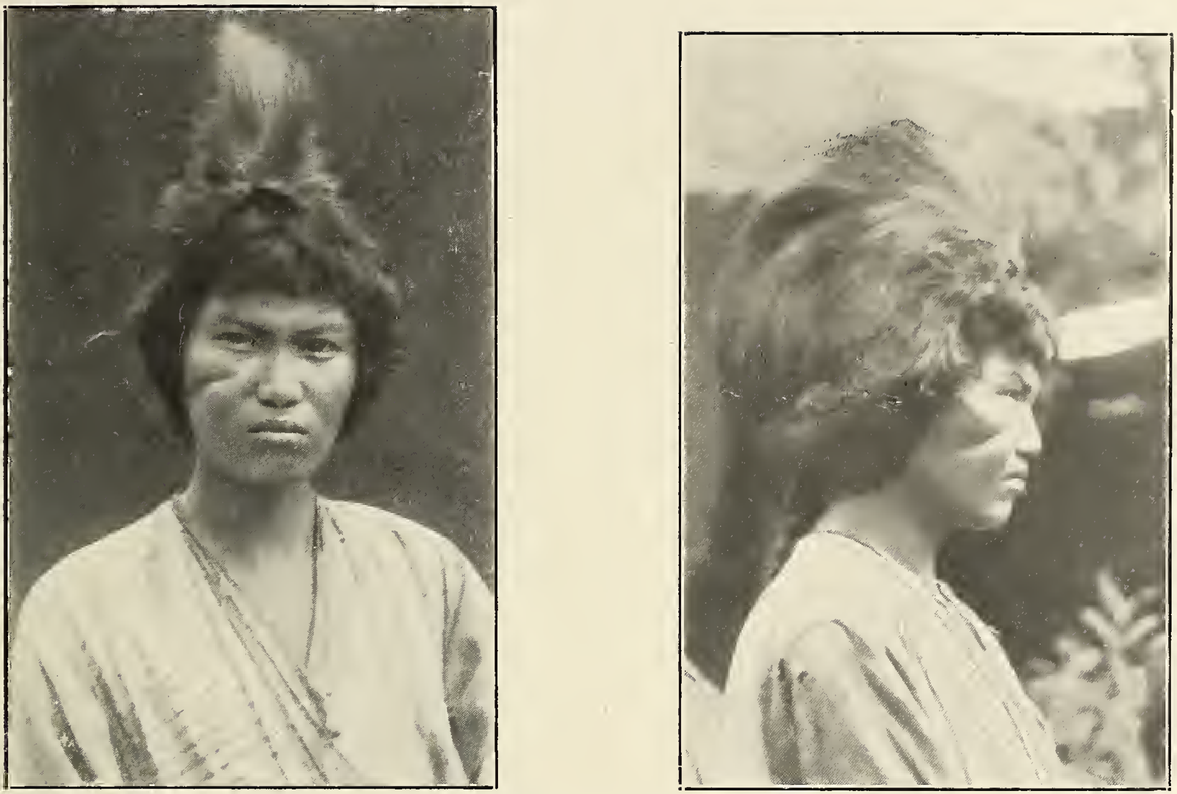


Fig 1. Fig 2.

"BLACK" LISU CHIEF from the UPPER SALWEEN.
wearing buttonless hempen coat and deerskin hat.

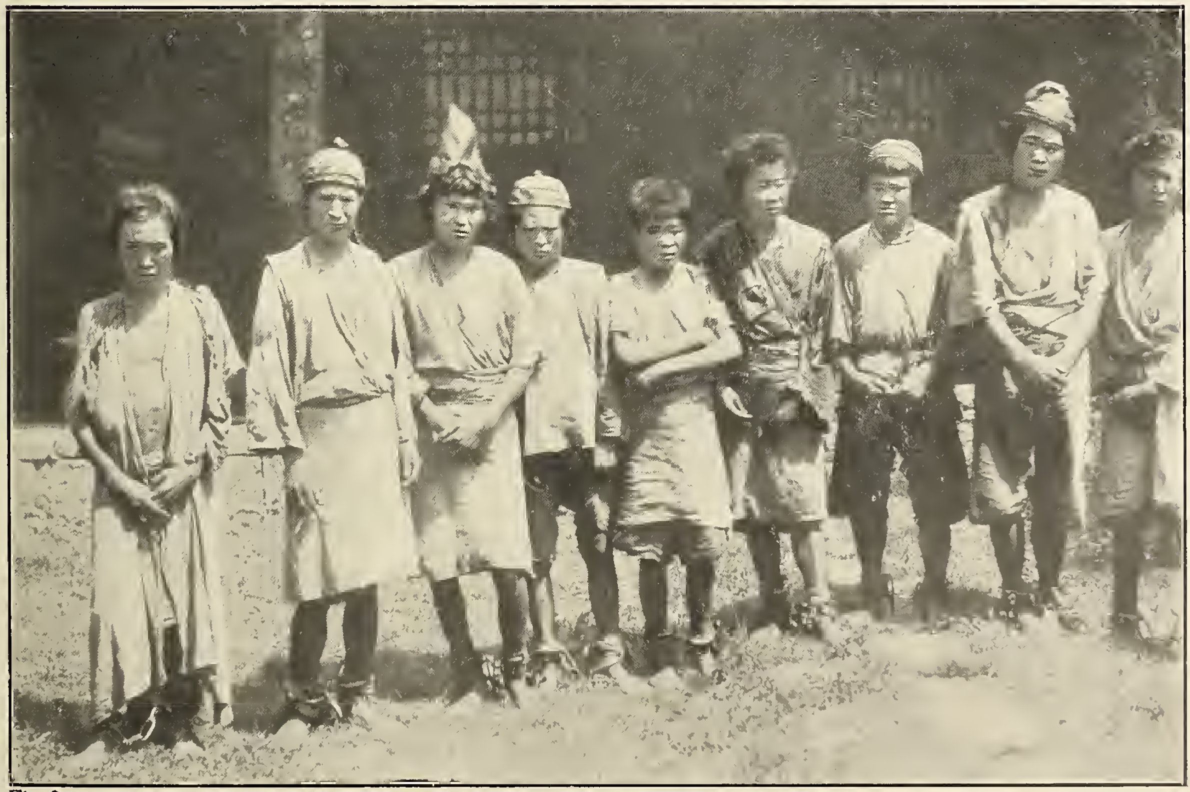


Fig 3.

"BLACK" LISUS from the UPPER SALWEEN.

Photos by Archibald Rose and J. Coggin Brown.

Engraved and Printed
by The Calcutta Phototype Co.

[illegible]

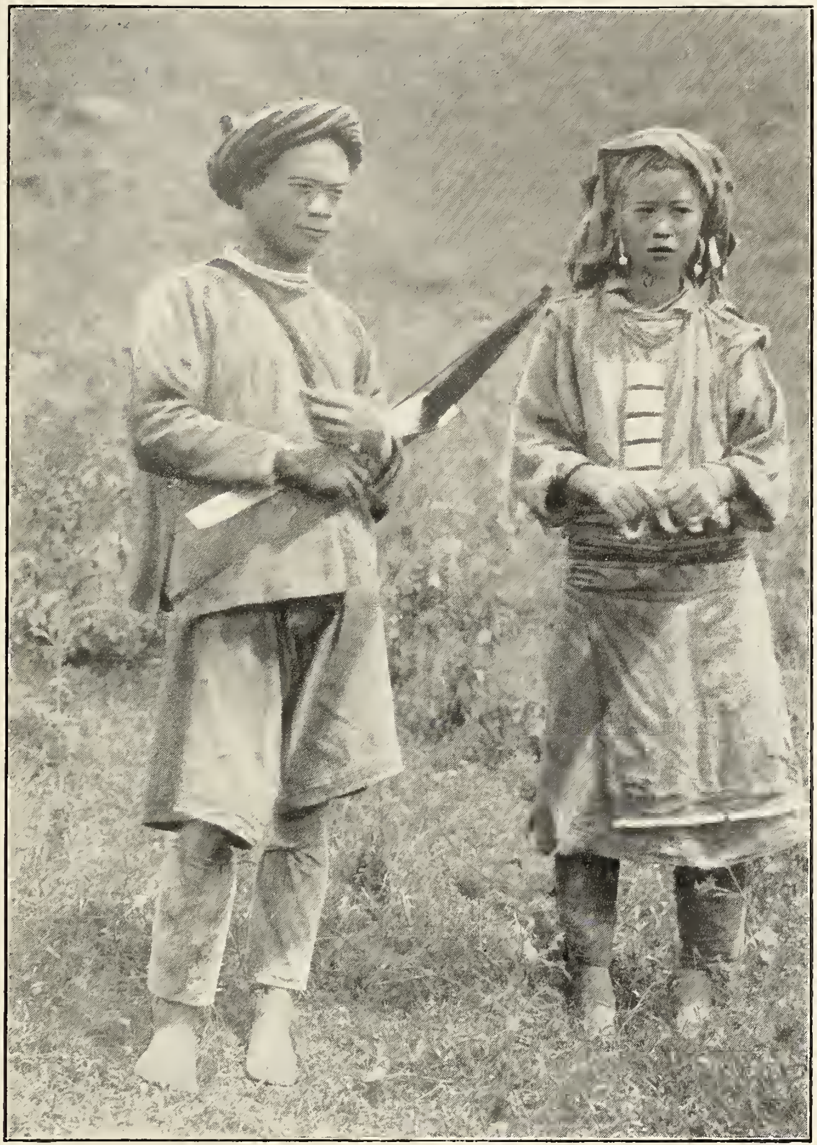


Fig 1.

YOUNG HUA LISU CHIEF with his wife.
The man holds a cross-bow, the national weapon of the Lisu people.

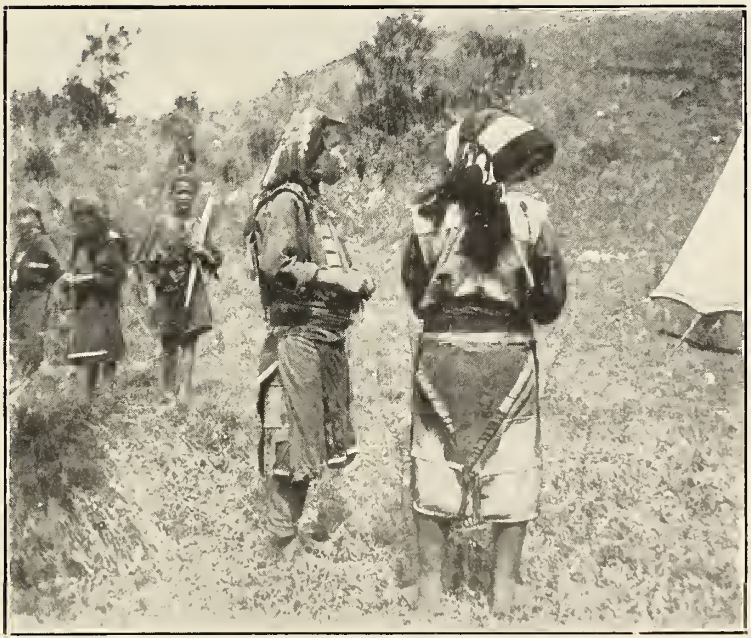


Fig 2.

HUA LISU GIRLS. showing the many coloured head-dress and skirt which has led the Chinese to designate these sections of the tribe as "Hua" or "flowery" Lisu. A boy holding a cross-bow also appears in the photograph.

rchibald Rose and J. Coggin Brown.

Engraved and Printed
by The Calcutta Phototype Co.

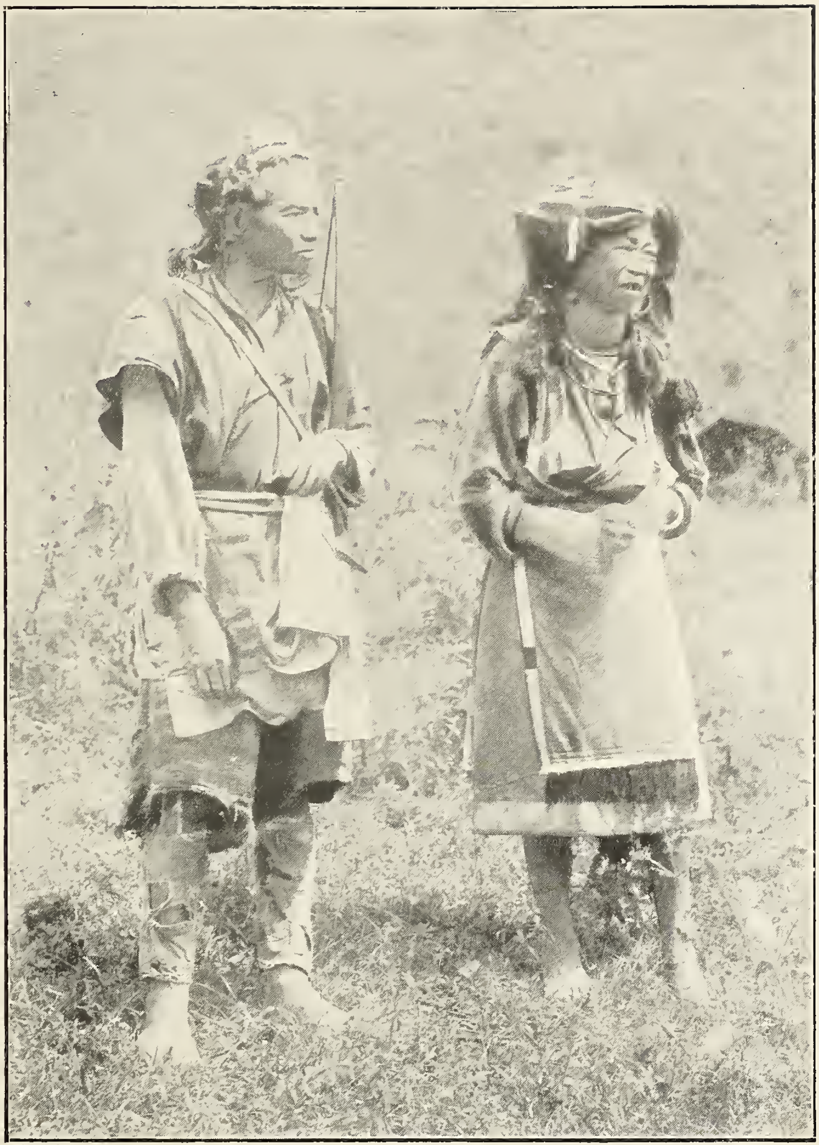


Fig 1.
LISU MAN AND WIFE (an arrow is struck through the head dress of the man).

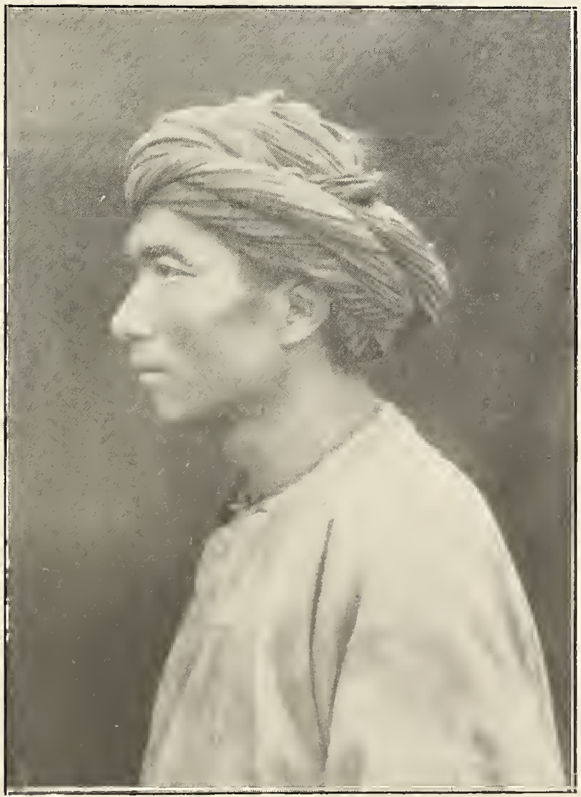
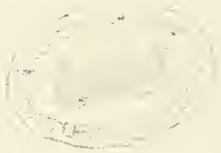


Fig 2.
A TYPICAL LISU of the BURMA-CHINA FRONTIER

Photos by Archibald Rose and J. Coggin Brown.

Engraved and Printed by The Calcutta Phototype Co.



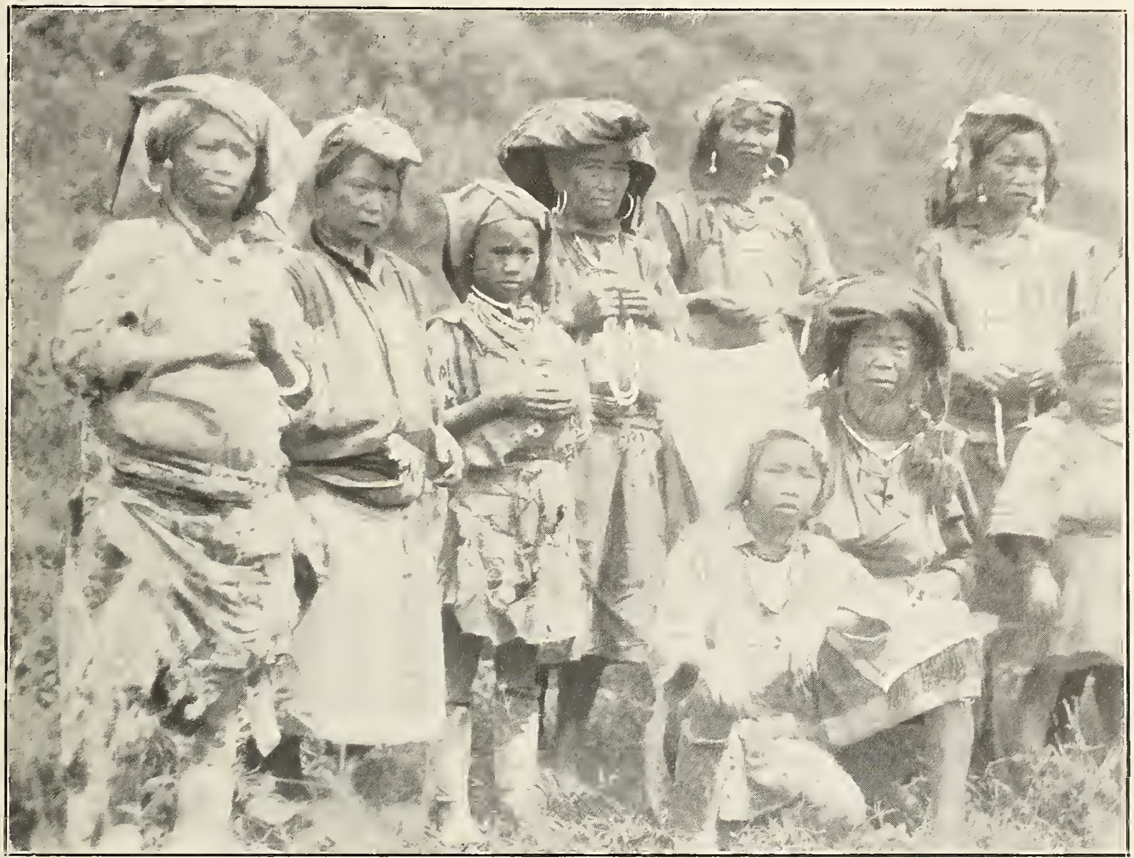


Fig 1.

"FLOWERY" (HUA) LISU. Women and Girls.

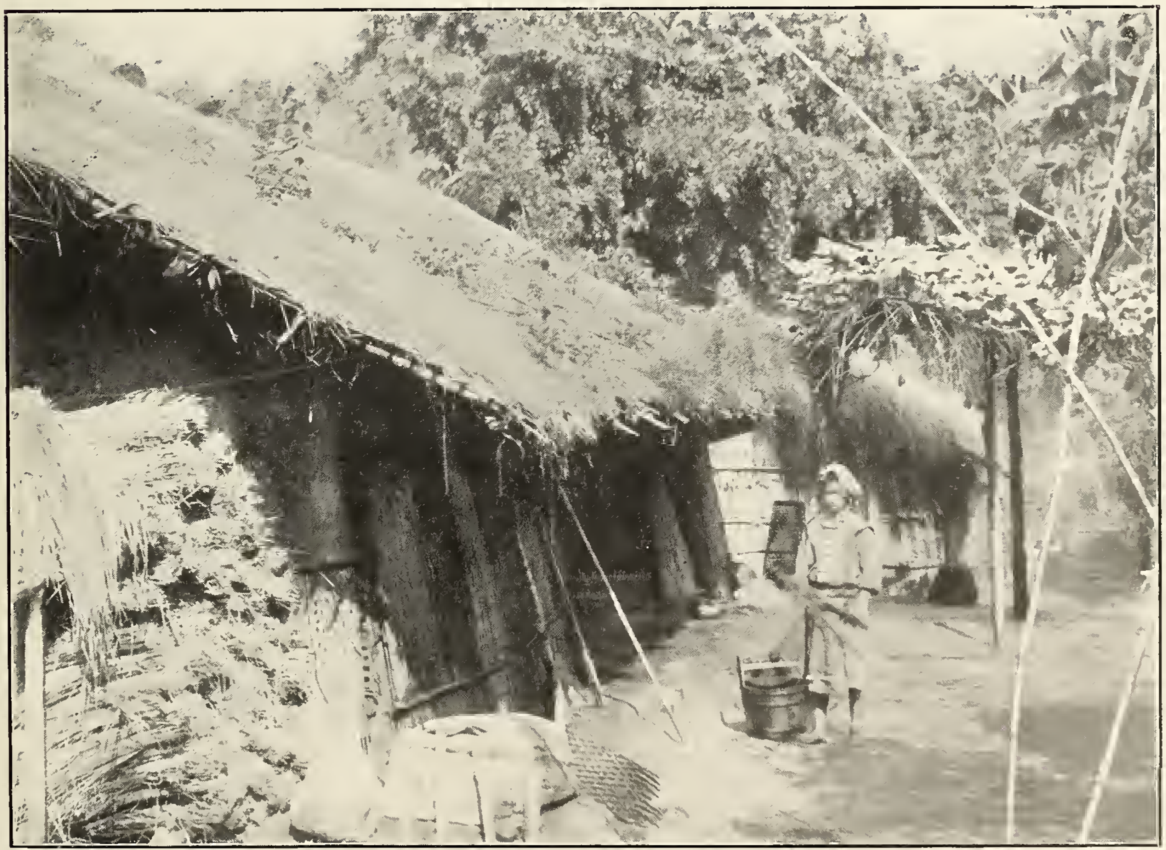


Fig 2.

LISU VILLAGE SCENE, KU-YNG-KAI DISTRICT

Engraved and Printed
by The Calcutta Phototype C

Photos by Archibald Rose and J. Coggin Brown

[illegible]

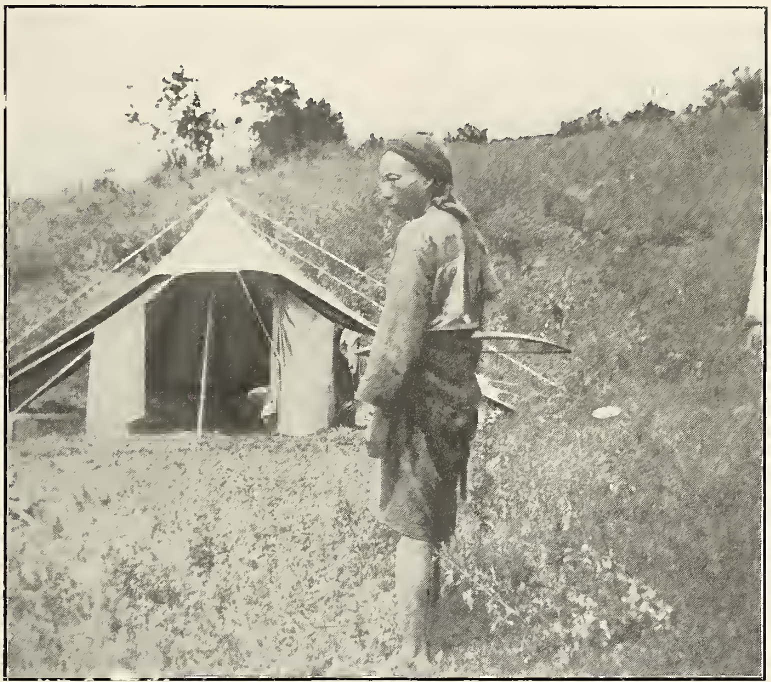


Fig 1.

YOUNG LISU CROSS-BOW MAN (showing quiver of deer skin).

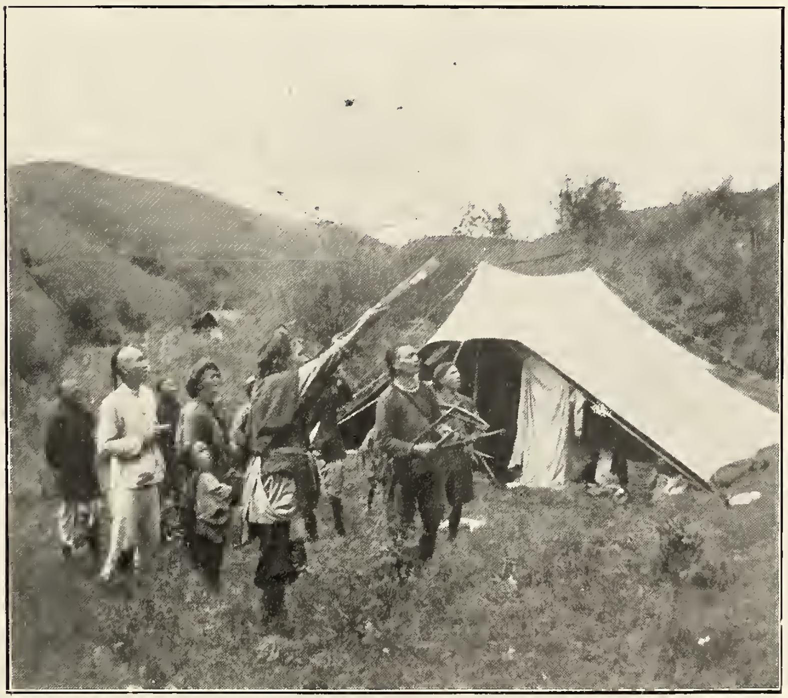


Fig 2.

Lisu cross bow practice at a flying target.

Engraved and Printed by The Calcutta Phototype Co.

Photos by Archibald Rose and J. Coggin Brown.

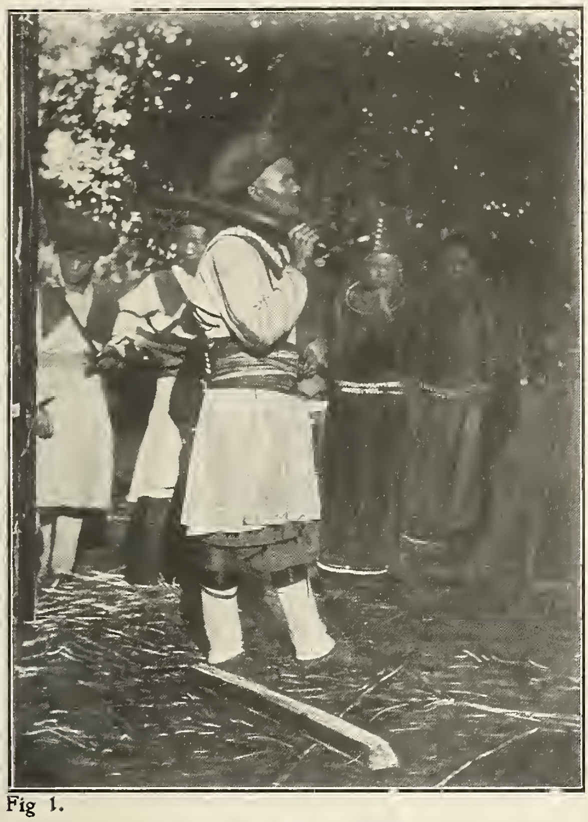


Fig 1.

LISU of UPPER BURMA.

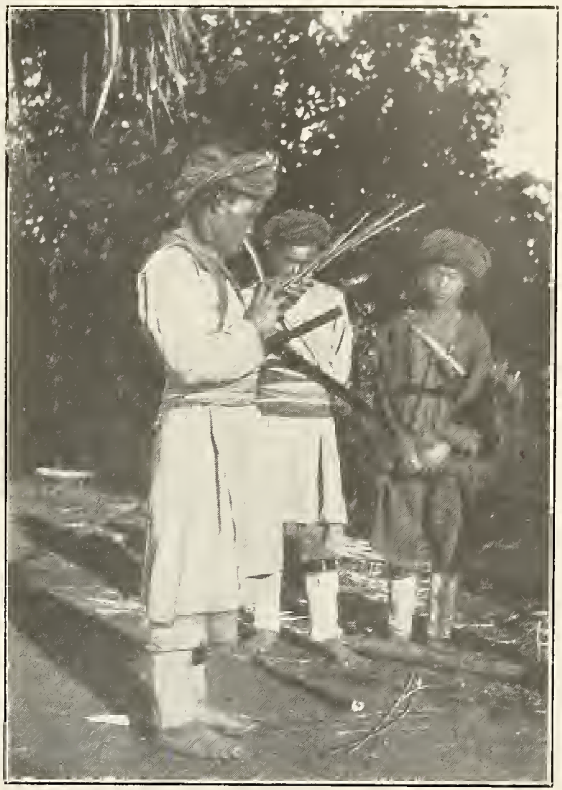


Fig 2.

LISU playing gourd pipes.

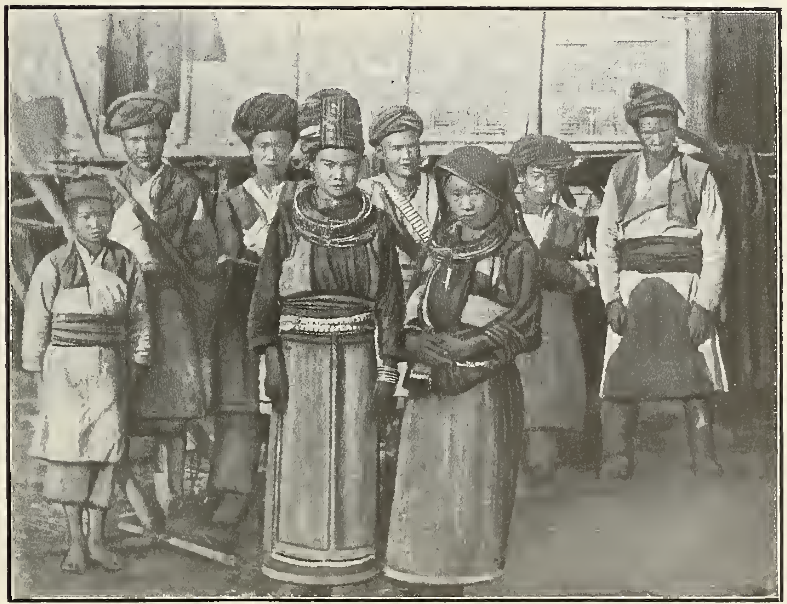


Fig 3.

LISUS of MYITKYINA DISTRICT.

os b chibald Rose and J. Coggin Brown.

Engraved and Printed by The Calcutta Phototype Co.

[illegible]

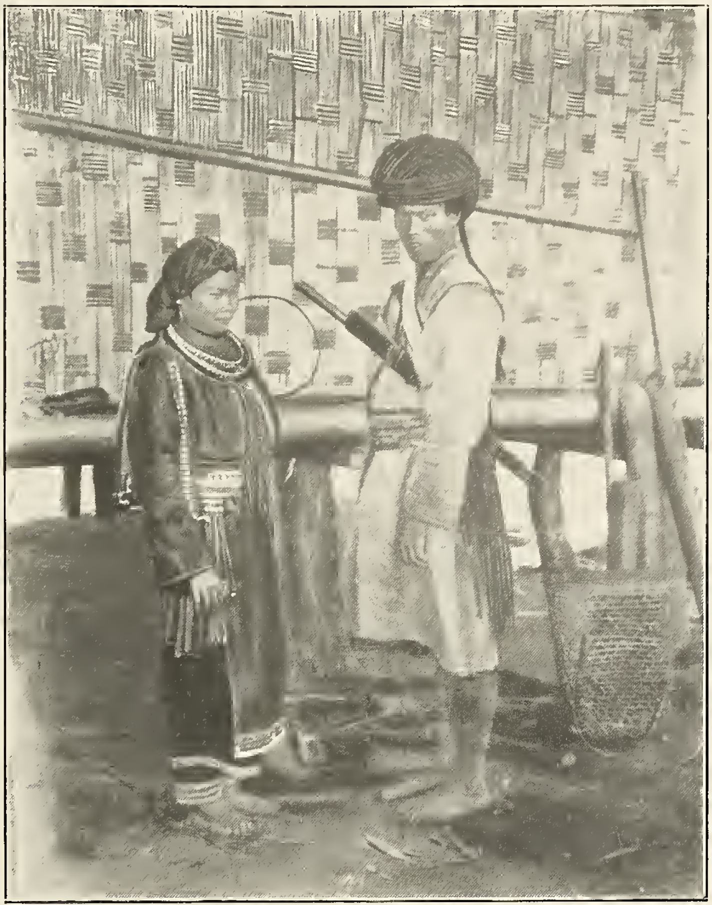


Fig 1.

CHRISTIAN LISUS.

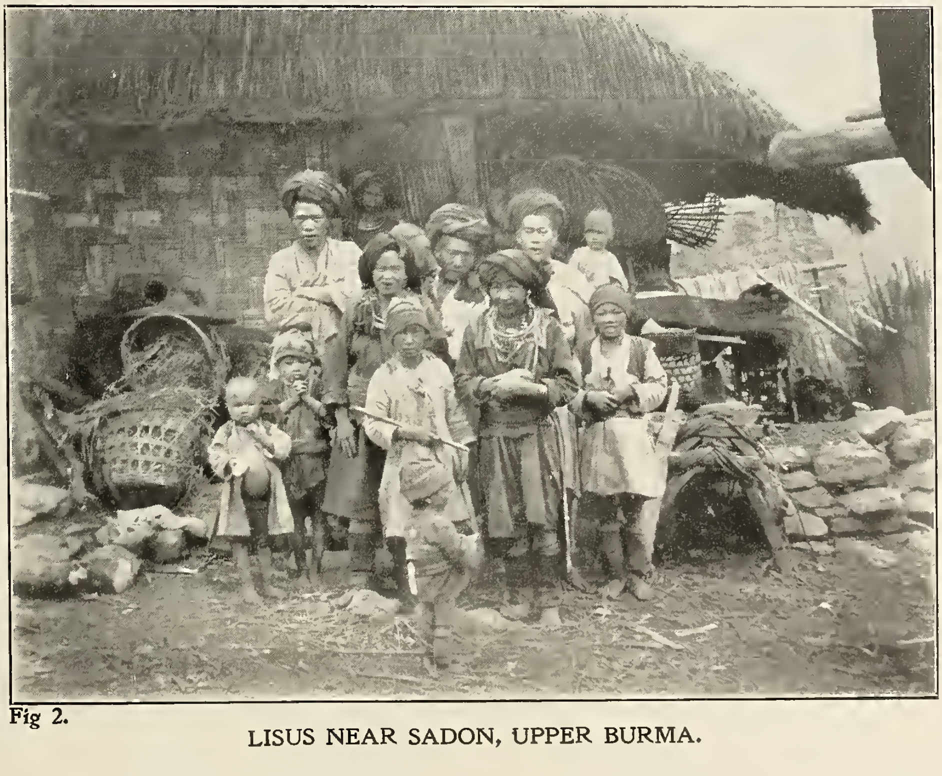


Fig 2.

LISUS NEAR SADON, UPPER BURMA.

hotographs by Rev J. G Geis of Myitkyina.

Engraved and Printed
by The Calcutta Phototype Co.

[illegible]

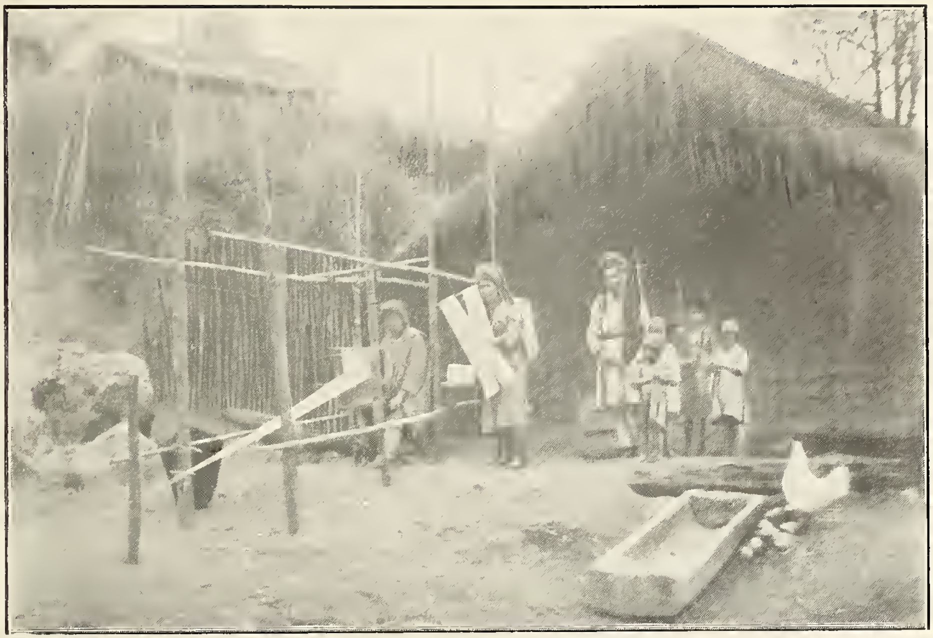


Fig 1.

LISUS weaving Hempen Cloth.

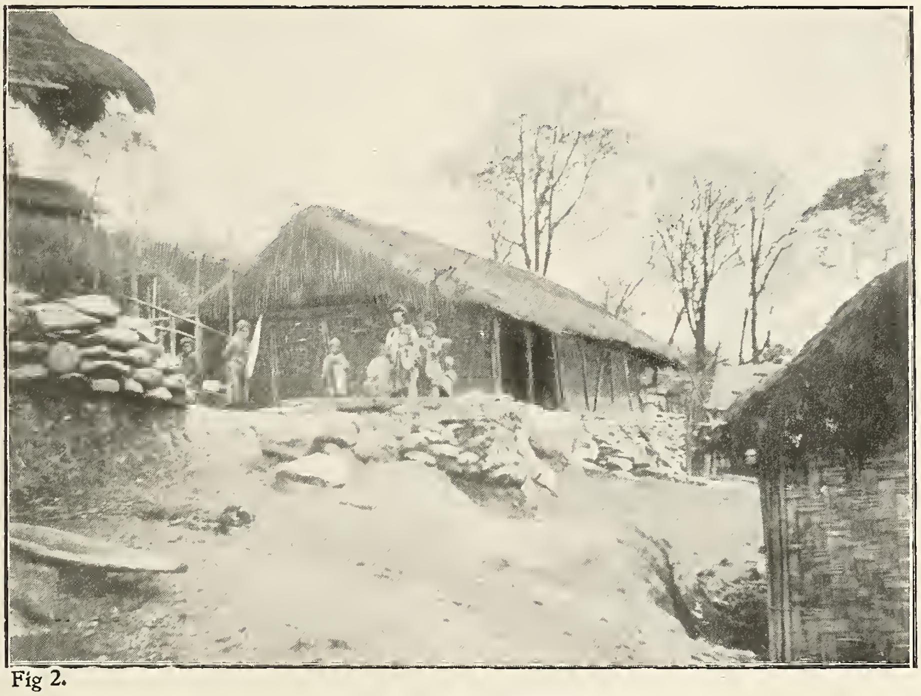


Fig 2.

LISU VILLAGE SCENE.

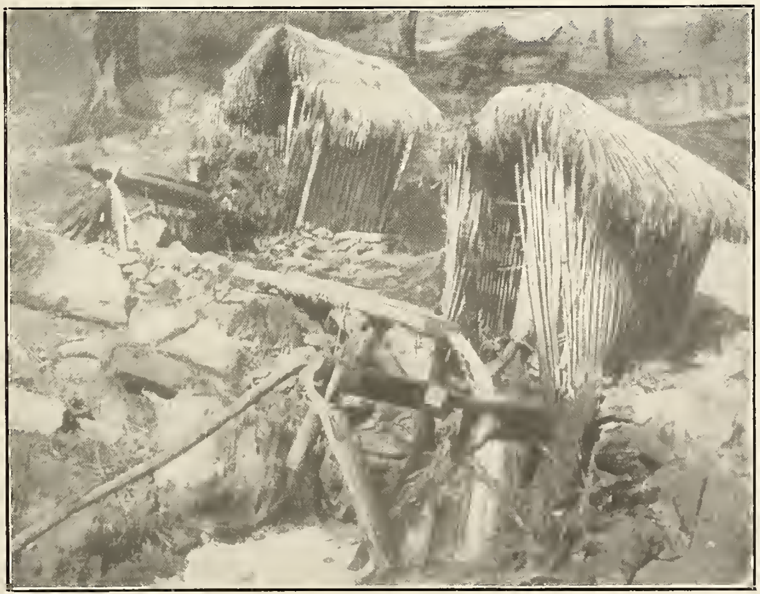


Fig 3.

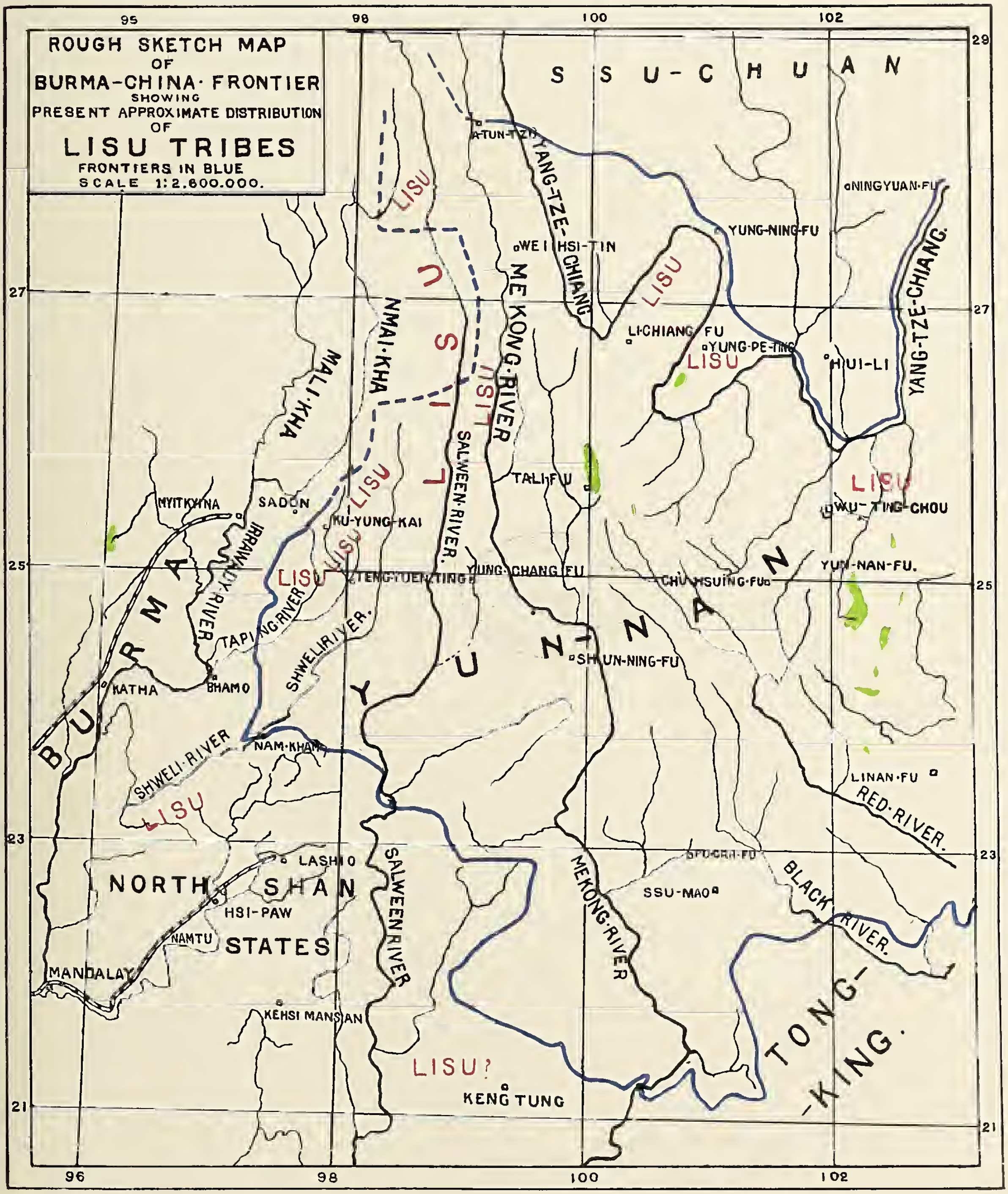
Crushing grain by water power.

Photographs by Rev J. G Geis of Myitkyina.

Engraved and Printed by The Calcutta Phototype Co.

[illegible]

PLATE IX.


ROUGH SKETCH MAP
OF
BURMA-CHINA FRONTIER
SHOWING
PRESENT APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION
OF
LISU TRIBES
FRONTIERS IN BLUE
SCALE 1:2.600.000.
95
98
100
102
96
29
27
25
23
21
SSU-CHUAN
A-TUN-TZU
YANG-TZE-CHIANG
NINGYUAN-FU
YUNG-NING-FU
WEI HSI-TIN
LI-CHIANG FU
YUNG-PE-TING
HUI-LI
YANG-TZE-CHIANG
LISU
LISU
LISU
LISU
LISU
LISU
LISU
LISU
LISU
LISU?
MALI-KHA
NMAI-KHA
MEKONG RIVER
SALWEEN RIVER
TALI FU
WU-TING-CHOU
YUN-NAN-FU.
MYITKYINA
SADON
KU-YUNG-KAI
TENG-YUEH-TING
YUNG-CHANG FU
CHU-HSUING-FU
IRRAWADDY RIVER
TAPING RIVER
SHWELI RIVER
BURMA
YUNNAN
SHUN-NING-FU
TAPING
KATHA
BHAMO
NAM-KHAM
SHWELI-RIVER
LINAN-FU
RED-RIVER.
LASHIO
NORTH SHAN STATES
HSI-PAW
NAMTU
MANDALAY
SALWEEN RIVER
MEKONG-RIVER
PU-ERH-FU
SSU-MAO
BLACK RIVER.
KEHSI MANSAN
KENG TUNG
TONG-KING.

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VOL. III, No. 5, pp. 277—353.

THE VYAVAHÂRA-MÂTRIKÂ OF JIMUTAVĀHANA.

BY

THE HON. JUSTICE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, SARASWATI, Kt., C.S.I., M.A.,
D.L., D.Sc., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.E., F.A.S.B.

SIR·WILLIAM·JONES
MDCCXLVI-MDCCXCIV

CALCUTTA:
Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, and published by
The Asiatic Society, 1, Park Street.
1912.

Price Re. 1-8; *or* 2*s.* 3*d.*

8-7-12.

BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL HISTORY

PREFATORY NOTE.

The following pages contain the *editio princeps* of the Vyavahara-Matrika or Nyaya-Matrika of Jimutavahana, the founder of the Bengal School of Hindu Law. The work by which Jimutavahana is familiarly known is the Dayabhaga or Treatise on Inheritance, which is a fragment of an Institute of Hindu Law called Dharmaratna, the major portion of which can no longer be traced. Another work of Jimutavahana, called *Kalavivek*, has been edited for the Society and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Professor Pramathanath Tarkabhusan. The work now published is one of fundamental importance and deals with the principles of Hindu Jurisprudence. Three manuscripts of the work are known to be in existence—one in the Library of the Society (A. S.), another in the Library of the India Office (I), and the third in the Library of the Maharaja of Kashmir (K). The text reproduced here is based on the first two manuscripts. Both of these, however, are hopelessly corrupt in places, and the errors common to them seem to indicate that the manuscripts were derived from the same archetype. The third manuscript, unfortunately, is not available, as the Kashmir authorities will, on no account, send out the manuscript here. I have, therefore, been obliged to rely on a copy of that manuscript specially prepared for my use, which procedure is always more or less unsatisfactory as there is invariably some uncertainty as to the amount of personal equation to be allowed for the copyist. A definitive edition of the text, therefore, is out of the question at the present stage and with the materials now available. The publication of the present paper, however, may direct attention to the subject which is of undoubted interest and importance, and this may, I hope, also lead to the discovery of fresh manuscripts. The text will be followed up by a translation accompanied by illustrative notes, but I may, meanwhile, briefly indicate one or two points of some interest.

Jimutavahana quotes freely from the works of juristic writers who preceded him. The following tabular statement gives the names of the principal authors quoted, as also the number of times they are referred to and the number of passages attributed to each author which are not traceable in their extant writings :

Name of author quoted.		No. of times quoted.	No. of passages not found in extant works.
1. Manu		40	7
2. Vishnu	Sutra	13	1
	Sloka	13	5
3. Yajnavalkya		34	2
4. Harita		1	1
5. Pitamaha		1	1

	Name of author quoted.	No. of times quoted.	No. of passages not found in extant works.
6.	Narada	107	16
7.	Sambarta	3	3
8.	Katyayana	137	137
9.	Vrihaspati	127	127
10.	Vyasa	36	36
11.	Vrihat-Katyayana	1	1
12.	Sankha	3	3
13.	Likhita	3	3
14.	Usana	1	1
15.	Gautama	4	4
16.	Yama	4	4
17.	Prajapati	1	1
18.	Kaundilya	6	6
19.	Vrihad-Vasishta	1	1
20.	Vriddha-Satatapa	4	4
		540	364

Thus, out of the 40 quotations from Manu, 7 cannot be traced in the Institutes which have come down to us, and in the case of Narada, out of 107 quoted, 16 can not be similarly traced. But the most remarkable instances are those of Katyayana, Vrihaspati and Vyasa. Of the first of these, 137 passages are quoted, of the second 127, and of the third 36. Not one of these can be traced in the writings now extant and attributed to these authors. The inference seems irresistible that the Institutes of these authors have come down to us in a very fragmentary form, and that in fact the division which dealt with Jurisprudence has almost entirely disappeared.

As regards the subject-matter of the Book, three points deserve special mention. Jimutavahana deals at great length with the question of the acquisition of title by prescription, and sustains the position that an owner who has been kept out of his property without his knowledge ought not to lose his title thereto. As regards the adoption of an only son, Jimutavahana apparently favours its absolute invalidity, and it is rather unfortunate that the British Courts should have finally decided this question without knowledge of the views of Jimutavahana on the subject. Lastly, as regards the Law of Evidence, we have an elaborate discussion, much in advance of what is contained in other works on Hindu Law.

I may add that Jimutavahana refers to a number of Jurists not mentioned by any other author, for instance, Jitendriya, Yogloka, Balaka, Viswarupa, Srikara, Manjarikar. Of one of these, Yogloka, he controverts the views frequently, and in one instance where he does this, his views were subsequently controverted by Chintamani, which would seem to indicate that Jimutavahana preceded Chintamani. If this position is sustained, the question of the period when Jimutavahana flourished will require reconsideration.

The following abbreviations have been used :—

A.S. = MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society.
I = MS. in the Library of the India Office.
K = MS. in the Library of the Maharaja of Kashmir.
O = Not traced in existing texts of the author from whom the quotation purports to have been made.
S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East Series.

A. M.

The Vyavahāra Mātrikā of Jimutavāhana.

By The Hon. Mr. JUSTICE ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, SARASWATI, C.S.I., M.A.,
D.L., D.Sc., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.E.

व्यवहारमातृका ।

श्रीकृष्णोजयति ।

व्यवहारमातृकैषा सकलविवादेषु धर्म्मवादार्थम् ।
लोकद्वयेऽपि रक्षति सुतमिव शुश्रूषया माता ।

तत्र विवादविषयानाह नारदः ।[1]

ऋणादानं ह्युपनिधिः सम्भूयोत्थानमेव च ।
दत्तस्य पुनरादानं शुश्रूषामभ्युपेत्य च ॥
वेतनस्याऽनपाकर्म्म तथैवाऽस्वामिविक्रयः ।
विक्रीयाऽसम्प्रदानञ्च क्रीतानुशय एव च ॥
समयस्याऽनपाकर्म्म विवादः क्षेत्रजस्तथा ।
स्त्रीपुंसयोश्च सम्बन्धो दायभागोऽथ साहसम् ॥
वाक्पारुष्यन्तथैवोक्तं दण्डपारुष्यमेव च ।
द्यूतं प्रकीर्णकञ्चैवेत्यष्टादशपदः स्मृतः ॥

एवमष्टादशपदानि व्यवहारस्य । तत्र धनविषयश्चतुर्द्दशधा, हिंसामूलश्चतुर्धा ।

तदाऽऽह बृहस्पतिः[2] ।

द्विपदोव्यवहारश्च धनहिंसासमुद्भवः ।
द्विसप्तधाऽर्थमूलश्च हिंसामूलश्चतुर्व्विधः ॥

ऋणादानमवसरे वक्ष्यामः

एते तु विवादपदाः पूर्व्वं नासन् । तदाह नारदः[3] ।

---

[1] Narada, page 9, Part 1, Chap. I, Ver. 17—20. (Jolly) Sanskrit Text, see Sl. 16—19. I = K. reads अत्रसंवेक्ष्यामः ।

[2] O

[3] Narada, Part 1, Chap. I, Ver. 2. A.S. reads यदा for सदा ।

“धर्म्मैकतानाः पुरुषाः सदाऽऽसन् सत्यवादिनः ।
तदा न व्यवहारोऽभून्न द्वेषो नाऽपि मत्सरः ॥

धर्म्मैकतानाः धर्म्मप्रवणाः ।

सत्यादिषु युगेषु यदा पुरुषा आसन् तदा व्यवहारोविवादो न भूतः, सम्प्रति तु कलौ युगे यथा तदाऽऽह[1] ।

“धर्म्मे नष्टे मनुष्याणां राजा दण्डधरः स्मृतः” ।

नष्टे पराजयिनि, यस्माद्राज्ञा स्वधर्म्मरक्षणार्थं दण्डः कार्य्यः तस्मात् स्वयमेव वादिप्रतिवादिनोरन्यतरस्य न्यायान्यायञ्च निरूपयितुं युक्तमिति कृत्वा दण्डधर इत्युक्तं ।

दण्ड-कर्त्तव्यतामाह याज्ञवल्क्यः[2] ।

यो दण्ड्यान् दण्डयेद्राजा सम्यक् दण्ड्यांश्च घातयेत् ।
इष्टं स्यात्क्रतुभिस्तेन सहस्रशतदक्षिणैः ॥
इति सञ्चिन्त्य नृपतिः क्रतुतुल्यफलं पृथक् ।
व्यवहारान् स्वयं पश्येत् सभ्यैः परिवृतोऽन्वहम् ॥

स्वयञ्च न्यायदर्शनं यथा कार्य्यं तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[3] ।

“विनीतवेशोनृपतिः सभां गत्वा समाहितः ।
आसीनः प्राङ्मुखोभूत्वा पश्येत्कार्य्याणि कार्य्यिणाम् ?” ॥
सह सभ्यैः स्थिरैर्युक्तः प्रज्ञामूलैर्द्विजोत्तमैः ।
धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलैरर्थशास्त्रविशारदैः ॥
स प्राड्विवाकः सामात्यः सब्राह्मणपुरोहितः ।
ससभ्यः प्रेक्षको राजा स्वर्गे तिष्ठति धर्म्मतः ॥

विनीतवेशे हि नृपतौ प्रतिभाक्षयाभावात् यथातत्त्वं वादिप्रतिवादिनौ वदितुमीशाते नाऽन्यथेति ।

तथाचोक्तं ।

सभायै हिताः सभ्यास्तैः स्थिरैर्धर्म्मनिश्चलचित्तैरभेद्यैरित्यर्थः, धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोरविरोधेन न्यायदर्शनं कार्य्यं इत्युभयोरुपादानं ।

असमाधेयविरोधे तु शास्त्रमेवाऽऽदरणीयं तस्य बलवत्त्वादिति वक्ष्यति ।

प्राड्विवाकं विविनक्ति कात्यायनः[4] ।

“व्यवहाराश्रितं प्रश्नं पृच्छति प्राडिति स्थितिः ।
विवेचयति यस्तस्मिन् प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥”

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[1] Narada, I, 3. A.S. reads नष्टे धर्म्मे मनुष्याणां व्यवहारः प्रवर्त्तते ।

[2] Yajnavalkya (Mand), Ch. 1, Ver. 358, 59, 60, reads वध्यान् for दण्ड्यान् and समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः for सहस्रशतदक्षिणैः ।

[3] O

[4] O

अर्थिन् भाषा ते कीदृशी प्रत्यर्थिंस्तवापि कीदृशमुत्तरं इति पृच्छतीति प्राट्, श्रुत्वा च युक्तायुक्तं विविनक्तीति विवाकः। विचार्य्य वा जयपराजयरूपं विविधमर्थं वक्तीति विवाकः।

प्राडित्यनेन सह प्राड्विवाकः। रागद्वेषौ विहाय न्यायदर्शनं कार्य्यमित्याह नारदः[1]।

राजा मन्त्रिसहायस्तु द्वयोर्विवदमानयोः।
सम्यक् कार्य्याण्यवेक्षेत रागद्वेषविवर्जितः॥
[2]धर्म्मेणोद्धरतो राज्ञो व्यवहारान् कृतात्मनः।
सन्तन्वन्ति गुणाः सप्त सप्त वह्नेरिवार्च्चिषः॥
धर्म्मश्चार्थश्च कीर्त्तिश्च लोकपक्तिरुपग्रहः।
प्रजाभ्योबहुमानश्च स्वर्गे स्थानश्च शाश्वतम्॥
तस्माद्धर्म्मासनं प्राप्य राजा विगतमत्सरः।
समः स्यात् सर्व्वभूतेषु बिभ्रद्वैवस्वतं व्रतम्॥

वैवस्वतव्रतं धर्म्मराजव्रतं। तथा नारदकात्यायनौ यमश्च। प्रथमः[3]।

"श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धञ्च भूतानामहितञ्च यत्।
न तत्प्रवर्त्तयेद्राजा प्रवृत्तञ्च निवर्त्तयेत्॥
न्यायाद्गतं यदन्येन राज्ञा ज्ञानकृतं भवेत्।
तदप्याज्ञाय विहिते पुनर्न्याये निवेशयेत्॥

स्वयं वा अशास्त्रतो निरूपितं नृपत्यन्तरेण वा अज्ञानकृतं व्यवहारं शास्त्रविहितेन वर्त्मना पुनर्निरूपयेत्। यदा तु व्यग्रतया स्वयं न्यायदर्शनासमर्थो राजा, तदा यादृशो नियोज्यस्तदाऽऽह

कात्यायनः[4]॥

यदि कार्य्यवशाद्राजा न पश्येत्कार्य्यनिर्णयम्।
तदा नियुञ्ज्याद्विद्वांसं ब्राह्मणं वेदपारगम्॥
दान्तं कुलीनं मध्यस्थमनुद्वेगकरं स्थिरम्।
परत्र भीरुं धर्म्मिष्ठमुद्युक्तं क्रोधवर्ज्जितम्॥

ब्राह्मणाभावे क्षत्रियं तदभावे वैश्यं। तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[5]।

यदि विप्रो न विद्वान् स्यात् क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत्।
वैश्यं वा धर्म्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन वर्ज्जयेत्॥

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[1] O

[2] Narada, Ch. I, 32—34, reads सम्भवन्ति for सन्तन्वन्ति.

[3] Narada, Ch. XVII, 8, 9, reads न्यायापेतं for न्यायादूतं and तदप्यन्यायविहितं for तदप्याज्ञायविहिते · O in यमः and कात्यायन.

[4] O

[5] O

तथा मनुः[1] ।

"जातिमात्रोपजीवी स्यात्कामं स्याद्ब्राह्मणब्रुवः ।
धर्म्मप्रवक्ता नृपतेर्नशूद्रः स्यात्कथञ्चन" ॥

शूद्रस्यात्यन्तनिषेधार्थं वचनमिदं, न तु ब्राह्मणब्रुवविधानार्थं। ब्राह्मणब्रुवमाह बृहस्पतिः[2] ।

"धर्म्मकर्म्मविहीनस्तु ब्राह्मैर्लिङ्गैर्विवर्ज्जितः ।
ब्रवीति ब्राह्मणोऽस्मीति तमाहुर्ब्राह्मणब्रुवम्" ॥

न चैवंविधोधर्म्मनिरूपणक्षमोऽधिकारी वा । शूद्रे निरूपके दोषमाह मनुः[3] ।

"यस्य राज्ञस्तु कुरुते शूद्रोधर्म्मविवेचनं ।
तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं पङ्के गौरिव पश्यतः" ॥

तथा व्यासः[4] ।

"द्विजान् विहाय यः पश्येत् कार्य्याणि वृषलैः सह ।
तस्य प्रक्षुभ्यते राष्ट्रं बलं कोषश्च नश्यति" ॥

सभासदां स्वरूपमाह नारदः[5] ।

धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलाः कुलीनाः सत्यवादिनः ।
समाः शत्रौ च मित्रे च नृपतेः स्युः सभासदः ॥

एतेषां संख्यामाह बृहस्पतिः[6] ।

"वेदवेदाङ्गतत्त्वज्ञाः सप्त पञ्च त्रयोऽपि वा ।
यत्रोपविष्टा विप्राग्र्याः सा यज्ञसदृशी सभा" ॥

भा दीप्तिः प्रकाशो ज्ञानमिति यावत्, तया सह वर्त्तते या भूमिः सा सभा। विद्वदधिष्ठानेन ,ह भूमिरपि प्रकाशसहितेति व्यपदिश्यते ।

विद्वत्सम्मतिरेव या तथेति सभोच्यते (?)

त्रयोऽपि वेत्यधमकोटिरियं । राज्ञा चाऽधिष्ठिता सभा गरीयसीत्याहतुर्मनुकात्यायनौ[7] ।

कुलानि श्रेणयश्चैव गणस्त्वधिकृतो नृपः ।
प्रतिष्ठाव्यवहाराणां गुर्व्वेभ्यस्तूत्तरोत्तरम् ॥

कुलं वादिप्रतिवादिनोः स्वकुलं । श्रेणयः शिल्पिवणिगादिसमूहः । गणो विप्रादिसमूहः । अधिकृतो नृपतिवन्दितः प्राड्विवाकादिः । नृपतिरेव वा स्वयं निरूपयति । पूर्व्वं पूर्व्वञ्च दुर्ब्बलं उत्तरमुत्तरं गरीयः।

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[1] Manu, VIII, 20, reads वा for स्यात् . S.B.E., Vol. XXV (page 255).

[2] O

[3] Manu, VIII, 21, S.B.E., Vol. XXV (page 256).

[4] O

[5] Narada, III, 5 (page 41).

[6] O

[7] Narada, I, 7 ; O in Manu and Katyayana.

दुर्ब्बलेन व्यवहारे दृष्टे भग्नस्य पुनर्न्यायं प्रार्थयमानस्य न्यायो गुरुणा द्रष्टव्यः । न तु गुरुणा दृष्टे दुर्ब्बलेन, राज्ञा दृष्टस्तु नाऽन्यैः । किन्तु स्वयमेव विचारयेत् । भ्रमादिनिरासार्थमन्यो वा नृपतिस्तद्देशीयः । तत्तु प्रथमनिर्णयस्थानोक्तभाषोत्तरपरामर्शादेव भाषोत्तरं ग्राह्यं असम्यग्दर्शननिमित्तत्वात् स्थानान्तरग्रहणस्य, अन्यथा एकस्मिन् स्थाने मिथ्योत्तरोत्तरेण भग्नस्य पुनः प्रत्यवस्कन्दनमुत्तरं स्यात् । तदा च

“क्रियां बलवतीमुक्त्वा दुर्ब्बलां योऽवलम्बते ।
स जयेऽवधृते सभ्यैः पुनस्तां नाऽऽप्नुयात् क्रिया”मिति ॥

[1]कात्यायनवचनेन विरुध्येत । येषान्तु समयादेव बहुशो व्यवस्था तेषां समयज्ञैरेव व्यवहारस्य निर्णयः कर्त्तव्यः, यथा वृहस्पतिः[2] ।

“कीनाशाः कारुका मल्लाः कुसीदश्रेणिवर्त्तकाः ।
लिङ्गिनस्तस्कराश्चैव स्वेन धर्म्मेण निर्णयः” ॥

कीनाशाः कृषीवलाः, कारुकः शिल्पी, उपलक्षणमेतत्, अन्योऽपि तद्व्यवहारज्ञो निर्णीतः । तदभिज्ञत्वस्य हेतोरविशेषात् । पुनराह[3],

“येत्वरण्यचरास्तेषां अरण्यकरणम्भवेत् ।
सेनायां सैनिकानान्तु सार्थे तु वणिजान्तथा” ॥

तथा वृहस्पतिकात्यायनौ[4] ।

“तपस्विनान्तु कार्य्याणि त्रैविद्यैरेव कारयेत् ।
मायायोगविदाञ्चैव न स्वयं कोपकारणात्” ॥

निगद्व्याख्यातं, तथा मनुः[5] ।

“आश्रमेषु द्विजातीनां कार्य्ये विवदतां मिथः ।
न विब्रूयान्नृपो धर्म्मं चिकीर्षन् हितमात्मनः” ॥
“यथार्हमेतानभ्यर्च्य ब्राह्मणैः पार्थिवः स्वयम् ।
सत्त्वेन प्रशमय्याऽऽदौ स्वधर्म्मं प्रतिपादयेत्” ॥

अस्यार्थः । त्रिदण्डैर्दण्डाश्रमविवादेषु स्वयं निरूपयेत् । ब्राह्मणैरित्युपादानात् तैरपि निरूपणीयं । मिथोऽन्योऽन्यं । द्विजातीनामित्युपादानात् पाषण्डैः सहाऽऽश्रमविवादेषु तु ब्रूयादेव धर्म्ममित्यर्थः । शेषं सुगमं । अथ सभ्यानां फलश्रुतिः । तत्र नारदः[6] ।

“शुद्धेषु व्यवहारेषु शुद्धिं यान्ति सभासदः ।
शुद्धिश्च तेषां धर्म्माद्धि धर्म्ममेव वदेत्ततः” ॥

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[1] O [2] O [3] O [4] O

[5] Manu, VIII, 390, 391, reads ब्राह्मणैः सह पार्थिवः, for ब्राह्मणैः पार्थिवः स्वयम् and सान्त्वेन for सत्त्वेन, S.B.E., Vol. XXV (pages 319—320).

[6] Narada, III, 7 (page 42).

यथा बृहस्पतिः[1] ।

"अज्ञानतिमिरोपेतान् सन्देहपटलान्वितान् ।
निरामयान् यान् कुरुते शास्त्राञ्जनशलाकया ॥
इह कीर्त्तिं राजपूजां लभते स्वर्गतिञ्च सः ।
तस्मात् संशयमूढानां कर्त्तव्यो हि विनिर्णयः" ॥

तत्र नारदः[2] ।

"नाऽनियुक्तेन वक्तव्यं व्यवहारे कथञ्चन ।
नियुक्तेन च वक्तव्यमरक्षापतितं वचः" ॥

अथ बृहस्पतिः[3] ।

"लोभद्वेषादिकं त्यक्त्वा यः कुर्य्यात् कर्म्मनिर्णयम् ।
शास्त्रोदितेन विधिना तस्य धर्म्मफलम्भवेत्" ॥

शास्त्रञ्च द्विविधं धर्म्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रञ्च, तदुभयाविरोधेन व्यवहारदर्शनं कार्य्यम् । तदाह नारदः[4] ।

"धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्राभ्यामविरोधेन पार्थिवः ।
समीक्षमाणो निपुणं व्यवहारं गतिं नयेत्" ॥

विप्रतिपत्तौ पुनराह नारदः[5] ।

"यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।
अर्थशास्त्रार्थमुत्सृज्य धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थमाचरेत्" ॥

धर्म्मशास्त्रयोरेव तु लोकस्य व्यवहार आदरणीयः । तदाऽऽह नारदः[6] ।

"धर्म्मशास्त्रविरोधे च युक्तियुक्तोविधिः स्मृतः ।
व्यवहारो हि बलवान् धर्म्मस्तेनावहीयते" ॥

तत्र बृहस्पतिः[7] ।

"केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्त्तव्यो विनिर्णयः ।
युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्म्महानिः प्रजायते" ॥

युक्तिर्लोकव्यवहारः । अधर्म्मप्रवृत्ते राजनि सभ्यानां कर्त्तव्यमाह । नारदः[8] ।

"अधर्म्मज्ञो यदा राजा नियुञ्जीत विवादिनः ।
विज्ञाप्य नृपतिं सभ्यस्तदा सम्यङ्निवर्त्तयेत् ॥

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[1] O [2] Narada, III, 1, reads अपक्षपतितम् for अरक्षापतितम् (page 40). [3] O

[4] Narada, I, 37, reads संपश्यमानो for समीक्षमाणो (page 16).

[5] Narada, I, 39, reads अर्थशास्त्रोक्तं for अर्थशास्त्रार्थं (page 16).

[6] Narada, I, 40 (page 16). [7] O [8] O

सभ्येनाऽवश्यवक्तव्यं धर्म्मार्थसहितं वचः ।
शृणोति यदि नो राजा स्यात्तु सभ्यस्तदा नृपः ॥
अधर्म्मतः प्रवृत्तन्तु नोपेक्षेरन् सभासदः ।
उपेक्षमाणाः सनृपा नरके यान्त्यधोमुखाः ॥
अन्यायतो यियासन्तं येऽनुयान्ति सभासदः ।
सभ्यदोषाश्रयं नष्टं देयं सभ्येन तद्यथा ॥
कार्य्यन्तु कार्य्यिणामे(व ?) निश्चितन्तु विचालयेत् ।
अन्यथा दर्शिना सभ्येन निर्णीतं विचालयेत्" ॥

सम्यक् पुनर्विचारयेदित्यर्थः । अथ बृहस्पतिः[1] ।

"अन्यायवादिनः सभ्यास्तथैवोत्कोचजीविनः ।
विश्वस्तवञ्चकाश्चैव निर्व्वास्याः सर्व्व एव ते" ॥

तथा विष्णुः[2] । "कूटसाक्षिणां सर्व्वस्वापहारः कार्य्यः । उत्कोचजीविनां सभ्यानाञ्च" ।

तथाऽऽह बृहस्पतिः[3] ।

"कूटसभ्यः कूटसाक्षी ब्रह्महा च समाः स्मृताः ।
भ्रूणहा मित्रहा चैषां नाऽऽधिकः समुदाहृतः" ॥

तथा कात्यायनः[4] ।

"अनिर्णीते तु यद्यर्थं सम्भाषेत रहोऽर्थिनम् ।
प्राड्विवाकोऽथ दण्ड्यः स्यात् सभ्यश्चैव न संशयः" ॥

अर्थिपदेन प्रत्यर्थिनोऽप्युपादानं । तस्याऽपि स्वापेक्षणार्थित्वात् । कूटकरणशङ्कायाश्चाऽविशेषात् । तस्माद्धर्म्मतोव्यवहारो द्रष्टव्यः । व्यवहारं विविनक्ति कात्यायनः[5] ।

"वि नानार्थेऽव सन्देहे हरणं हार उच्यते ।
नानासन्देहहरणाद्व्यवहार इति स्थितिः" ॥

स च द्विविध इत्याह नारदः[6] ।

"सोत्तरोऽनुत्तरश्चैव स च ज्ञेयो द्विलक्षणः ।
सोत्तरो ह्यधिको यत्र विलेखापूर्व्वकः पणः" ॥

भाषादिविलेखात्पूर्व्वं यत्र वादिनोऽन्योऽन्यं पणो भवति, योऽत्र जीयते, स जेत्रे शतमधिकं ददाति, असौ सोत्तरव्यवहारः । विलेखापूर्व्वक इति पाटेतु लिख्यते इति लेखः शास्त्रविहितो दण्डः, स विगतो यस्यामिच्छायां सा विलेखा इच्छा, तत्पूर्व्वस्ततोऽधिकः पण इच्छातः शास्त्रनिरपेक्ष इत्यर्थः । विलेख्यपूर्व्वक

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[1] O [2] Vishnu, V, 175, 176. [3] O [4] O [5] O
[6] Narada, I, 4 (page 4).

इति पाठे एषैव व्याख्या। विलेखात् पूर्व्वंत इति भोजदेवेन लिखितं। तत्र सोत्तरपणे विवादे जितः पणं दाप्यो दण्डनीयश्च। तदाऽऽह[1]।

"विवादे सोत्तरपणे द्वयोर्यस्तत्र हीयते।
स पणं स्वकृतं दाप्यो विनेयश्च पराजये"॥

स चाऽयं व्यवहारो यज्ञ इत्याह बृहस्पतिः[2]।

"यज्ञे सम्पूज्यते विष्णुर्व्यवहारे महीपतिः।
जयी तु यजमानोऽत्र जितः पशुरुदाहृतः॥
पूर्व्वपक्षोत्तरावाद्यं प्रतिज्ञा च हविः स्मृतः।
त्रयी शास्त्राणि सभ्यास्तु ऋत्विजो दक्षिणादन"॥ (?)

इत्यादि स च व्यवहारो यस्मिन् यदा द्रष्टव्यस्तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[3]।

"सभास्थाने तु पूर्व्वाह्णे कार्य्याणां निर्णयं नृपः।
कुर्य्याच्छास्त्रप्रमाणेन मार्गेणाऽमित्रकर्षणः॥
दिवसस्याष्टमं भागं त्यक्त्वा भागत्रयन्तु यत्।
स कालो व्यवहाराणां शास्त्रदृष्टः परःस्मृतः"॥

अष्टममिति प्रहरार्द्धप्रहरं त्यक्त्वा मध्याह्नं यावत् पश्येत्, स चायं चतुष्पादित्याह बृहस्पतिः[4]।

"पूर्व्वपक्षः स्मृतः पादो द्वितीयश्चोत्तरः स्मृतः।
क्रियापादस्तथाचाऽन्यस्तुर्य्यो निर्णयः स्मृतः"॥

अन्यस्तृतीय इत्यर्थः। पुनराह[5]।

"मिथ्योक्तौ च चतुष्पात् स्यात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दने तथा।
प्राङ्न्याये च स विज्ञेयो द्विपात् सम्प्रतिपत्तिषु"॥

सम्यग्रूपं भाषोत्तरे सति इति बोद्धव्यम्। यत्र तु भाषैव उत्तरानर्हा तत्रार्थिवादिनिर्णयश्चेति पादद्वयम्। यत्र उत्तरस्याभासत्वं तत्र पादत्रयं बोध्यव्यम्। ननु सत्योत्तरभाषोत्तरे निर्णयश्चेति पादत्रयमेव, नैतत् उत्तरवादिना भाषार्थस्याङ्गीकृतत्वात् निर्णीतस्याभावात् स्वोक्तेतरस्य पराजितत्वात्।

तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[6]।

"पराजयश्च द्विविधः परोक्तः स्वोक्त एव च।
परोक्तः स्याद्दशविधः स्वोक्त एकविधः स्मृतः"॥

सत्योत्तरे स्वोक्तेनैव भङ्गः। परोक्तदशविधभङ्गमाह[7]।

विवादान्तरसंक्रान्तिः पूर्व्वोत्तरविरुद्धता।
दूषणं स्वक्रियोत्पत्तेः परवाक्योपपादनम्॥

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[1] Narada, I, 5, reads 'विनयं च' for 'विनेयश्च' (page 5).

[2] O [3] O [4] O [5] O [6] O [7] O

अनिर्द्दिष्टस्य देशस्य निर्द्देशोऽदेशकालयोः।
साक्षिणामुपजापश्च विद्वेषो वचनस्य च॥
अयुक्तदेशोपनयः साक्षिप्रश्ननिराक्रिया।

परेणाऽत्र पराजयावधारणात् राज्ञा च स्वयं विवादो नोत्थापनीयः। यदाऽऽह कात्यायनः।[1]

"न राजा तु वशित्वेन धनलोभेन वा पुनः।
स्वयं कार्य्याणि कुर्व्वीत नवाऽऽगमविवादिनाम्"* ॥

तथा याज्ञवल्क्यः।[2]

"स्मृत्याचारव्यपेतेन मार्गेणाधर्षितः परैः।
आवेदयति चेद्राज्ञि व्यवहारपदं हि तत्"॥

स्मृत्याचारेण व्यपेतस्त्यक्तः। तेनाधर्षितः क्षिप्तः। आवेदयतीति प्रयोगान्न राज्ञा स्वयमुत्थापनीयः आक्षेपश्च द्विधा। तथाह मनुः।[3]

"हिंसां यः कुरुते कश्चित् देयं वा न प्रयच्छति।
स्थाने स्वे तु विवादस्य तयोर्बहुविधा गतिः"॥

कात्यायनः।[4]

"उत्पादयति यो हिंसां देयं वा न प्रयच्छति।
याचमानाय दौःशील्यादाकृष्योऽसौ नृपाज्ञया"॥

याज्ञवल्क्ये परैरिति वचनात् पुत्रशिष्यदासादीनां पित्रादिभिः समं विवादो न ग्राह्यः। तदाह बृहस्पतिः।[5]

"गुरुशिष्यौ पितापुत्रौ दम्पती स्वामिभृत्यकौ।
एतेषां समवेतानां व्यवहारो न सिध्यति"॥

एतच्चाल्पापराधविषयं। यदि पुनराचार्य्योऽनुचितदण्डेन शिष्यं दण्डयति, पिता वा व्यसनाविष्टः सर्व्वस्वं वेश्याकिरातादिभ्यो दातुमिच्छति, एकपुत्र एव वा पुत्रं विक्रेतुं दातुं वा इच्छति, पतिर्वा पतिव्रतां परम्परागतं विनीतं दासं वा भृत्यर्थं विक्रेतुमिच्छति। एवमादिव्यवहारो द्रष्टव्य एव, अन्यथा अनुचितक्रियाप्रवृत्तस्य राज्ञोऽधर्म्मापत्तेः। अवश्यं ज्ञात्वा दण्डस्य कर्त्तव्यत्वात्। तथा यमः।[6]

"भार्य्यापुत्रश्च दासश्च दासी शिष्यश्च पञ्चमः।
प्राप्तापराधास्ताड्याः स्यू रज्ज्वा वेणुदलेन वा"॥
अधस्तात्तु प्रहर्त्तव्यं नोत्तमाङ्गे कदाचन।
अतोऽन्यथा प्रवृत्तस्तु यथोक्तं दण्डमर्हति॥

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[1] O
[2] Yajnavalkya, II, 5.
[3] O
[4] O
[5] O
[6] O

* नराणामविवादिनामिति काश्मीरपुस्तके पाठः।

तथा कात्यायनः।[1]

“न भर्त्ता नैव च सुतो न पिता भ्रातरो न च।
आदाने वा विसर्गे वा स्त्रीधने प्रभविष्णवः” ॥
यदि ह्येकतरो ह्येषां भक्षयेत् स्त्रीधनं बलात्।
सवृद्धि प्रतिदाप्यः स्यात् दण्डश्चैव समाप्नुयात् ॥

तदेवमादयो विवादा द्रष्टव्या एव। कथमन्यथा तत्र दण्डविधानम्। अर्थिना च यदनेकधा निवेदितं तन्नृपतिना ग्राह्यं न तु सकृदेव। तदाह बृहस्पतिः।[2]

आगतानां विवदतां असकृद्-वादिनां नृपः।
वादान् पश्येन् नाऽऽत्मकृतान् न चाध्यक्ष निवेदितान् ॥

तथाह वृहस्पतिः।[3]

पीड़ितः स्वयमायातः शालीनोऽथ यदा भवेत्।
प्राड्विवाकस्तु पृच्छेत पुरुषो वा शनैः शनैः ॥

शालीनो निर्णयशालायां लीनः उपस्थित इत्यर्थः। पुरुषो राजवर्ज्जितः। तथा कात्यायनः।[4]

“काले कार्य्यार्थिनं पृच्छेत् पुरुषः पुरतः स्थितम्।
किं कार्य्यं का च ते पीड़ा मा भैषीर्याहि मानद ॥
केन कस्मिन् कदा कस्मात् पृच्छेदेवं सभां गतः”।

केन पुरुषेण कस्मिन् देशे काले वा कस्मात् कारणादिति प्रणतं पृच्छेत्। अतः प्रणत एव ब्रूयात्। अन्यथाभिधाने दोषमाह कात्यायनः।[5]

“सशस्त्रोऽनुत्तरीयो वा मुक्तकच्छः सहासनः।
वामहस्तेन वा वादं वदन् दण्डमवाप्नुयात्” ॥

अथ वृहस्पतिः[6]।

“यस्याऽभियोगं कुरुते तथ्येन शङ्कयाऽपि वा।
तमेव चालयेद्राजा मुद्रया पुरुषेण वा ॥
आहूतो यस्तु नाऽऽगच्छेत् गच्छेद्दर्पबलान्वितः।
अभियोगानुपूर्व्वेण तस्य दण्डं प्रकल्पयेत्” ॥

ये च नाऽनेतव्यास्तानाह नारदः।[7]

“निर्वेष्टुकामो रोगार्त्तो यियक्षुर्व्यसने स्थितः।
अभियुक्तस्तथाऽन्येन राजकार्य्योद्यतस्तथा ॥

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[1] O [2] O [3] O [4] O [5] O [6] O

[7] Narada, I, 52, 53, 54. Narada reads सस्यारम्भे for सस्यवृन्दें, तत्कालं for तत्काले and विषमस्थश्च नासेध्यो for विषमस्थाश्च नासेध्याः (page 20).

गवां प्रचारे गोपालाः शस्यवृन्दे कृषीवलाः ।
शिल्पिनश्चापि तत्काले आयुधीयाश्च विग्रहे ॥
अप्राप्तव्यवहारश्च दूतो दानोन्मुखो व्रती ।
विषमस्थाश्च नाऽऽसेध्या नैतानावाहयेन्नृपः ” ॥

निर्वेष्टुकामो विवाहे प्रवृत्तः। अप्राप्तव्यवहारः आषोड़शवयस्कः। सुव्यक्तमपरं। एते तूर्णं मनुष्यादिनाऽऽनाऽऽसेध्याः न विधारणीयाः। निवेदितेऽपि वादिना विवादे नाह्वयितव्याः। तत्तत्कार्य्यसमाप्तिपर्य्यन्तं, तत्तत्कार्य्यविरोधादेव। तदधिककार्य्यविरोधे विवादनिवेदकस्य वा तदा आसेद्धव्या एव राज्ञा चाह्वयितव्या न्यायमूलत्वाद्वचनानां। वादिनश्च गृहीतबन्धके राज्ञः कर्त्तव्यमाह कात्यायनः[1]।

गृहीतग्रहणे न्यायो न प्रवृत्त्या (?) महीभुजा ।
तस्यैव तत्समर्प्यं स्यात् स्थापयेद्वा परत्र तत् ॥

ग्रहणं बन्धकं तत् तस्मिन्नेव समर्पणीयं। यद्यसौ प्रत्ययितः। असत्यत्वे तु मध्यस्थे स्थापनीयं स्वयमेव चाऽर्थिनः समुपस्थितत्वात् प्रत्यर्थिविषयत्वं, गृहीतग्रहणे न्यायो न प्रवर्त्तेत इत्यस्य वचनस्य यदा तु प्रतिवादी समयं कृत्वा रजतं बन्धकीकृत्य पञ्चकार्षापणौं गृहीतवान्, तस्मिन्नेव समये पञ्चकार्षापणौं दत्वा रजतं पुनर्गृहीतवान्, तस्मिन्नेव रजते प्रत्यक्षीकृते एवंविधो विवादो न प्रवर्त्तनीयो राज्ञेति वचनार्थः। स्वयमसमर्थश्चेत् विवादकरणे अन्यद्वारेणापि कुर्य्यात्, तदाऽऽहतुर्नारदकात्यायनौ[2]।

“ अर्थिना सन्नियुक्तो वा प्रत्यर्थिप्रहितोऽपि वा ।
यो यस्याऽर्थे विवदते तयोर्जयपराजयौ ” ॥

तथा वृहस्पतिः[3]।

“ अप्रगल्भ-जड़ोन्मत्त-वृद्धस्त्रीबालरोगिणाम् ।
पूर्व्वोत्तरं वदेद्बन्धुर्नियुक्तोऽप्यथवा परः ॥
ऋत्विग्वादे नियुक्तश्च समौ सम्परिकीर्त्तितौ ।
यज्ञे स्वाम्याप्नुयात् पुण्यं हानिं वादेऽथवा जयम् ” ।

पूर्व्वश्चोत्तरश्च पूर्व्वोत्तरं तेन नियुक्तोऽनियुक्तो वा तद्धितैषी सभायामुत्तरं वा ब्रूयात्। यो यस्यार्थे इति तद्वचनात् अर्थवादविषयश्चैतत् अन्यप्रतिनिध्यपवादः, तथा कात्यायनः[4]।

“ ब्रह्महत्यासुरापाने स्तेये गुर्व्वङ्गनागमे ।
अन्योऽन्यसङ्ग वादेषु प्रतिवादी न विद्यते ॥
मनुष्यमारणे स्तेये परदाराभिमर्षणे ।
अभक्ष्यभक्षणे चैव कन्याहरणदूषणे ॥

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[1] O [2] O in Katyayana, see Narada, II, 22 (page 31).
[3] O [4] O

पारुष्यकूटकरणे नृपद्रोहे तथैव च ।
प्रतिवादी न दातव्यः कर्त्ता तु विवदेत् स्वयम् ” ॥

प्रतिनिधीभूय वदति प्रतिवादी स ब्रह्महत्यादिषु न दाप्यः । स्वयमेव कर्त्ता विवदेत्,—भाषोत्तरं वदेत् । अर्थवादेऽपि विशेषमाह, बृहस्पतिः ।[1]

योऽदत्तव्यवहारत्वादनियुक्तः प्रवर्त्तते ।
वचनं तस्य न ग्राह्यं लिखितप्रेषितादृते ॥
यो न भ्राता पिता वापि न पुत्रो न नियोजितः ।
परार्थवादे दण्ड्यः स्यात् व्यवहारेषु विब्रुवन् ॥

लिखितं सम्यङ्निरूपितं, प्रेषितं मध्यस्थजनसन्निधौ । तथा कौण्डिन्यः ।[2]

दासेन च कृतं कार्य्यमकृतं परिचक्षते ।
अन्यत्र स्वामिसन्देशान् न दासः प्रभुरात्मनः ॥
पुत्रेण च कृतं कर्म्म यत् स्यात् स्वच्छन्दतः पितुः ।
तदप्यकृतमेवाहुर्दासः पुत्रश्च तौ समौ ॥
यद्बालः कुरुते कार्य्यमस्वतन्त्रस्तथैव च ।
अकृतन्तदिति प्राहुः शास्त्रे शास्त्रविदो जनाः ॥
अस्वतन्त्राः स्त्रियः पुत्रा दासाश्च सपरिग्रहाः ।
स्वतन्त्रस्तत्र तु स्वामी यस्य ते स्युः क्रमागताः ॥
स्वतन्त्रोऽपि हि यत्कार्य्यं कुर्य्यादप्रकृतिं गतः ।
तदप्यकृतमेवाहुरस्वतन्त्रः सहेतुकः ॥

अप्रकृतिं गतो रोगादिना अप्रकृतः । ननु तर्हि पुत्रादिभिरपि संविधानादेव क्रियाणां कर्त्तव्यत्वात् “यो न भ्राता पिता वाऽपी”त्यादि नियोगाधिकारिणो भेदेनैषामुपादानं न स्यात् । उच्यते ।

पित्रादौ देशान्तरस्थिते यद्येष ताम्रघटादिकं विक्रीय गृहीत्वा वा देशान्तरगमनोद्यतस्तदा तद्विनाशः स्यात् इति पित्राद्यनुमतिमन्तरेणापि पुत्रादिभिर्विवादः कार्य्यः । सन्निहिते तु पित्रादौ तदनुमत्यैवेत्यविरोधः । न्यायार्थमुपस्थितयोश्च प्रतिभूर्ग्राह्यः । विनेयत्वादर्थिनोऽपि मन्दपक्षस्य पलायनसम्भवात्, तदाऽऽह याज्ञवल्क्यः ।[3]

“ उभयोः प्रतिभूर्ग्राह्यः समर्थः कार्य्यनिर्णये ।
प्रतिभुवस्त्वभावे तु राजा संरक्षिता तयोः ” ॥

राजवर्ज्जित-रक्षकाय रक्षितो वेतनं दद्यात् । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः ।[4]

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[1] O [2] O

[3] Yajnavalkya, II, 10 ; but the second half of this sloka is not found in Yajnavalkya.

[4] O

"अथ चेत् प्रतिभूर्नाऽस्ति वादयोग्यश्च वादिनः ।
स रक्षितो दिनस्यान्ते दद्याद् दूताय वेतनम्" ॥

ततो व्यवहारदर्शनं, स च द्विधा, तदाऽऽह नारदः ।[1]

अभियोगः स विज्ञेयः शङ्का तत्त्वाभियोगतः ।
संसर्गादसतां शङ्का तत्त्वं होढाभिदर्शनात् ॥

होढा लोप्त्रं तत्साहचर्य्यात् शङ्काभियोगः चौर्य्यादिविषयः । असतां संसर्गादिति हेत्वभिधानाच्च । ऋणादिविवादेषु तु तत्त्वाभियोग एव निःसन्दिग्धनिराकुल इति वक्ष्यमाणात् । तथा द्विगतिरपि ।

"[2]भूतच्छलानुसारित्वाद्द्विगतिः स उदाहृतः ।
भूतं तत्त्वार्थसम्बन्धं प्रमादाभिहितं छलम्" ॥

ननु कथं द्विगतित्वं व्यवहारस्य ।

"छलं निरस्य भूतेन व्यवहारान्नयेन् नृपः ।
भूतमप्यनुपन्यस्तं हीयते व्यवहारतः" ॥

इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात् ।[3] सत्यं ऋणादिवादेषु भूतानुसार एव, साहसादिषु छलं यथा मदीयां भार्य्यामयमपहृतवानिति लेखयित्वा पश्चादुक्तं न हृता हर्त्तुमभिलषितेति । तथा पादेन मूर्द्ध्नि हतवानिति लेखयित्वा पश्चादुक्तं न हतोऽहं यथोक्तवान् इत्यादि वाक्छलेनैव तस्य भङ्गः । अन्यत्र तु न तथा,

तदाह नारदः ।[4]

"सर्व्वेष्वेव विवादेषु वाक्छलेनाऽवसीदति ।
पशुस्त्रीभूम्यृणादाने शास्योऽप्यर्थान्न हीयते" ॥

अर्थादित्यनुवादेन हीयते वाक्छलेन तु तत्रापि शास्यः । अर्थे तु भूतानुसरणमिति तत्त्वार्थः । सम्प्रति पूर्व्ववादी निरूप्यते । तत्र कात्यायनः ।[5]

"तत्राभियोक्ता प्राक् ब्रूयादभियुक्तस्त्वनन्तरम् ।
तयोरुक्तौ सदस्यास्तु प्राड्विवाकस्त्वनन्तरम्" ॥

द्विविधश्चाभियोक्ता धनार्थी, सम्मानार्थी च ।

यथा मदीयं धनं गृहीत्वा तिष्ठतीति लगुडादिना हतवानिति द्वावप्यभ्यर्थ्यमान + + स्वधनसम्मानाभ्यामर्थिनौ प्रथमं वाचयितव्यौ, न तु राज्ञि पूर्व्वं निवेदनमात्रात्, यथा नाहं तस्यैवं धारयामि, न च तस्याऽहं दासः, न मया ब्रह्मवधादिकं कृतं, तथापि मामयमन्यायेन क्षिपतीति । पूर्व्वं निवेदकत्वेन नाऽस्या-

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[1] Narada, I, 27, reads ह्यभियोगः for अभियोगः and शङ्कासतां तु संसर्गाद् for संसर्गादसतां शङ्का (page 13).

[2] Narada, I, 29 (page 13).

[3] Yajnavalkya, II, 19.

[4] Narada, II, 25. Narada reads सर्व्वेष्वपि for सर्व्वेष्वेव and अपहीयते for अवसीदति (page 32).

[5] O

र्थिवादः, किन्तु तन्निवेदनाज्ञानात् तस्यैव स हि प्रष्टव्यः कथं तव धारयतीति । कथं तव भृत्यः । कथं वाऽस्याऽभिशापं कुरुषे इति ब्रूहीति । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः ।[1]

“ यस्य चाऽप्यधिका पीड़ा कार्य्यं वाऽप्यधिकं भवेत् ।
पूर्व्वपक्षो भवेत्तस्य न यः पूर्व्वं निवेदयेत् ” ॥

नारदेन तस्यार्थिभावो दातव्य इति तृतीयपादे विशेषः । तथा शूद्रेणापि प्रथमं निवेदिते ब्राह्मणस्याऽग्रतो विवादो निरूपणीयः । कार्य्याणां वा गुरुलघुभावमालोक्य व्यवहारदर्शनं कार्य्यं; तदाऽऽह वृहस्पतिः ।[2]

“ अहम्-पूर्व्विकया यातावर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ यदा ।
वादो वर्णानुपूर्व्वेण ग्राह्यः पीड़ामवेक्ष्य च ” ॥

ब्राह्मणस्याऽप्यन्येन शूद्रस्याऽप्यन्येन विवादे वचनमिदं अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनाविति अर्थिगणाविति ज्ञेयं अन्यथा वर्णानुपूर्व्वेणेति न स्यात्, ब्राह्मणं प्रति शूद्रस्याप्युत्तमर्णस्यार्थिनः पूर्व्ववादावश्यम्भावात्, तथा मनुः ।[3]

“ अर्थानर्थावुभौ बुद्ध्वा धर्म्माधर्म्मौ च केवलौ ।
वर्णक्रमेण सर्व्वाणि पश्येत् कार्य्याणि कार्य्यिणाम् ” ॥

कार्य्याणीति बहुवचनात् यथोक्तविषयत्वं तदेवं निश्चिते पूर्व्ववादिनि तदैव पूर्व्वपक्षं निवेदयेत्, न पुनस्तत्र कालमर्हति । तथा नारदः ।[4]

प्रत्यर्थी लभते कालं त्र्यहं पञ्चाहमेव वा ।
अर्थी तु स्वार्थसन्देहात्तत्क्षणादेव हीयते ॥
स्वनिश्चितबलाधानस्वार्थी स्वार्थ-प्रचोदितः ।
लेखयेत् पूर्व्ववादन्तु कृतकार्य्यविनिश्चयः ॥

स्वनिश्चितबलाधानत्वं कृतकार्य्यनिश्चयत्वञ्च हेतुगर्भविशेषणं, एतद्व्याकरोति कात्यायनः ।[5]

“ यस्मात्कार्य्यसमारम्भाच्चिरात्तेन विनिश्चयः ।
तस्मान्न लभते कालमभियुक्तस्तु कालभाक् ” ॥

क्वचिदस्याऽप्यपवादकमाह वृहस्पतिः ।[6]

अभियोक्ताऽप्रगल्भत्वादुक्तं नोत्सहते यदा ।
तदा कालः प्रदातव्यः कार्य्यशक्त्यनुरूपतः ॥ ?

तथा कात्यायनः ।[7]

मतिर्नोत्सहते यत्र विवादे कार्य्यमिच्छतोः ।
दातव्यस्तत्र कालः स्याद् अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनोरपि ॥

अथ पूर्व्वपक्षः । तत्र वृहस्पतिः ।[8]

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[1] O [2] O [3] Manu, VIII, 24, S.B.E., Vol. XXV (page 256).
[4] O [5] O [6] O [7] O [8] O

“पीड़ातिशयमाश्रित्य यद्ब्रवीति विवक्षितम्
स्वार्थसिद्धिपरो वादी पूर्व्वपक्षः स उच्यते ॥

पीड़ापदमुभयपरं । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[1] ।

“यस्य चाऽर्थगता पीड़ा शारीरी वाऽधिका भवेत् ।
तस्याऽर्थिवादो दातव्यो न यः पूर्व्वं निवेदयेत् ” ॥

पूर्व्वपक्षलक्षणमाहतुः कात्यायनबृहस्पती[2] ।

“प्रतिज्ञादोषनिर्मुक्तं साध्यं सत्कारणान्वितम् ।
निश्चितं लोकसिद्धञ्च पक्षं पक्षविदोविदुः ॥
स्वल्पाक्षरप्रभूतार्थो निःसन्दिग्धोनिराकुलः ।
विरोधिकारणैर्मुक्तो विरोधिप्रतिषेधकः” ॥

ननु, तदभियुक्तं साध्यं हि ज्ञाप्यमुच्यते । तद्विशिष्टस्य धर्म्मी पक्षः तन्निर्द्देशवचनञ्च प्रतिज्ञा, तदुक्तम्[3],

वचनस्य प्रतिज्ञात्वं तदर्थस्य हि पक्षता ।
असङ्करेण वक्तव्ये व्यवहारेषु वादिभिः ॥

अतो मीमांस्यपरस्परभेदात् कथं साध्यमेव पक्षं विदुरित्यभिधानं कथञ्च प्रतिज्ञादोषनिर्म्मुक्तत्वं साध्यस्योच्यते अन्यस्य दोषविरहेऽन्यस्य निर्द्दोषत्वानुपपत्तेः ।

कीदृगल्पाक्षरत्वं कियत्तदल्पमिति विशेषस्यानिर्द्देशात् कथञ्चाल्पीयसामक्षराणां प्रभूतार्थत्वं प्रभूतानां पदानामेव परं तत्सम्भवात् । कियांश्च प्रभूतोऽर्थो भवतीति चाऽनिर्द्देशात् । उच्यते ।

अर्थिना च तावदर्थ्यमानं साध्यं अवश्यं निर्द्दिष्टव्यं अन्यथा अर्थित्वानुपपत्त्या व्यवहाराप्रसक्तेः । तन्निर्द्देशकमेव वचनं प्रतिज्ञा तस्यैव विवक्षितार्थप्रतिपादकत्वेन प्रधानत्वात्, अतएव यत्र हेत्वभिधानं न भवति तत्राऽपि प्रतिज्ञापुरस्कारेणैव व्यवहारो भवति, अतस्तत्र परस्परविरुद्धार्थप्रतिपादकपदप्रयोगादिदूषणेन साध्यस्यैवानवगतेः तन्निर्मुक्तौ तु सम्यक् साध्यमवगम्यते इति तथोक्तं, धर्म्मविशेषविशिष्टतया च धर्म्मिण एव साध्यत्वात् साध्यपक्षयोरप्यभेदाभिधानं, न ह्यग्नित्वतद्व्यक्तितद्वर्णानां सामान्यतः साध्यत्वं सर्व्वेषां सम्बन्धश्रवणकाल एवावगतत्वात् । किन्तु स्वरूपसिद्धयोरेव धर्म्मधर्म्मिणोरवगतो धर्म्मधर्म्मिभावः साध्यते ज्ञाप्यते । तत्प्रतिपादकान्तरीयकतया च पर्व्वतसम्बन्धिनोऽग्नित्वस्य तद्व्यक्तिविशेषस्य तद्वर्णविशेषस्य च प्रतिपादकमपि साध्यमुच्यते । धर्म्मिविशेषश्च पूर्व्वावगत एव साध्यधर्म्मविशिष्टतया च ज्ञाप्यः पक्षधर्म्म इत्युच्यते । अतएव “सिद्धधर्म्मिणमुद्दिश्य साध्योधर्म्मोऽभिधीयते” । एतेन यत्तार्किकम्मन्येन योग्लोकेनाऽभिहितं न च प्रतिपिपादयिषितधर्म्माधर्म्मीपक्षः* । स्वार्थानुमानविशेषे असुरभिगन्धानुमेये कुत्सितरसानुमाने प्रतिपित्साया अनुपपत्तेः । न चानवधारितेऽप्यग्निमत्त्वे पर्व्वतस्य बहुतरधर्म्मान्तरानवधारणात् धूमं प्रति पक्षताऽप्रसक्तेः । तस्मादनवधारित-

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[1] O [2] O [3] O

* See पक्षता of गङ्गेशः।

हेतुविषयधर्म्मधर्म्मीपक्षः स्वयमेवास्य दोषस्य पूर्व्वदुक्तस्यापत्तेः। नापि द्वितीयः इतरेतराश्रयापत्तेः, हेतुप्रयोगे सति तद्विषयपरिज्ञानात् पक्षनिर्द्दिष्टः पक्षहेतुप्रयोगस्तत् सिद्ध इति सुव्यक्तमन्योऽन्याश्रयत्वं। स्वार्थानुमाने च हेतोरहेतोश्चाप्रयोगात् पक्षस्याभावः स्यात्। किञ्च शब्दो नित्यः कृतकत्वादिति प्रयुक्तहेतुविषयत्वाभावात् शब्दो नित्य इति पक्षाभावान्न स्यात्, न चैवं, हेतोरेव हि तत्र साध्यविरुद्धसाधकतया विरुद्धभासता न तु पक्षस्य, किञ्च हेतुविषयता तदधीनसिद्धतासाध्यतैव नामान्तरेणेति, तदा च साध्यपदं विहाय उन्नेयार्थाप्रसिद्धपदप्रयोगग्रहोनिग्रह एव तस्य उन्मादस्तु तार्किम्मन्यनिरुक्तसाध्यपर्य्यालोचनं, किन्तु स्वपरार्थानुमानसाधारणं साध्यधर्म्मविशिष्टो धर्म्मीपक्षः, साध्यता च ज्ञाप्यता, सा च ज्ञातेऽपि धारावाहिकवदविरुद्धा, परार्थानुमानेषु तु अष्टादशविवादेषु प्रयोजनसिद्धये सिषाधयिषितधर्म्मविशिष्ट धर्म्मी एव पक्षः। परार्थानुमानाभिप्रायेणैव चोक्तपक्षपदेन सिषाधयिषितधर्म्मविशिष्ट एव धर्म्मीपक्षः। प्रकृतमनुसरामः। तस्मात्

"प्रतिज्ञादोषनिर्म्मुक्तं साध्यं पक्षं विदुरिति"[1]।

युक्तमुक्तं, प्रतिज्ञादूषणानि च परस्परविरुद्धार्थपदप्रयोग-प्रतिज्ञान्तरकरण-प्रतिज्ञाहानि-प्रतिज्ञा सन्यासाश्रयासिद्धि-धर्म्मिग्राहकप्रमाणविरोध-विरोधिधर्म्मान्तरग्राहकप्रमाणबाधितत्वादीनि। "प्रतिज्ञाहानि सन्यासतद्विरोधान्तराणि च। प्रतिज्ञादोषमध्ये किं वसन्त्येतानि नोऽचिर"मिति। एतैर्हीनं साध्यं निर्द्दिश्यं। अन्यथा तु हीयते, तदाऽऽह नारदः[2]।

सारस्तु व्यवहाराणां प्रतिज्ञा समुदाहृता।
तद्धानौ हीयते वादी तरंस्तामुत्तरोभवेत्॥

तथा वृहस्पतिः[3]।

यत्रार्थमभियुञ्जीत न तं विप्रकृतिं नयेत्।
न च पक्षान्तरं गच्छेत् गच्छन् पूर्व्वात् स हीयते॥

विप्रकृतिर्यथा।

मदीया महिषी धेनुरनेनापहृतेति अभियुज्य लेखयित्वा पश्चाद्गोधेनुरित्याह। मदीयां पत्नी मयमपहृतवान् इत्यभियुज्य पश्चादाह अवरुद्धवानिति। पक्षान्तरं, यथा निक्षिप्तं मया तस्मिन् सुवर्णं तद्दात्विति लेखयित्वा आस्तां तावदिदं मदीयामवरुद्धकीं कुतोऽपहृतवानिति। यत्तु पूर्व्वोक्तमजहदेव प्रतिज्ञान्तरं गच्छेत्,— यथा ममऋणं गृहीत्वा न ददाति तावत् तद्याचमानश्चाऽहमनेन मूर्द्धि पादेन हत इति अधिकदण्डनीयार्थं, तत्र न दोषः। "न तां विप्रकृतिं नयेदि"ति प्रतिज्ञातमर्थं न्यूनमधिकं वा न कुर्य्यात्, न च पूर्व्वं प्रतिज्ञामुक्त्वा प्रतिज्ञान्तरं कुर्य्यात्, प्रतिज्ञा धर्म्मिविशेषे साध्यनिर्द्देशः। तदत्र को धर्म्मी किञ्च साध्यं तत्र शतं मे धारयसीत्यादिधनविवादे धारणविशिष्टं साध्यमितिशतमेव धर्म्मि धार्य्यमाणत्वं तत्र साध्यमिति श्रीकरस्तदसङ्गतं, धान्यहिरण्यादेर्धर्म्मिणो गृहीतस्य व्ययादिना नाशात् आश्रयासिद्ध-

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[1] This Sloka is attributed to कात्यायन and वृहस्पति by Raghunandana in his व्यवहारतत्त्वः।

[2] Narada, I, 6 (p. 6).

[3] O

त्वापत्तेः । अथान्यदेव हि प्रतिज्ञादेयतया यच्छ्रुतं प्रतिज्ञातं, तदेव धर्म्मि भविष्यतीति चेन्न तस्मिन् काले प्रतिज्ञादेयस्याऽप्यभावात् । अधमर्णस्य निर्धनत्वे निराश्रयसाध्यनिर्द्देशाभावेन तस्याऽऽनृण्यापत्तेर्गृहीतत्वात् इति हेतोश्च तदनाश्रयत्वात् अपक्षधर्म्मतापत्तेः । तस्मात् प्रतिवाद्येव धारयसीत्यर्थविशिष्टः पक्षः । अयममुकनामा मह्यमेतावद्धनं धारयति मत्तोबुद्ध्यादिना गृहीतधनत्वे सति अद्य यावदकृतशोधनत्वात् ।

यत्तु तार्किकम्मन्यस्याऽनुमानं प्रतिवादिनं धर्म्मितयानिर्द्दिश्य शतं मे धारयसि प्रतिदानादिनिबन्धनपरिशोधनप्रकारसम्भवे सति मत्तस्त्वया शतस्य गृहीतत्वादिति तदसम्बद्धं । गृहीतत्वस्य धर्म्मस्य प्रतिवादिधर्म्मत्वाभावात् अपक्षधर्मत्वापत्तेः, त्वया गृहीतत्वादिति कर्मणि क्तप्रत्ययापत्तेः, कर्त्तरि क्तोत्पत्तौ त्वयेति न स्यादभिहिते कर्त्तरि प्रथमा विधानात्, अनभिहिते च तृतीयास्मरणात् । किञ्चाऽपरिशुद्धत्वे सतीति एतावतैव सिद्धप्रतिपादनान्निबन्धनेत्यादिबहुतरानर्थपदप्रयोगेऽपि निग्रहः । किञ्च परिशोधनप्रकारासम्भवे सति गृहीतत्वस्य हेतुत्वाभिधानात् परिशोधनाभावाग्रहणस्य परभावोऽवगम्यते । न स तथासति हि ग्रहणे शोधनमशोधनं वा न चाऽपरिशोधनसामर्थ्यादेव ग्रहणभावावगमो वाच्यः । तद्विपरीतपौर्व्वापर्य्याभिधानेन तथापि वादिनिग्रहात्, तस्मादस्मदुक्तमेव युक्तं । धारय इत्यर्थं च सिद्धे तन्मम ददात्विति स्वकीयार्थिताव्यञ्जनाय वक्तव्यं । शास्त्रकारैश्च साध्यहेत्वोरभिधानमुक्तं न दृष्टान्तस्य, तत्राऽयमभिप्रायः व्याप्तिदर्शनार्थं हि तदभिधानं, निरूपकाश्च शास्त्रादेव हेतोः साध्यनियतत्वमवगतवन्तः इति वृथा तदभिधानं । अनियतन्त्वभिहितमनर्थकं । ऋणग्रहणं न वदन्तीति हेतुज्ञापनं कार्य्यं, न च वादिना दृष्टान्तान्तरस्यानुपन्यस्तत्वात् तस्य भङ्गोवाच्यः, पुरुषशक्ति निरूपणार्थत्वाभावात् व्यवहारस्य भूतानुसरणार्थत्वात् छलस्य च निरस्यत्वात् तस्माद्दृष्टान्ताभिधानमनर्थकं । किञ्च कीनाशनर्त्तकादीनां शास्त्रमविदुषां शास्त्रविरुद्धभाषिकव्यवहारिणां तद्व्यवहारज्ञैरेव व्यवहारस्य दृष्टत्वात् दृष्टान्तवचनमपार्थकं व्यवहारानभिज्ञोऽपि न्यायदर्शी सामान्येनैतज्ज्ञानात्येव, यो येषां यादृशो व्यवहारः स तेषां साध्यसाधनमिति न प्रथममेव दृष्टान्ताद्यभिधानं । किञ्च मह्यमयं धनं दातुमर्हति किं ? वादिरूपतया दायोचितव्यवहारानियमाश्रयत्वे सति अदत्तधनत्वादिभाषायां तादृग्व्यवहारापह्नतेनोत्तरे दत्ते क्रियाव्यवहारनियमोज्ञाप्यः । यत्राऽपि शरीरादिपीड़या भाषादानं तत्राऽप्ययं दण्डार्होऽनपराद्धे सति कृतपीड़त्वादिहेतुः स च सद्रूपोनिश्चयरूपो वक्तव्यो न सन्दिग्धरूपः सन्दिग्धत्वेन साध्यसिद्धेरभावात् तदिदमुक्तं "सत्कारणान्वितं" हेत्वाभासनिराकरणार्थं सदिति तार्किकम्मन्य योग्लोकमतं तन्नादरणीयं, आभाष्या कारणत्वात् कारणपदेनैव निरस्तत्वात्, निश्चितपदञ्च साध्यविशेषणं अतस्तन्निश्चितमेव वाच्यं, न तु धारयति नवेति, तथासति हेतु-प्रयोगानुपपत्तेः लोकसिद्धञ्च तद्वाक्यं । न तु

"तृणकाष्ठेष्टकासूत्रकिण्वचर्म्मास्थिवर्मणां ।
हेतिपुष्पफलानाञ्च वृद्धिस्तु न निवर्त्तते" ॥

इति बृहस्पतिवचन[1]मवलम्ब्यालोकसिद्धा वृद्धिश्च साध्यतया निर्द्देश्या, अतएव बृहस्पतिः[2] ।

"केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्त्तव्यो विनिश्चयः ।
युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥"

युक्तिर्लोकव्यवहारः । नारदोऽप्याह[3] ।

"धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे च युक्तियुक्तोविधिः स्मृतः ।
व्यवहारोऽपि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावहीयते ॥"

तथाऽन्यदप्येवं विजातीयमलोकसिद्धं साध्यमनिर्द्देश्यं यथा पौर्णमासीषु दक्षिणाद्वैगुण्यमित्यादिकं । अल्पाक्षरवत्त्वञ्च यावद्भिरक्षरैर्द्धर्मिसाध्यहेतूनां तदनुगुणानाञ्च देशकालानामुपलम्भो भवति तावन्मात्रस्य प्रयोगः । एतावानेव च प्रभूतोऽर्थ इति प्रभूतार्थत्वमुक्तं । सर्वञ्चेदमनाकुलं वाच्यं, आकुलवादे हानिं हृदयगतं भग्नत्वं प्रतिसन्दधतां सभ्यानां मतिरपि तथैव चरतीति विरोधिप्रतिषेधक इत्युक्तं । तथाहि न मया गृहीतमृणमित्याग्रहणाभिधानेन प्रतिषिध्यति परिशुद्धमिति च परिशुद्धत्वाभिधानेन याच्यमानोऽपि धनं न ददाति न च मया सह न्यायं करोति महता प्रतियत्नेन इदानीं न्यायार्थमुपस्थित इति वृत्तत्वेऽपि वा न्यायस्य तत्त्वतो न तन्निरूपितमिति सर्व्वमिदं वचनं प्राङ्न्यायोत्तरप्रतिषेधकम्भवति । अथवा

"आढ्यस्य निकटस्थस्य यच्छक्तेन न याचितं ।
शुद्धन्तु शङ्कया तत्र पत्रं दुर्वलतामियात् "॥

इति वचन[4] बलादुत्तरवचनस्य सम्भाव्यमानस्य प्रतिरोधकं यथा भवति तथा वक्तव्यं ।

यन्मया चिरं देशान्तरस्थितत्वान्न प्रार्थितं बहुजनाध्यक्षं वा निरन्तरं प्रार्थितं मया तत् पित्रा वा यदृणं दत्तं एतावत्कालपर्य्यन्तं ज्ञातुः पुत्रस्य व्यवस्थानवज्ञानात् मया न याचितं इदानीन्तु पुत्रादिना ज्ञातं यदृणं तेनायमर्थी भवति सर्वथा यावत्प्रकारमुत्तरं भवति तन्निषेधकपक्षो निर्द्देश्यः इति विरोधिप्रतिषेधक इत्युक्तं, यदाह बृहस्पतिः[5] ।

"उपस्थिते ततस्तस्मिन् वादी पक्षं प्रकल्पयेत् ।
निरवद्यं सत्प्रतिज्ञं प्रमाणागमसंयुतं ॥
देशस्थानसमामासपक्षाहर्जाति नाम च ।
द्रव्यं संख्योदयं पीड़ां क्षमालिङ्गञ्च लेखयेत् ॥

आगमः ऋणग्रहणादिप्रमाणं साक्षिपत्रादिकं । यद्यपि तृतीयपादे पत्रादिकीर्त्तनं तथाऽपि पत्रस्य सम्भावनार्थमस्मिन्नर्थे मम पत्रादिकमस्तीति सामान्येन निर्द्देश्यं । उदयः पणिकादिवृद्धिः प्रत्यासत्तौ कुतो मां न पीड़यति इति तदर्थं पीड़ितोमयेति वक्तव्यं अपीड़ितत्वेऽपि क्षमाकारणं लेखनीयमिति तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[6] ।

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[1] O [2] O
[3] Narada, I, 40 (p. 16). [4] O [5] O [6] O

निवेश्य कालं वर्षञ्च मासं पक्षं तिथिन्तथा ।
वेलां प्रदेशं विषयं स्थानं जात्याकृती वयः ॥
साध्यप्रमाणं द्रव्यञ्च संख्या नाम तथात्मनः ।
राज्ञश्च क्रमशो नाम निवासं साध्यमेव च ॥
क्रमात् पितॄणां नामानि पीड़ामाहर्त्तृदापकौ ।
क्षमालिङ्गानि चान्यानि पक्षं सङ्कीर्त्त्य लेखयेत् ॥"

सर्व्वमेतद्विरोध्युत्तरनिराकरणार्थं वाच्यं, अन्यथा साध्यहेतुप्रमाणानामेवोपन्यासः कार्य्यः, देशादिकीर्त्तनमनुपयुक्तं भवेत् । न चैतदुत्तरानन्तरं वाच्यं, तदानीं तत्-प्रतीकारस्याऽनवसरदुःस्थत्वात् तदाऽऽह नारदः[1] ।

"भाषायामुत्तरं यावत् प्रत्यर्थी नाभिलेखयेत् ।
अर्थी तु लेखयेत्तावत् यावद्वस्तुविवक्षितम्" ॥
"[2]शोधयेत् पूर्व्ववादन्तु यावन्नोत्तरदर्शनम् ।
अवष्टब्धस्योत्तरेण निवृत्तं शोधनं भवेत्" ॥

तथा बृहस्पतिः[3] ।

"ऊनाधिकं पूर्व्वपक्षं यावद्वादी विशोधयेत् ।
न दद्यादुत्तरं तावत् प्रत्यर्थी सभ्यसन्निधौ" ॥

ऊनाधिकमिति वचनात् पूर्व्वोक्तादविरुद्धं न्यूनं पूरणीयं अधिकमपनेयं, न तु विरोधि, परस्परविरोधादेव भाषाया अनादेयत्वेन तस्य भग्नत्वात् तदेवमुत्तरानन्तरं भाषाशोधननिषेधात् ।

"एकं प्रत्यर्थिनो वाक्यं द्वे वाक्ये पूर्व्ववादिनः" ।

इति पठितमनाकरं तस्माद्विरोधिप्रतिषेधक इत्यस्य यथोक्त एवार्थः योग्लोकेन व्याख्यातः। प्रतिवादिनः साध्यान्तरस्य निषेधकं न तेन सङ्कीर्णरूपमिति तदयुक्तं, न हि प्रतिवादिनः साध्यान्तरमभियोगनिस्तारादन्यदस्ति, न चाभियोगतन्निस्तारयोः सङ्कीर्णत्वं सम्भवति, यन्निषिध्यते । भावाभावयोः परस्परपरीहारेणैव स्थितत्वात् । "साध्यान्तरं नाभियुक्तोऽभियुञ्जीत" इति साध्यान्तरस्य निषिद्धत्वात् भाषाकाले चोत्तरवाद्यभिधेयस्य साध्यान्तरस्य परिज्ञानेन तन्निषेधार्थकमभिधानं मुधेति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् । अथ पक्षाभासानाह बृहस्पतिः[4] ।

अप्रसिद्धं सदोषञ्च निरर्थं निष्प्रयोजनम् ।
असाध्यं वा विरुद्धं वा पक्षं राजा विवर्ज्जयेत् ॥

तदेव व्याकरोति[5] ।

न केनचित् कृतो यस्तु सोऽप्रसिद्ध उदाहृतः ।
अन्यार्थः स्वार्थहीनश्च सदोषः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥

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[1] Narada II, 7 (p. 28). [2] O in Narada. [3] O [4] O [5] O

अल्पापराधस्त्वल्पार्थो निरर्थक उदाहृतः ।
कार्य्यबाधाविहीनश्च विज्ञेयो निष्प्रयोजनः ॥
कुषीदाद्यैः पदैर्हीनो व्यवहारो निरर्थकः ।
वाक्पारुष्यादिभिश्चैव विज्ञेयो निष्प्रयोजनः ॥
ममानेन प्रदातव्यं शशशृङ्गकृतं धनुः ।
असम्भाव्यमसाध्यन्तु पक्षमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥
यस्मिन्नावेदिते पक्षे प्राड्विवाकेऽथ राजनि ।
पुरे राष्ट्रे विरोधः स्याद्विरुद्धः सोऽभिधीयते ॥

अप्रसिद्धनिराबाधमिति कात्यायने[1] विशेषः । शेषं समानं । तदेव स्वयमेव मुनिना अप्रसिद्धादेर्व्याहृतत्वात् यदन्यैः कल्पितं अप्रसिद्धमिति मदीयं शशविषाणमनेन गृहीतं, निराबाधमस्मदीयगृहस्थितो दीपः प्रकाशमेतद्गृहे करोति । निरर्थकमनेन सस्मितं वीक्षितं । निष्प्रयोजनमनेन देवदत्ताय प्रहृतं, असाध्यमहमनेनाक्षि निकोच्य चोपहसितः, विरुद्धमहमनेन मूकेन शप्त इति, तत्रास्तां दूषणान्तरं किन्तु शास्त्राद्यन्यथा कल्पनमशास्त्रदर्शित्वमेव तेषां कल्पयति । अप्रसिद्धमिति प्रतिपौर्णमास्याममावास्यायाञ्च दक्षिणावृद्धिर्द्विगुणोक्ता काष्ठादीनाञ्च क्षयवृद्धिस्तद्विवादो न केनचित् कृत इत्याद्यप्रसिद्धं कुषीदादिव्यवहाराश्चतुर्द्दशार्थविषयास्तैर्हीनो निरर्थकः । वाक्पारुष्यादिभिर्हीनार्थकैर्हीनो निष्प्रयोजनः । व्यक्तार्थपरमपरं । तेनाऽप्रसिद्धादिकं विहायाऽष्टादशविधोविवादोऽर्थिना निर्द्देश्यो नान्यः । यऽथा वृहस्पतिः[2] ।

“अष्टादशपदो वादो विचार्य्यो विनिवेदितः ।
सन्त्यन्यानि पदान्यत्र तानि राजा विशेत् स्वयम् ॥
षड्भाग-हरणं शुल्कं समयातिक्रमो निधिः ।
वधः संहरणं स्तेय मासेधाज्ञाव्यतिक्रमः” ॥

एतानि पदानि राजैव विशेत् । राज्ञैव स्वयमनुसरणीयमिति अष्टादशविवादास्त्वर्थिनिवेदिता एवानुसरणीयाः ।

स्वयं नोत्पादयेत् कार्य्यं राजा वा नाऽस्य पूरुषः[3] ।

इत्यादिकमप्येतद्विषयं । तथा कात्यायनः[4] ।

“पुरुषाष्टाविरुद्धस्य ? यस्य राज्ञा विवर्ज्जितः ।
अनेकपदसंकीर्णः पूर्व्वपक्षो न सिध्यते ॥
बहुप्रतिज्ञं यत्कार्य्यं व्यवहारेष्वनिश्चितम् ।
कामं तदपि गृह्णीयात् राजा कार्य्यबुभुत्सया” ॥

प्रतिज्ञा यत्र भूयसी यथा चतुर्थे वत्सरे शतमृणत्वेन मत्तोऽनेन गृहीतं तृतीयवत्सरे उद्धारतया

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[1] O [2] O [3] O [4] O

पञ्चाशत्पुराणा गृहीताः। द्वितीयवत्सरे रजतपलद्वयं मया निक्षिप्तं, परवर्षे च मदीया भूमिरनेन बलाद्भुक्तेति। तत्र विभिन्नकालत्वात् विभिन्नक्रियत्वात् क्रियानिर्द्देशानां भेदात् एकस्मिंश्च विवादे अनेकक्रियानिषेधात्। यथा कात्यायनः[1]।

"न चैकस्मिन् विवादे तु क्रिया स्याद्वादिनोर्द्वयोः।
न चाऽर्थसिद्धिरुभयोर्नचैकत्रक्रियाद्वयम्"॥

तस्मादनेको युगपत् पूर्व्वपक्षो निषिध्यते। न तु नानापक्षनिर्द्देशात्तस्य हानिरेव स्यात्, किन्तु तत्त्वप्रतिपत्तये लिखेत्। (?) क्रमशो विलेखयितुं यत्र नानाद्रव्याण्येकहेतुसाध्यानि यथा ममाऽनेन सुवर्णरजतधान्यानि बलाद्गृहीतानि तत्र युगपदेव निर्णयः कार्य्यः। एकप्रमाणसाध्यतयैकत्वात्। कात्यायनः[2]।

"देशकालविहीनश्च द्रव्यसंख्याविवर्ज्जितः।
साध्यप्रमाणहीनश्च पक्षो न देय इष्यते॥"

देशकालादिभिरेव यत्र निर्णयस्तत्र तदुपन्यासात् पक्षाभासत्वं न तु तेषामनुपयुक्तत्वेऽप्यदृष्टार्थतापत्तेः आह व्यासः[3]।

अर्थार्थी पीड़ितोवाऽपि प्रमाणबलमास्थितः।
निरवद्यं सत्प्रतिज्ञं पूर्वपक्षं प्रकल्पयेत्॥

स तु पक्षः सभ्यैर्लेखनीयः। तदाऽऽहतु र्व्यासबृहस्पती[4]।

पाण्डुलेखेन फलके भूम्यां वा प्रथमं लिखेत्।
न्यूनाधिकन्तु संशोध्य पश्चात् पत्रे निवेशयेत्"॥

तथा कात्यायनः[5]। "पूर्वपक्षं स्वभावोक्तमकृत्रिमं"। एतच्च स्वरविशेषादिना सुज्ञेयं, अधिकं यद्वानुगुण वचनविरोधि विरोधिनोऽभिधानेन भाषायामनादेयत्वेन भग्नस्य वादिनः सभ्यगतदोषाभावनिराकरणार्थं विरोधिलिखनस्य कार्य्यत्वात् (?) न्यूनं यदुक्तार्थानुपपत्ति परिकल्पितं तल्लेखनीयं न तु वादिन्यनुक्तत्वात् न देयं तद्विचारस्य तत्त्वनिर्णयार्थत्वात् छलस्य च निषेधात्, भूमौ च कठिनी-लिखितस्योद्धारारोपयोर्न्यूनाधिकशोधनार्थं सुकरत्वात् प्रथमं पाण्डुलिखनमुक्तं, शोधितन्तु पत्रे लेखनीयं श्रुतोत्तरस्य भाषावादिनो-नैवं मयोक्तमिति विप्रतिपत्ति निरासार्थं। अन्यथा लिखने लेखकस्य दण्डमाह, कात्यायनः[6]।

अन्यदुक्तं लिखेदन्यदर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनां वचः।
चौरवच्छासयेत् तन्तु धार्मिकः पृथिवीपतिः॥

तदेवं निरवद्यपूर्वपक्षे वादिना ज्ञापिते ज्ञाततदर्थेन प्रतिवादिनोत्तरं देयम्।

इति प्रथमभाषापादः॥

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[1] O [2] O [3] O [4] O [5] O [6] O

अथ उत्तरपादः ।

यदि भाषाऽर्हा, अनर्हत्वे त्वभियोगासमुद्भवात्, किं-विधार्थमुत्तरं वाच्यं, तदाऽऽह बृहस्पतिः[1] ।

"विनिश्चिते पूर्वपक्षे ग्राह्याग्राह्यविशोधिते ।
प्रतिज्ञार्थे स्थिरीभूते लेखयेदुत्तरं ततः ॥"

सम्यक् भाषार्थं श्रुत्वा उत्तरवादी यदि कालं याचेत, तदा कार्य्यानुसारेण कालो देयः । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[2] ।

श्रुत्वा लेखयते ह्यर्थं प्रत्यर्थी कारणाद्यदि ।
कालं विवादे याचेत तस्य देयो न संशयः ॥
सद्यो वैकाहपञ्चाहत्र्यहं वा गुरुलाघवात् ।
लभेताऽसौ त्रिपक्षं वा सप्ताहं वा ऋणादिषु" ॥

अथ व्यवस्थामाह[3] ।

सद्यः कृते सद्योवादःसमातीते दिनं क्षिपेत् ।
षड़ाब्दिके त्रिवर्णन्तु (?) सप्ताहं द्वादशाब्दिके" ॥
विंशत्यब्दे दशाहन्तु मासार्द्धं वा लभेत सः ।
मासं त्रिंशत्समातीते त्रिपक्षं परतो लभेत् ॥
कालं शक्तिं विदित्वा तु कार्य्याणाञ्च बलाबलं ।
अल्पं वा बहु वा कालं दद्यात् प्रत्यर्थिने प्रभुः ॥

प्रभुर्नृपतिर्न्यायदर्शनोपलक्षणार्थः । त्रिरात्रसप्तरात्रयोः षड़ाब्दिकद्वादशाब्दिकगोचरतया दर्शितत्वादर्थात्तन्मध्ये नवाब्दिके पञ्चाहव्यवस्थितिः । कार्य्याणां बलाबलमिति वदता ऋतुत्रयं वर्षं वा दद्यादिति सूचितं, अतएव बृहस्पतिः[4] ।

"एकाहत्र्यहपञ्चाहसप्ताहं पक्षमेव वा ।
मासं चतुस्त्रयं वर्षं लभते शक्त्यपेक्षया ॥"

कार्य्यानुगुणां शक्तिं सम्यगालोक्य कालो दातव्यः न तु प्रत्यर्थितामात्रेण प्रदेयः, कालभेदविधानानुपपत्तेः । सद्योविषयमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः[5] ।

"साहसस्तेयपारुष्यगोऽभिशापात्यये स्त्रियाः ।
विवादयेत् सद्य एव कालोऽन्यत्रेच्छया स्मृतः ॥"

अन्यत्रेति ऋणादौ, तदाह नारदः[6] ।

"गहनत्वाद्विवादानामसामर्थ्यात् स्मृतेरपि ।
ऋणादिषु हरेत्कालं कालतत्त्वबुभुत्सया ॥"

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[1] O [2] O [3] O [4] O [5] O [6] O

तत्त्वबुभुत्सयेत्यनेन याज्ञवल्कीयेच्छयेति व्याख्यातं। दत्ते काले यदि राजदैवादिना विरोधः स्यात् तदा कालान्तरमपि देयं। राजदैवविरोधस्तु तेन प्रतिपादनीयः। तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[1] ।

आचारद्रव्यदानेष्ट-कृत्योपस्थाननिर्णये ।
नोपस्थितो यदा कश्चित् छलं तत्र न कारयेत् ॥
दैवराजकृतो दोषस्तस्मिन्काले यदा भवेत् ।
अबाधत्यागमात्रेण न भवेत् स पराजितः ॥
दैवराजकृतं दोषं साक्षिभिः प्रतिपादयेत् ।
दैवराजकृतो दोषस्तस्मिन्काले यदा भवेत् ॥
अबाधत्यागमात्रेण न भवेत् स पराजितः ॥
दैवराजकृतं दोषं साक्षिभिः प्रतिपादयेत् ।
जैह्मेन वर्त्तमानस्य दण्डोदाप्यस्तु तद्धनम् ।

जैह्मेन राजदैवविरोधं विनाऽनुपस्थितोभग्न एव भवतीति । अथोत्तरमाहतुर्नारदकात्ययनौ[2]।

"पूर्वपक्षश्रुतार्थस्तु प्रत्यर्थी तदनन्तरं ।
पूर्वपक्षार्थसम्बन्धं प्रतिपक्षं निवेदयेत् ॥"

वादिनोक्तस्य साध्यस्य प्रतीपमर्थयतीति प्रत्यर्थी, न तु साध्यान्तरस्य, अतएव प्रतिपक्षं निवेदयेदित्याह, अतो यदि साध्यान्तरमप्यस्ति तथाऽपि नेदानीं वाच्यं, तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः ।

"अभियुक्तोऽभियोक्तारमभियुञ्जीत कर्हिचित् ।
अन्यत्र दण्डपारुष्यस्तेयसंग्रहणात्ययात् ॥"

दण्डादिषु च ममाप्यनेन दण्डपारुष्यादिकृतमिति प्रत्यभियोगो दातव्य एव। तथैव तदभियोगस्य विस्तारात्, तथा याज्ञवल्क्यः[4] ।

"अभियोगमनिस्तीर्य्य नैनं प्रत्यभियोजयेत् ।
अभियुक्तं न चाऽन्येन चोक्तं विप्रकृतं नयेत्" ॥

तस्मादादितोऽभियोगनिस्तारार्थमेवोत्तरं स्यान्न तु साध्यान्तरनिर्णायकत्वेन, अतएव उत्तीर्य्यतेऽभियोगोऽनेनेत्युत्तरं, अथोत्तरस्वरूपमाहतुर्नारदवृहस्पती[5] ।

"पक्षस्य व्यापकं सारमसन्दिग्धमनाकुलम् ।
अव्याख्यानगम्यमेतदुत्तरं तद्विदो[3] विदुः" ॥

तच्चतुर्धा तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[6] ।

सत्यं मिथ्योत्तरञ्चैव प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं तथा ।
पूर्व्वन्यायविदश्चैव उत्तरं तच्चतुर्व्विधम् ॥

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[1] O [2] See Narada, II, 2 (p. 27). O in Katyayana, Narada reads धन्यार्थी for प्रत्यर्थी ।
[3] O [4] Yajnavalkya, Ch. II, 9, reads विप्रकृतिं for विप्रकृतं । [5] O [6] O

तथा नारदः[1] ।

मिथ्या संप्रतिपत्त्या वा प्रत्यवस्कन्दनेन वा ।
प्राङ्न्यायविधिसिद्ध्या वा वाचनं प्रतिवादिनः ॥

तथा वृद्धवशिष्ठः ।*

"सत्यानृते कारणञ्च प्राङ्न्यायश्चोत्तरं पृथक्" ।

इति प्रत्यवस्कन्दनस्थाने कारणं वदताऽनयोरेकत्वं दर्शितम् । तत्राबाधकरूपं प्रत्युत्तरं एकं, निषेधात्मकं त्रिविधं, त्रिभिरेव वादिनः साध्यनिषेधात्, तद्व्याचष्टे व्यासः[2] ।

"साध्यस्य सत्यवचनं प्रतिपत्तिरुदाहृता ।
कारणं स्यादवस्कन्दो मिथ्या स्यात् साध्यनिह्नुतिः" ॥

धारयसीत्यभियुक्तस्य धारयामीत्युत्तरं सम्प्रतिपत्तिः । साध्यस्य विधानात्, न तु विप्रतिपत्त्या न्यायार्थमागतस्य कथं सम्प्रतिपत्तिरेव वाच्यं, यतो भाषावादिनो मूर्खत्वेनापटुवाक्तया वा कदाचित् भाषादोषादेवायं हीयते इति । भाषाविमर्षपर्य्यन्तं विप्रतिपन्नस्यापि भाषार्थं सम्यगवगम्य तन्निषेधार्थं सम्यगुत्तरासम्भवादिदत्सभायाञ्चासत्यवचनमत्यन्तमधर्म्मकरं परोक्षमपराजयाय च, द्विगुणं राजदण्डं वादिना च वैरमित्यादिप्रतिसन्दधतः सम्प्रत्युत्तरं भवत्येव एतेभ्य एव निस्तारात्, उत्तरमपि सिद्धसाधनेनाऽपि सम्प्रतिपत्त्युर्वादिनः प्रत्यवस्थानमिति चोत्तरता, तदाऽऽह वृहस्पतिः[3] ।

"श्रुत्वाऽभियोगं प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं प्रतिपद्यते ।
सा तु सम्प्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् शास्त्रविद्भिरुदाहृता" ॥

सम्यगुत्तरत्वेऽपि पराजयः स्वोक्तितो निर्विवादः । अथ मिथ्योत्तरं । साध्यापह्नुतिर्मिथ्योत्तरं । तद्व्याचष्टे व्यासः[4] ।

"मिथ्यैतन्नाभिजानामि मम तत्र न सन्निधिः ।
अजातश्चास्मि तत्काले एवं मिथ्या चतुर्व्विधा" ॥

चतुर्ष्वपि ऋणग्रहणार्थकत्वे हेत्वन्तरमुखेन धार्य्यमाणस्यानुपपत्तिं ब्रुवतः सहेतुसाध्यापह्नुतत्वन्मिथ्योत्तरं । कारणोत्तरप्राङ्न्याययोऽस्तु हेत्वन्तरोपन्यासेनेति ततोभिद्यते तदाऽऽह वृहस्पतिः[5] ।

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[1] Narada, II, 4 (p. 27). Narada reads:

मिथ्या संप्रतिपत्तिर्वा प्रत्यवस्कन्दमेव वा ।
प्राङ्न्याय-विधिसाध्यं वा उत्तरं स्याच्चतुर्व्विधम् ॥

[2] O [3] O [4] O [5] O

"अभियुक्तोऽभियोगस्य यदि कुर्य्यादपह्नुतिम् ।
मिथ्या तत्तु विजानीयात् उत्तरं व्यवहारतः" ॥

अभियुज्यते इत्यभियोगः सहेतुकं साध्यं । तस्याऽपह्नवमित्यर्थः । तथा कात्यायनः[1] ।

"श्रुत्वा भाषार्थमन्यस्तु यदि तं प्रतिषेधति ।
अर्थतः शब्दतो वाऽपि मिथ्या तज्ज्ञेयमुत्तरम्" ॥

भाषार्थोहि सहेतुकं साध्यान्तरस्य प्रतिषेधकं मिथ्योत्तरं साध्यमात्रापह्नवस्योत्तरत्वेऽप्यविशेषात् । तत्र नैतन्मयागृहीतमिति शब्देनैव क्वचित् क्वचित्तदभावेऽपि न जानाम्येतन्न तत्र देशे तदाहमासं न जातोऽस्मीत्याद्यग्रहणनिमित्तकीर्त्तनेनार्थादगृहीतत्वेन स हेतुकस्यैव साध्यस्य साधनस्यापह्नवः । तत्र मिथ्यैतन्नाभिजानामीत्याद्यग्रहणाज्ञानयोरभावरूपत्वेनापह्नवमात्ररूपत्वान्मिथ्योत्तरं । असन्निहितत्वाज्ञातत्वयोस्तु तदितरकालीनदेशान्तरावस्थानपरत्वं तत्परभाविजन्मपरत्वञ्च, तदा च तदवस्कन्दनकारणोपन्यासात् कारणोत्तरता न तु मिथ्योत्तरता । अतएव कारणं स्यादवस्कन्द इत्याह असन्निधानजातत्वमात्रपरत्वे तु भाषारूपमिथ्योत्तरत्वमेव न तु कारणोत्तरता, तदवस्कन्दनकारणानुपन्यासात् । ननु न तृतीयं कारणाख्यमुत्तरं किन्तु प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं, तदाऽह वृहस्पतिः[2] ।

"अर्थिनाभिहितो योऽर्थः प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं तथा ।
प्रपद्य कारणं ब्रूयात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं हि तत् ॥
योऽर्थिनार्थः प्रभाष्येत प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं तथा ।
प्रपद्य कारणं ब्रूयादाधार्य्यं मनुरब्रवीत्" ॥

भाषार्थं तथाविधं प्रपद्याङ्गीकृत्य यदि तदवस्कन्दनं ब्रूयात् तदा प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं भवति । यथा सत्यं मया त्वत्तः शतमृणत्वेन गृहीतं किन्तु तत् शुद्धं । तत्र ग्रहणस्य सिद्धत्वात् अपरिशोधनस्याग्रहणवत् ज्ञापयितुमशक्यत्वात् पूर्व्वपक्षस्याधानं उत्तरगतन्तु परिशोधनमेव ज्ञाप्यमिति तदेव बलवत् अतः कथं कारणोत्तरमपरं भणसि । ननु प्रपद्येति कोऽर्थः किं साध्यं प्रपद्य, हेतुं वा उभयं वा न वा तत्साध्यं, साधारणाङ्गीकारे सत्योत्तरतापत्तेः, नापि हेतुं गृहीतधनत्वे सत्यपरिशुद्धधनत्वादिति विशिष्टं हेतुमङ्गीकृत्य परिशोधनाधानेन परस्परविरोधादाभासतापत्तेः । अतएवोभयं प्रपद्येति पराकृतं । न च ऋणग्रहणं हेतोरेकदेशमङ्गीकृत्येति वाच्यं, तदीयं तद्धनमित्युपगम्य न मया तत् गृहीतमित्यस्यापि प्रत्यवस्कन्दनापत्तेस्तदीयधनस्याऽपि हेत्वेकदेशत्वात्, तस्मात्प्रपद्येति प्रतिपाद्य भाषार्थं, यदभियोगनिस्ताराय कारणाभिधारणात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं पूर्व्वपक्षावस्कन्दनात् अतएव पूर्व्वपक्षश्रुतार्थस्तु तथा श्रुत्वा भाषार्थमिति प्रतिपत्तिमेव निर्द्दिशति । उच्यते । प्रपद्येताऽभ्युपगम्य इत्येवार्थः । मदीयं धनमृणतया गृहीतं अपरिशुद्धञ्च त्वयेति ग्रहणमेव हि धारणोत्पत्तौ केवलं धार्य्यमाणत्वस्य तु परिशोधनं भवति न वा न पुनरपरिशोधनादेव धार्य्यमाणता न च ग्रहणस्य निरपेक्षस्य धारणकारणे सति कश्चिद्विरोधो व्यभिचाराभावात् उपपन्नस्य धार्य्यमाणं परि-

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[1] O [2] O

शोधनाद्विनश्यति। अपरिशोधनञ्च तदनुपालयतीतिग्रहणकारणमभ्युपगम्योत्तरं भवति. प्रत्यवस्कन्दनमुत्तरमस्ति तृतीयं कारणं यदि ग्रहणमात्रं धारणे कारणं, तदा मत्तो गृहीतधनत्वात् इति हेतुर्वाच्यो न पुनरपरिशुद्धधनत्वमपीति ॥ उच्यते ॥ ग्रहणाभिधानेन धारणमुत्पन्नं ज्ञाप्यते, उत्पन्नं पुनरिदानीमप्यनुवर्त्तते इति अपरिशोधनाभिधानेनेति उत्पत्तिमविनाशञ्च ज्ञापयितुमुभयोः सहितयोः प्रयोगः। अत्रोच्यते।

कारणविशेषोहि प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं कारणन्त्वनभ्युपगम्याऽपीति सामान्यकारणं तृतीयमुत्तरं। अतएव "सत्यानृते कारणञ्च प्राङ्न्यायश्चोत्तरं पृथक्" इति कारणमेव निर्द्दिशति। अतएव जितेन्द्रियेण प्रपद्येत्युपलक्षणमित्युक्तं, दीक्षित-प्रभृतिभिस्तु प्रतिपाद्येति व्याख्यातं। तथा व्यासः[1]।

"कारणे स्यादवस्कन्दोमिथ्या स्यात् साध्यनिह्नुतिः।"

बलवत्तरकारणोपन्यासादेवाऽस्य दुर्वलकारणोत्तरत्वमेव। यथा मदीयेयं क्रमागताभूरिति भाषायां मदीयेयं क्रमागतेति तुल्यरूपं कारणोत्तरं। तथा मदीयाधिकृताभूरिति चिरञ्चोपभुक्ता देशान्तरोपस्थिततया पञ्चवर्षाणि नोपभुक्तेति भाषायां मया पञ्चमे वर्षे अधिकृता भुक्ता तु पञ्चवर्षाणि इति दुर्वलं कारणं।

"आधौ प्रतिग्रहे क्रीते पूर्वा तु बलवत्तरा[2]।"

इति वचनात्। यत्तु दुर्वलोदाहरणं तार्किम्मन्यस्य योग्लोकस्य मदीयेयं क्रमागताभू रिति भाषायां मदीयेयं दशवर्षभुज्यमानत्वात् इति श्रीकरोदाहरणस्वीकरणं तदसङ्गतं, दशवर्षभोगस्य भूमिगतस्वत्वोत्पत्तौ ज्ञप्तौतु कारणत्वस्यैवाभावात् कथं दुर्वलकारणोदाहरणता। आधिग्रहणस्य तु कारणत्वे सत्येव दुर्वलत्वं, पूर्वाधिविरोधेन कार्य्यशक्तिप्रतिबन्धः तस्मात् सर्वं तावद्युक्तं सहेतुकसाध्यापहरमात्रेणैव मिथ्योत्तरता पूर्ववाद्युक्तकारणमपह्नुत्याभ्युपगमाभियोगनिस्ताराय भावरूपकारणाभिधानात् कारणोत्तरता, तद्विशेषस्तु प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं। सापदेशमिथ्यापि कारणमेव। ननु तर्हि प्राङ्न्यायोऽपि कारणं स्यात् उभयरूप कारणाभिधानात्। उच्यते। न जयः कारणमपधार्य्यमाणत्वे किन्तु ग्रहणं परिशोधनं वा जयस्त्वेतयोरन्यतरधारणं प्रमाणमात्रं, तथा प्राङ्न्याये च पराजयेच उत्तरं भवति। तथास्त्रीसंग्रहणे पूर्व्वमभियुक्तस्य पुनरभियोगे पूर्व्वमेवाऽहमनेनाऽस्मिन् विषयेऽभियुक्तोजितो राजनि निवेद्य दण्डितश्चेत्यत्र (दण्डदण्डिकाक-बालस्य प्रमाणं?) अतः कथं पुनरपि मामभियुक्त इति, तथा प्राङ्न्यायेऽपि भाषा दृश्यते, यथा गृहीतधन प्रार्थने ममानेन सह न्याये वृत्ते जितं मया जयपत्रञ्चेदं अगृहीतमृणं ददात्विति कारणोत्तरन्तु नैवं रूपमिति। ततोऽतिभिन्न एवायं प्राङ्न्यायः। यत् पुनः केचिदाहुर्गृहीतशतपुराणे धारणाभियोगे शतं न गृहीतं किन्तु पञ्चाशत् परिशुद्धं तत्राऽपि वा किञ्चित् अपरिशुद्धं किञ्चिद्धारयामि इत्यादिकं तस्मिन् मिथ्याकारणाभ्यां मिथ्याकारणं सत्यैर्वासङ्कीर्णत्वादसदुत्तरं, तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[3]।

"पक्षैकदेशे यत् सत्यं एकदेशे च कारणं।
मिथ्या चैवैकदेशे स्यात् सङ्करात्तदनुत्तरं ॥"

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[1] O [2] O [3] O

हेतुमाह,

न चैकस्मिन् विवादेहि क्रिया स्याद्वादिनोर्द्वयोः ।
न चाऽर्थसिद्धिरुभयोर्न चैकत्र क्रियाद्वयं ॥[1]

मिथ्यांशे पूर्ववादिनः क्रियाकारणांशे चोत्तरवादिन इति द्वयोरेव जयपराजयापत्तेरुत्तराभासत्वमिति ।

तदयुक्तं। एवं विधस्यैवार्थस्य परमार्थत्वे कथमन्यथोत्तरदानं। न चोत्तरमेव न देयं अतएव भङ्गापत्तेः ।

न चाऽन्यस्य गृहीतपरिशुद्धत्वेऽपि शतस्याऽगृहीतत्वान्न मया शतं गृहीतमिति मिथ्योत्तरं देयं। यतो निरूपकैरुत्तरवाक्यार्थस्यावश्यं निरूपणीयत्वात्, तथाहि किं ग्रहणमात्रनिषेधपरमिदं न गृहीत मेव किञ्चिदिति तन्निषेधाच्च शतस्याप्यग्रहणमिति शतपदमनुवादः। यद्वा शतनिषेधार्थमिदं ग्रहणं तदल्पस्य सिद्धमेव, उभयनिषेधार्थमेव वा, तत्र न तावदग्रहणनिषेधार्थं तन्निषेधादेकादेः परार्द्धं पर्य्यन्तग्रहणस्य सिद्धत्वात् शतपद-प्रयोगस्याऽऽनर्थक्यापत्तेः अतएव नोभय निषेधार्थमपि । किञ्च एवमुत्तरदाने पञ्चाशतो गृहीतपरिशुद्धस्यापि दानमापद्येत ।

ग्रहणमात्रनिषेधपरत्वेन तत्प्रतिपादनेनैवोत्तरार्थस्य बाधितत्वात्। निष्प्रतिपक्षस्य भाषार्थस्य सिद्धत्वात् शतमेव न देयं स्यात् । यत्रोत्तराभासे दत्ते क्रियानपेक्षेतरभाषार्थसिद्धिः, सुतरां तत्रैकदेश-क्रियया तत्रैव वोत्तरस्याभासीकृतत्वात्, विभावितैकन्यायादेवैतच्च विस्तारेण वक्ष्यामः। तस्मादित्थमुत्तरं न देयं, यद्गृहीतमल्पं तदभ्यनुज्ञाय तदधिकस्य शतादेरग्रहणेन तद्यदि यदन्यं गृहीतं तन्न परिशुद्धं तद्द्वारेण सङ्गीकृत्य शतग्रहणनिषेधे सत्येव सङ्कीर्णता। अथ परिशुद्धात्तदभिधानपूर्वकः शतनिषेधस्तदा प्रत्यवस्कन्दनेन सह सङ्कीर्णतेति। पारमार्थिकैवंरूपे वस्तुनि नास्त्युत्तरवादिनोनिस्तारः, सङ्कीर्णोत्तरवादिनो निस्तारः सङ्कीर्णोत्तरवादिमते। तस्माद्यदेव परस्परविरुद्धाभिधानं यथा शतं मया न गृहीतं वा यद्वास्तोकं धारयामीत्यादिकं तदुत्तराभासं परस्परविरोधात्, एवमादिविषयत्वमेव च कात्यायन वचनानां[2] यथा ।

"प्रस्तुतादल्पमव्यक्तं न्यूनाधिकमसङ्गतं ।
अव्याप्यसारं सन्दिग्धं प्रतिपक्षं न लङ्घयेत् ॥
सन्दिग्धमन्यत् प्रकृतादल्पमिति च भूरि च ।
पक्षैकदेश व्याप्येव तत्तु नैवोत्तरं भवेत् ॥
यद्व्यस्तपदमव्यापि निगूढार्थं तथाऽऽकुलं ।
व्याख्यागम्यमसारञ्च नोत्तरं स्वार्थसिद्धये ॥
पक्षैकदेशे यत् सत्यमेकदेशे च कारणं ।
मिथ्याचैवैकदेशे स्यात् सङ्करात्तदनुत्तरं ॥"

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[1] O [2] O

ननु अविरुद्धत्वेऽप्येकदेशे मिथ्यात्वादेकदेशे च कारणत्वात् न कस्याऽपि कृत्स्नव्यापितेति उत्तराभासत्वं कुतो न स्यात्। नैतत्, एकत्रैव संसृष्टोत्तरावयवी ह्यवयवः अवयवाभ्यां पक्षस्यावयवौ व्याप्नुवन् कृत्स्नमेव पक्षं व्याप्नोति इति नाऽव्यापिता। पक्षैकदेशे यत् सत्यमित्यादिकस्य चाऽयमर्थः। पक्षनिर्देशकवचनैकदेशसत्यं मिथ्याकारणञ्चेति परस्परविरुद्धं, तत्रैकस्य उत्तरावयविनोऽनारम्भादाभासता अविरुद्धैस्तु तदारम्भान्नाभासता यथावस्तूत्तरदानेऽपि वचनादुत्तरभासत्वे वचनमदृष्टार्थं स्यात् न्यायस्यादर्शनाच्छलापत्तेश्च। तस्माच्छतं न गृहीतं किन्तु पञ्चाशत् गृहीतास्ते च परिशुद्धा इति सदुत्तरमेव। अत्रपञ्चाशन्मात्रग्रहणोत्तरेण शतग्रहणस्य हेतोरसिद्धत्वमुक्तं। पञ्चाशद्ग्रहणे परिशोधनेन चापरिशोधनस्याऽसिद्धिरुक्ता। तेनैतदेव शताभियोगे मिथ्या पञ्चाशत्परिशोधने च कारणोत्तरं अतएव व्यासः[1]।

मिथ्योत्तरं कारणञ्च स्यातामेकत्र चेदुभे।
स्वयं वाऽपि सहाऽन्येन एव ग्राह्यं किमुत्तरम्॥
मिथ्याकारणयोर्व्वाऽपि ग्राह्यं कारणमुत्तरम्।
तत् प्रभूतार्थ-विषयं यत्र वा स्यात् क्रियाफलम्॥
उत्तरं तच्च विज्ञेयमसङ्कीर्णमतोऽन्यथा।

अस्यार्थः। यदैकोत्तरावयविमिथ्याकारणरूपमवयवद्वयं परस्पराविरुद्धं, सत्येन वा सहावयवत्रयं, तदा क्रियैकत्वार्थं अवयवविशेषग्रहणमिति ब्रूते। अस्य तूत्तराभासत्वे व्यासवचनं निर्विषयं स्यात्, यत् पुनर्मिथ्याकारणयोर्वाऽपीति अस्योदाहरणं तार्किकम्मन्येनोक्तं—यथा मदीया गौरमुकस्मिन् काले नष्टा साचैतस्य गृहे तिष्ठति इत्युक्ते मिथ्या तदेतदुपदर्शितकालात् प्राङ्मद्गृहे चिरं साऽस्तीति मिथ्याकारणाभ्यां सङ्कीर्णरूपमपि सदुत्तरमेवेत्यन्तं, तदपि पूर्वापरविरुद्धम्, मिथ्यैतन्नाभिजानामि इति वचनमुपन्यस्य मिथ्यात्वप्रतिपादनमात्रपर्य्यवसितत्वेन मिथ्योत्तरमेव। अथ देशान्तरावस्थानादिना मिथ्यात्वे कारणदत्तभराणि तदाकारणान्येव, इति स्वयमेवोक्तत्वात्, कथमस्मिन्नुदाहरणे द्वयोःसन्निपातः। स्वतन्त्रेणैव द्वयोर्व्याहतत्वात्, यथा धूमार्थवह्निविज्ञानं यद्यविनाभावपुरस्कारेण जायते, तदाऽनुमानं। अथ व्यतिरेकमुखेन ततोऽर्थापत्तिरित्येकमेवज्ञानं, आलोचनादिभेदेन भिद्यते इति दृष्टान्तस्याऽपि तेनैव दर्शितत्वात्, न हि तत्राऽपि प्रमाणसङ्कीर्णताप्रमाणयोः क्वचिद्भवति दृष्टान्ते च दूषणं विस्तरभयान्नोक्तं। तस्माच्छताभियोगे शतग्रहणं मिथ्या पञ्चाशदेव गृहीतास्ते च परिशुद्धा इति मिथ्यांशकारणांशयोस्तु विषयत्वात् कारणोत्तरं ग्राह्यं, यदि च शतं मिथ्या पञ्चविंशतिः पुराणा गृहीतास्ते च परिशुद्धा इति मिथ्यांशस्य प्रभूतार्थत्वविषयत्वात् मिथ्योत्तरग्रहणं (तदा) पूर्ववादिन एव क्रिया इत्यर्थः। सत्यमिथ्याकारणैरपि सङ्कीर्णोदाहरणं यथा नवत्यभियोगे मिथ्यतत् षष्टिपुराणा एवं गृहीतास्तत्रापि त्रिंशत् परिशुद्धास्त्रिंशत् धारयामि इति तत्राऽपि कारणोत्तरमेव ग्राह्यं मिथ्याकारणयोर्व्वाऽपीत्यपि शब्देन त्रिभिरपि संसृष्टेकारणमेव ग्राह्यमितिदर्शितत्वात् प्रभूतार्थविषयत्वञ्च कारणोत्तरग्रहणापवादकं "द्वयोरेवापवादकं यत्र वा स्यात् क्रियाफलमिति"। क्रिया हि

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[1] O

पत्रिकादिः, तस्याः फलं सम्यगिष्टनिर्णयः। तत्र यदि शतग्रहणे पत्रमस्ति, शतापह्नवे च पञ्चाशत् विशोधने साक्षिणस्तदा मिथ्योत्तरमेव ग्राह्यं। लिखितस्य साक्षिभ्यो बलवत्त्वेन सम्यङ्निर्णयफलत्वादित्यर्थः। तदेतदुक्तं[1]।

"यत् प्रभूतार्थविषयं यत्र वा स्यात् क्रियाफलमिति।"

ननु युक्तेर्भूयोऽनुरोधात् प्रभूतार्थक्रियाग्रहणस्यैव विनिगमनावारणत्वात् बलवत्त्वाच्च बलवत् प्रमाणग्रहणं, मिथ्याकारणयोस्तु न विषयत्वं, क्रियायाश्चाऽविशेषे कुतः कारणग्रहणं, मिथ्योत्तरे सति ग्रहणस्य प्रतिपाद्यत्वात्, कारणे च सति परिशोधनस्य ज्ञाप्यत्वात्, भावाभावरूपेणापि कुपण्डितोक्तेनेति विशेषः।

उच्यते। ग्रहणस्य चिरातीतत्वात् परिशोधनस्य त्वनन्तरभावित्वेन स्मरणार्हतया कारणस्यैव ग्रहणं, अस्यैव विनिगमनाकारणत्वात्, कश्चित्तु वचनादित्याह तदयुक्तं, वचनस्याऽदृष्टार्थतापत्तेः। अस्मदुक्तोदाहरणेषु सङ्कीर्णोत्तरवादिनो हेयवचना एव, तदेवं सत्यमिथ्याकारणप्राङ्न्यायात्मकं चतुर्व्विधमुत्तरं! यच्च सापदेशं मिथ्योत्तरमाहुस्तद् यदि मिथ्योत्तरग्रहणं तदा मिथ्योत्तरमेव तत् न तु पृथक्। तथाऽप्रसिद्धं प्रत्यवस्कन्दनमपि कारणविशेषः। सर्व्वमेव वा कारणोत्तरं प्रतिपक्षावस्कन्दनात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दनमुच्यते। वृद्धशातातपस्तु षड्विधमुत्तरमाह[2]।

"मिथ्यासम्प्रतिपत्त्या वा प्रत्यवस्कन्दनेन वा।
प्राङ्न्यायविधिना चैवमुत्तरन्तु चतुर्विधम्॥
मिथ्योपदेशं संसृष्टं विप्रतीतिस्तथा परा।
विज्ञेया व्यवहारेषु षडेवोत्तरजातयः।
अर्थान्तरोपदेशेन पूर्वपक्षार्थनिह्नवे।
मिथ्यापदेशं संसर्गात् तत् संसृष्टमुदाहृतं॥
गृहे जातेऽथवा क्रीते प्रतिज्ञाते गवादिके।
गृहे जातो ममापीति विप्रतीत्युत्तरं हि तत्॥

तत्र संसृष्टोदाहरणं मदीयेयं बहुला नाम गौरमुकस्मिन् काले मद्गृहे दृष्टा इदानीमेतस्य गृहे दृष्टा तामर्पयत्विति भाषायां, नेयमेतदीया एतदुपदर्शितकालात् प्रागेव सुचिरं मया क्रीता मद्गृहे चाऽस्तीति—कारणाभिधानान्न केवलं मिथ्या न च प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं पूर्वोक्तस्य हेतोरनभ्युपगमात्। तेन मिथ्याकारणाभ्यां संसृष्टमुदाहरणमुत्तरं। विप्रतीत्युदाहरणं यथा मदीयेयं धवलिका गौर्मद्गृहे जाता, अपरोऽपि तथैवाऽह, यद्वा ममेयं भूः क्रमागता इत्युक्ते प्रतिवाद्यपि ममापि क्रमागतेति। तुल्यरूपकारणोपन्यासाद्विप्रतीतिरिदमुत्तरं तत्पूर्वोक्तकारणोत्तर एवानयोरनुप्रविष्टत्वात् नास्ति भेदः इति। यद्वा नारदादयश्चतुर्विधमुत्तरं वर्णितवन्तः। वृद्धशातातपवचनन्तु बहुज्ञजीर्ण(?)कृतनिबन्धेऽस्माभिर्दृष्टं, न पुन र्भोजदेवे, पक्षैकदेशव्यापिनस्तु उदाहरणं—शताभियोगे पञ्चाशत्पुराणा मयाऽस्य परिशुद्धाः अतो न धारयामीति, शतस्यतु

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[1] O

[2] O in वृद्धशातातप (Anandasrama, 1905).

न ग्रहणं नाऽग्रहणं न च परिशोधनं ब्रूते, न च सत्यमित्यनुजानाति, तेन परिशोधनमात्रोत्तरस्य न व्यापितेत्युत्तराभासोऽसौ ॥

इत्युत्तराभासनिर्णयो नाम द्वितीयःपादः ॥

अथ क्रियापादः ।

तत्रोत्तराभावे क्रियानपेक्ष एवभङ्गः । सदुत्तरे तु क्रियानिर्णयः, तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यः[1] ।

"ततोऽर्थी लेखयेत्सद्यः प्रतिज्ञातार्थसाधनं ।
तत्सिद्धौ सिद्धिमाप्नोति विपरीतमतोऽन्यथा ॥"

अर्थीतिद्वयोरपि ग्रहणं, स्वपक्षसाधनपरपक्षनिग्रहेणार्थेनार्थित्वात् द्वयोरपि पूर्वोत्तराभ्याञ्चोभयाभ्यां प्रतिज्ञातत्वात्, प्रतिज्ञातार्थसाधनमित्यस्यापि विरोधात् नियमेन च भाषावादिनः क्रियानिर्द्देशाऽनुपपत्तेः । सद्यएव क्रियां निर्द्दिशेत् उक्तमात्र एव न च तत्राप्युत्तरदानार्थमिव कालापेक्षा कार्य्या, प्रागेवाऽर्थिनः साक्षिपत्रादिस्थिरीकरणेन सुनिश्चितबलाधानस्य प्रवृत्तत्वात्, प्रत्यर्थिनोऽप्युत्तरदानार्थं दत्त एव कालः स्वप्रमाणस्य स्थिरतापूर्वकमुत्तरदानात्, अतएव कात्यायनः[2] ।

न कालग्रहणं कार्य्यं राज्ञा साक्षिप्रभाषणे ।
महान् दोषो भवेत् कालात् धर्म्मव्यावृत्तिलक्षणः ॥

साक्षिणां निर्द्देशः । पृष्टानां वा अपृष्टानां वा साक्षिणां वचनं द्वयमपि साक्षिप्रभाषणं न्यायस्याविशेषात् । उभयत्राऽपि विलम्बे कूटकरणेन धर्म्मविरोधापत्तेरित्यर्थः । क्रिया च द्विधा, यथा वृहस्पतिः[3] ।

द्विप्रकारा क्रिया प्रोक्ता मानुषी दैविकी तथा ।
एकैकाऽनेकधा भिन्ना ऋषिभिस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥
साक्षिलेख्यानुमानञ्च मानुषी त्रिविधा स्मृता ।
घटाद्याधर्म्मजान्ता च दैवी नवविधा स्मृता" ॥

व्यवस्थामाह कात्यायनः[4] ।

"क्रिया न दैविकी प्रोक्ता विद्यमानेषु साक्षिषु ।
लेख्ये च सति वादेषु न स्याद्दिव्यं न साक्षिणः ॥

उत्तरविशेषमाह नारदः[5] ।

मिथ्याक्रिया पूर्ववादे कारणे प्रतिवादिनि ।
प्राङ्न्यायविधिसिद्धौ च जयपत्रं क्रिया भवेत् ॥

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[1] Yajnavalkya, II, 7 and 8.

[2] O [3] O [4] O [5] O

मिथ्या मिथ्योत्तरे सति पूर्ववादे भाषार्थे क्रिया मानुषी ग्राह्या, न गृहीतं मयेत्युत्तरार्थे साक्षिपत्रादि क्रियानुपपत्तेः। एतन्न्यायमूलत्वाच्च वचनस्य नाऽभावो ज्ञाप्य इतिद्वयं हि भाषितं, न तावदसौ ज्ञातुमशक्यो देशान्तरावस्थानज्ञापनेनाग्रहणस्य सुकरप्रतिपादनात्। ब्रह्मवधादौ हि वधनिदानस्यानाचरणमेव परीक्षादिना ज्ञाप्यते। तद्वदेवाऽग्रहणे हि ज्ञापिते व्यवहारसमाप्तेः सम्भवात् पुरुषार्थतापीति हेय एवायं पक्षः। मिथ्योत्तरे भाषावादिनो दृष्टप्रमाणाभावे द्वयोर्ग्रहणयोरर्थसाक्षिकत्वात् दृष्टग्रहणवददृष्टग्रहणे विनिगमनं वाच्यं, (हेतोर्न्यायस्याऽभावात् धार्म्मिकत्वे नैव विषेण दिव्यं देयं, न च मिथ्योत्तरे पूर्ववादिनः क्रियेतिवचनाद् दृष्टार्थाभावेऽदृष्टाक्रियाऽपि तस्यैवेति वाच्यं,) वचनस्याऽदृष्टार्थतापत्तेः। कारणोत्तरे तु प्रतिवादिनः क्रियामाह कात्यायनः[1]।

"प्रपद्य कारणं पूर्वमन्यद् गुरुतरं यदि।
प्रतिवाक्ये गतिं ब्रूयात् साध्यते तद्धि नेतरत्॥

धार्य्यमाणत्वस्य कारणं ऋणग्रहणं, तदभ्युपगम्य तदा धार्य्यनिमित्तमुत्तरगतं यदि गुरुतरकारणं परिशोधनादिकं ब्रूयात्, तदा प्रतिवादिनः क्रिया, तथा।

"योऽर्थिनाऽर्थः समुद्दिष्टः प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं तथा।
प्रपद्य कारणं ब्रूयादाधार्य्यं गुरुरब्रवीत्[2]॥"

पूर्वोक्तस्याऽधार्य्यत्वमित्यर्थः। तथा वृहत्कात्यायनः[3]।

बाधिका तु क्रिया यत्र अभियुक्तेन कीर्त्तिता।
आधार्य्यं तद्विजानीयात् पूर्वपक्षस्य नाऽन्यथा॥

तथा नारदः[4]।

"आधार्य्यं पूर्वपक्षस्य यस्मिन्नर्थवशाद्भवेत्।
विवादे साक्षिणस्तत्र प्रष्टव्याः पूर्ववादिनः॥

साक्षिण इति दृष्टक्रियोपलक्षणं। समकारणाभिधाने तु पूर्ववादिन एव क्रिया। तदाऽऽह नारदः[5]।

"द्वयोर्विवदतोरर्थे द्वयोः सत्स्वपि साक्षिषु।
पूर्व्ववादो भवेद्यस्य भवेयुस्तस्य साक्षिणः॥"

यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः[6]।

"साक्षिषूभयतः सत्सु साक्षिणः पूर्ववादिनः।
पूर्वपक्षेऽवरीभूते भवत्युत्तरवादिनः॥"

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[1] O [2] — ? [3] O

[4] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, Sl. 164 (p. 95). But it differs on many points: as—

आधय्यं पूर्व्वपक्षस्य यस्मिन्नर्थे वशाद्भवेत्।
विवादे साक्षिणस्तत्र प्रष्टव्याः प्रतिवादिनः॥

[5] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, Sl. 163 (p. 94). Narada reads पूर्व्वपक्ष for पूर्व्ववादः।

[6] Yajnavalkya, II, 17.

साक्षिषु गुणसाम्ये सतीदं, असाम्ये तु बलवत्तरग्रहणं, तदाह बृहस्पतिः[1] ।

साक्षिद्वैधे प्रभूतास्ते ग्राह्याः साम्ये गुणाधिकाः ।
गुणद्वैधे क्रियायुक्तास्तत्साम्ये शुचिमत्तराः ॥

तथा मनुविष्णू[2] ।

बहुत्वं परिगृह्णीयात् साक्षिद्वैधे नराधिपः ।
समेषु च गुणोत्कृष्टान् गुणिद्वैधे द्विजोत्तमान् ॥

न च गृहीतानां वचनद्वैधपरमिदं वचनं, साक्षिद्वैध इति निर्देशात् साक्षिणामेव ग्राह्यतया निर्देशात्, न तु तत्तद्वचनस्य, न्यायसाम्याद्वा उभयविषयपरत्वमेव वचनस्य, एवञ्चैकस्य सति पक्षेऽन्यस्य साक्षिणो न ग्राह्याः । यथा कात्यायनः[3] ।

"क्रिया न वैदिकी प्रोक्ता विद्यमानेषु साक्षिषु ।
लेख्ये च सति वादेषु न स्याद्दिव्यं न साक्षिणः ॥
स्थावरेषु विवादेषु दिव्यानि परिधारयेत् ।
साक्षिभिर्लिखितेनार्थे भुक्त्या चैव प्रसाधयेत् ॥"

विश्वरूपेणापि साक्षिणः पूर्ववादिन इत्यादि प्रतिग्रहाविषयं व्याख्यातं । तदैव पूर्वबलवत्त्वात् अन्ये तु ।

प्राङ्न्याये कारणोक्तौ च प्रत्यर्थी साधयेत् क्रियां ।
मिथ्योत्तरे पूर्ववादी प्रतिपत्तौ न सा भवेत् ॥"

इति हारीतेन[4] नियमादिति । तदयुक्तं । याज्ञवल्क्यवचने उत्तरार्द्धेनोत्तरवादिन उपादानात् तत्प्रतियोगिभूतस्य भाषावादिन एव पूर्ववादिपदेनोपादानात् । अतएव विष्णुः[5] । "द्वयोर्विवदमानयोर्यस्य पूर्वपक्षस्तस्य साक्षिणः प्रष्टव्याः, आधार्य्ये कार्य्यवशात् यस्य पूर्वपक्षस्य भवेत्तत्र प्रतिवादिनोऽपि." अतएव प्रतिवादिपक्षप्रतियोगिकः पूर्वपक्षभाषार्थएव प्रतीयते । किञ्च पूर्वत्वेन वादोऽन्यस्य परवादित्वे सति भवति तदा तु परवादितयैव तस्य पराजितत्वात् किं साक्षिभिः ? अथाऽसौ न परवादी तदा कथमितरः पूर्ववादी ? किञ्च तद्वचनान्तरेणाधौ प्रतिग्रहः इत्यादिनैव बलवत्त्वोक्त्या तद्ग्रहणस्य सिद्धत्वात् अनर्थकमिदं स्यात्, दुर्बलक्रियाग्रहणस्याऽसम्भवीयत्वात् । किञ्च उभयोस्तु कारणोक्तौ कस्य क्रिया निर्देश्या, तस्याऽपि कारणोत्तरतया प्रतिवादिनः क्रियानियमात् प्रतिवादिन एवेति, तन्न, 'प्रपद्य कारण'मित्यादीनां गुरुतरकारणविषयत्वेन तस्य वर्णितत्वात् तद्भिन्नेतरदिति । समाधमकारणोत्तरे सति भाषार्थस्यैव प्रतिपादनोक्तेः । अतएव पूर्वपक्षोऽधरीभूत इत्याधार्य्ये पूर्वपक्षस्येत्यादिना भाषार्थस्याऽवधारणे प्रतिवादिनः क्रियोच्यते । अधरत्वञ्च बलवदपेक्षं भवति । न तु समानमधमं वा तद्भिन्नेतरदिति गुरुतरं विना । अतएव

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[1] O [2] O In Manu Samhita, but in Vishnu, see VIII, 39. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 52.

[3] O [4] O

[5] Vishnu, VIII, 10-11, S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 49. But it reads यत्र for "यस्य"।

“पूर्ववादीभवेद्यस्य भवेयुस्तस्य साक्षिणः ।”[1]

इति पूर्वभूताध्यादिवर्णनमिति ज्ञेयं । किन्तु समानकारणाभिधाने पूर्ववादिन एव क्रिया प्रथमस्यैव विनिगमनाकारणत्वात्, अर्थित्वावष्टम्भेन च व्यवहारप्रवर्त्तनेन पीडातिशयानुमानात्, अन्यायगृहीतस्य लोके पीडातिशयदर्शनात् । एवं दुर्बलकारणाभिधानेऽपि पूर्ववादिन एव क्रिया, उत्तरस्य दुर्बलत्वे ज्ञापितस्याऽपि पूर्वबाधाक्षमत्वात्, एतन्न्यायमूलमेवोक्तं तद्विना (?) गुरुतरं नेत्यर्थः । दुर्बलकारणोदाहरणन्तु आध्यादिविषयं पूर्वदर्शितं प्राङ्न्यायोत्तरे पूर्ववादिनः एव जयपत्रं । न्यायद्रष्टारः अन्येऽपि वा तद्वेदिनः प्रमाणं, तदाऽऽह व्यासः[2] ।

“प्राङ्न्याये जयपत्रेण प्राड्विवाकादिभिस्तथा ।
सत्यं वादी समाप्नोति यद् यत् तेन निवेदितं ॥”

तथा बृहस्पतिः[3] ।

“प्रतिज्ञां भावयेद्वादी प्रत्यर्थी कारणन्तथा ।
प्राग्वृत्तवादी विजयं जयपत्रेण भावयेत् ॥”

जयपत्रमुपलक्षणमाह, कात्यायनः[4] ।

“अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिवाक्यानि प्रतिज्ञासाक्षिवाक्तथा ।
निश्चयश्च तथा तस्य यथाचारधृतं स्वयं ॥”
“एतद्यथाक्षरं लेख्यं यथापूर्व्वं निवेशयेत् ।
सभासदश्च ये तत्र स्मृतिशास्त्रविदः स्थिताः ॥”

तथा बृहस्पतिः[5] ।

“यद्वृत्तं व्यवहारेषु पूर्वपक्षोत्तरादिकं ।
क्रियावधारणोपेतं जयपत्रेऽथ संलिखेत् ॥
पूर्व्वोत्तरक्रियायुक्तं निर्णयान्तं यदा नृपः ।
प्रदद्याद् जयिने लेख्यं जयपत्रं तदुच्यते ॥”

व्यवहारदर्शिनो नृपस्य प्राधान्यान्निर्देशः । भाषोत्तरे यथोक्ते क्रियापत्रे साक्षिदिव्यादिना निर्णयस्य जयपराजयावधारणं, निर्णयकालावस्थिताश्च मध्यस्था इत्यादि सर्वं लेखनीयं निरूपणस्य सम्यक् तत्त्वप्रदर्शनार्थं, भाषोत्तरलिखनन्तु पूर्वन्यायकरणे हेत्वन्तरेण प्रत्यवस्थाननिराकरणार्थं, न हि न गृहीतं मयेति मिथ्योत्तरेण प्रत्यवस्थितौ जितस्य पुनः परिशुद्धं मयेति प्रत्यवस्थानं सम्भवति, तदाऽऽह, कात्यायनः[6] ।

“क्रियां बलवतीं मुक्त्वा दुर्बलां योऽवलम्बते ।
स जयेऽवधृते सभ्यैः पुनस्तां नाऽऽप्नुयात् क्रियां ॥”

मुक्त्वेति बुद्धिपूर्वकत्यागावगतेः । न च बलवत्तरक्रियां परित्यज्य दुर्बलया प्रत्यवस्थानं युज्यते प्रेक्षापूर्वकारिण इति ।

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[1] O [2] O [3] O [4] O [5] O [6] O

इदानीं तदुपन्यासः कूटादेरितिन्यायमूलवचनं ।

अतएव नारदः[1] ।

"साक्षिसभ्यावसन्नानां दूषणे दर्शनं पुनः ।
स चार्त्तावसितानान्तु नोक्तः पौनर्भवोविधिः ॥"

तथा बृहस्पतिः[2] ।

"पलायनादनुत्तरादन्यपक्षाश्रयेण च ।
हीनस्य गृह्यते वादो न स्ववाक्यजितस्य च ॥"

हेत्वन्तरेण प्रत्यवस्थानमित्यर्थः । एवं यदि पितृर्णस्य ग्रहणं शोधनं वा अजानन्नाक्रुष्टो न जानामीति मिथ्योत्तरं तदुत्तरात् तदाऽग्रहणप्रतिपादनेनैव पराजितो देशान्तरागतपरिशोधनज्ञपुरुषात्तदवगम्य प्रत्यवस्थानं कर्त्तुमर्हत्येव कूटहेतोरभावे छलापत्तेश्च वचनस्यादृष्टार्थं स्यात्; ननु मिथ्याकारणसङ्कीर्णोत्तरग्रहणे पश्चाशत्परिशोधने ज्ञापिते कथमपरस्य पश्चाशतोग्रहणाभावः सिध्यति ? न च ग्रहणमपि भाषावादिना ज्ञाप्यं, ग्राह्यं स्यात् कारणोत्तरमित्यस्याऽप्यानर्थक्यापत्तेः, मिथ्योत्तरस्यापि तदानीं ग्रहणात् उभयोरपि जयपराजयापत्तेः। तथैकस्मिन् विवादे क्रियाद्वयनिषेधाच्च न चैकपक्षसाधनार्थं यत्र कारणप्राङ्न्यायादिरूपहेतुद्वयोपन्यासस्तत्रैकहेतुना साध्यसिद्धेरितरानर्थक्यात्तन्निरासार्थं न चैकत्र क्रियाद्वयमिति वचनं वर्णनीयं, अविरोधिनोरुभयोरुपन्यासेऽप्यविरोधात्, निरूपकेण बलवद्धेतुग्रहणं क्रियानिर्द्देशार्थं कर्त्तव्यं, अन्यथा हेतुद्वयबलाबल(रूपाणाम् ?)समर्थस्य न्यायाभासः प्रसज्येत, किञ्च दुर्बलहेतौ रूपाद्भुतपरामर्शात् बलवत्तरप्रत्ययेन परमार्थबलवत्तरमुपेक्ष्य दुर्बलोपन्यासात् तत्त्वविचारकैः प्राड्विवाकादिभिस्तस्य दुर्बलतावधारणात् तस्य पराजयः स्यात् । तस्मादेकसाध्यानुगुणानेकहेतूपन्यासः कार्य्यः । किञ्च जयपक्षभाषोत्तरलिखनं नोपपद्येत, पक्षेण हि पूर्वोक्तजयहेतुरूपदर्शिनो जयस्येति तयोर्जयलिखनमात्रेणैव सिद्धेर्भाषोत्तरलिखनं विरोध एव स्यात्, किञ्च "नचैकस्मिन् विवादे तु क्रिया स्याद्वादिनोर्द्वयो"रिति। साक्षिपत्रादिक्रियां निषिध्य न चैकत्र क्रियाद्वयमित्यत्रापि सैव क्रिया प्रतीयते, न तु स्वार्थसाधकहेतुद्वयमतस्तस्यैव निरासो न तु हेतुद्वयस्य, उपाय-प्रचयस्य केन नाम नेष्यते इति न्यायात् तस्मादिति व्याख्यानं थोग्लोकस्य, अतः क्रियाद्वयनिषेधात् कथमेकस्मिन् प्रतिपादितेऽप्यर्थान्तरस्याप्रतिपादितत्वात् जयपराजयावधारणं? उच्यते । मुनिभिरेवाऽत्र समानं कृतं, तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः[3] ।

"निह्नुते लिखितानेकमेकदेशविभावितः ।
दाप्यः सर्व्वान् रूपणार्थान्न ग्राह्यस्त्वनिवेदितः ॥

क्रियानिर्द्देशात् वादिनोऽवसादनमवगम्य यद्यपरो ब्रूते इदमपरं पूर्वं लेखयितुं विस्मृतवानस्मि इति तत्पूर्वमनिवेदितत्वान्न ग्राह्यमित्यर्थः। तथा नारदः[4] ।

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[1] Narada, II, 40. The second half of the sloka runs thus: "स्वचर्य्यावसितानांतु नास्ति पौनर्भवो विधिः" । [2] O

[3] Yajnavalkya, II, 20. But it reads सर्व्वं नृपेणार्थं for सर्व्वान् रूपणार्थान् । [4] O

"अनेकार्थाभियुक्तेन सर्वद्रव्यापलापिना ।
विभावितैकदेशेन देयं यदभियुज्यते ॥"

तथा विष्णुः[1] ।

"सर्व्वापलापे एकदेशविभावितोऽपि सर्वं दद्यात् ।"

तथा कात्यायनः[2] ।

"सर्व्वापलापं यः कृत्वा मिथ्यात्वमपि संवदेत् ।
सर्वमेव तु दाप्यं स्यादितियुक्तो बृहस्पतिः ॥"

तदेतैरेकदेशविभावितस्यापि अंशस्याऽसिद्धिरुक्ता नत्वभियुक्तस्य निर्द्देशात् तद्विषयत्वं वचनानां । नैतन्न्यायतया तदस्योपलक्षणत्वादेकदेशविभावनार्था, विजानत एव तस्य तदपलापाकुलत्वावधारणात् अपरांशेऽपि तथाद्विपदमवधार्य्यते । सत्यविभावकस्यापि प्रक्रान्तन्यायविषये यथावस्तुवादावधारणादभावितेऽप्यंशे सत्यशीलत्वावधारणमित्यस्य वादिद्वयसाधारणत्वादुभयविषयत्वं वचनानां । अतएव कात्यायनः[3] ।

"यद्येकदेशप्राप्ताऽपि क्रिया विद्येत मानुषी ।
सा ग्राह्या न तु पूर्णा तु दैविकीदेवता (वदतां ?) नृणां ॥"

वदतां विवदतां इत्याशयेन दर्शयति । दैविक्या दुर्ब्बलतया मानुष्याश्च क्रियाया बलवत्त्वेनैकदेशप्रतिपादनेनैव समस्तसाध्यसिद्धिमाह, अन्यथा साध्यान्तरांशेऽपि यदि दृष्टरूपक्रियान्तरं तदा न व्यापिता दृष्टक्रियायाः । अथ तदंशे दिव्यादि क्रियते तदा (पताकृत असम्भिलाद्युत्वादनेक ?) निषेधाच्च दिव्यमेव स्यात् । तस्मादनेनाऽपि विभावितैकदेशे वचनं व्याप्यभूतैकदेशविषयं, तस्मिन् हि प्रतिपादिते व्यापकैकदेशप्रतीतिरनुमानात् सिध्यतामिति तद्देव वर्ण्यतां नैवं एकदेशपदस्य तदनभिधायकत्वादेकदेशान्तरे वृद्धिरित्यादौ व्यापकेऽपि दर्शनात्, पदार्थस्य ह्यंशमेकदेशपदमाह व्याप्यव्यापकयोरपि विशेषणविशेष्यरूपत्व-गुणप्रधानभावार्थकविशिष्टपदार्थस्यांशत्वदैरेकदेशपदवाच्यता स्वरूपेण, विष्णु-नारद-याज्ञवल्क्यवचनेषु चैकदेशभावनेन सर्वज्ञाप्य इति श्रुतेः सर्वप्रतियोगिकमसर्वमेकदेशपदमाह अतएव कात्यायनेन[4] ।

"सर्व्वापलापं यः कृत्वा मिथ्यात्वमपि संवदेत् ।"

इत्येकदेशपदस्थाने अल्पपदं प्रयुञ्जता अल्पार्थं तत्पदमिति स्फुटीकृतं, किञ्च वाक्यैकदेशज्ञापितस्याऽनिवेदितस्याऽपि न्यायतो ग्राह्यत्वात् ग्राह्यस्त्वनिवेदित इति विरुध्येत, तस्माद्व्याप्योऽभिप्रायमित्यपव्याख्यानं । किन्त्वल्पज्ञापनेनैव सर्वस्यसिद्धिर्बोद्धव्या । अयञ्च नानास्थानाद्धनाभियोगे नानास्थानस्थद्रव्येषु सर्व्वापलापे कृते स्थानभेदे च भिन्नक्रियत्वात्तस्य च निषेधात् दृष्टप्रमाणेनैकदेशज्ञाप्यत्वात् सर्व्वसिद्धिरिति न्यायोद्रष्टव्यः, अतएव, "साध्यार्थांशे निगदिते साक्षिभिः सकलं भवेदिति"— अंशपदं सकलपदञ्च प्रयुक्तवान् कात्यायनः ननु—

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[1] Vishnu, VI, 22, S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 44.
[2] O [3] O [4] O [5] O

“साध्यार्थांशे निगदिते साक्षिभिः सकलं भवेत् ।
स्त्रीसङ्गे साहसे चौर्य्ये यत् साध्यं परिकल्पितम् ॥”

इत्यनेन व्यवस्थितविकल्पमाह, कात्यायनः[1] ।

सत्यमृणनिःक्षेपादिष्वप्यपह्नुतस्य चौर्य्यरूपत्वादतएव नारदः[2] ।

“स्त्रीणां शीलाभियोगे च स्तेयसाहसयोरपि ।
एषएव विधिर्दृष्टः सर्व्वार्थापह्नवेष्वपि ॥”

सर्व्वार्थापह्नवेष्विति ऋणनिक्षेपापह्नवमपि स्तेयसमानविधिं दर्शयति नन्वेकदेशविभावनेन सर्व्वासिद्धिर्हि वचनविरुद्धा । कात्यायनः[3] ।

“अनेकार्थाभियोगेऽपि यावत्संसाधयेद्धनी ।
साक्षिभिस्तावदेवाऽसौ लभते नाऽधिकं धनं ॥”

नैतत्तावदेवेत्यस्य ऋणाद्यनभिपन्नपुत्रादिविषयत्वात्, नानाविधपित्रर्णाभियुक्तस्याऽजानतोजानामीत्युत्तरेऽनपलापशीलत्वात्तस्य यथोक्तन्याये चाऽपलापविषयत्वात् प्राक्तनवचनानां, न तैरेतस्य विरोधः। विश्वरूपादिभिरपीत्थमेव विरोधः कृतः ।

“ऊनमप्यधिकं वापि” इत्यादिकन्तु साक्षिप्रतिपाद्ययावत्प्रतिज्ञातार्थविषयं, तदाऽऽह नारदः[4] ।

“निर्द्दिष्टेष्वर्थजातेषु साक्षी तत् साक्ष्यमागतः ।
न ब्रूयादक्षरसमं न तन्निगदितं भवेत् ॥”

अतोभाषायामुत्तरे वा यावानर्थो निर्द्दिष्टस्तस्मिन्नेवार्थे यदि साक्षित्वमागताः स्वीकृतास्तावन्तमर्थं ब्रूयात् तदा तेनाऽकथितमेव भवेदित्यर्थः, न त्वल्पज्ञापनार्थं, निर्द्दिष्टस्याऽल्पाभिधाने तदर्थमेव स्वीकारात् यत्पुनरत्रतार्किकम्मन्येन योश्लोकेन विभावितैकदेशवचनानां विषयोदर्शितः, यद्येषां मध्ये गृहीतमेकमपि परिभावयसि सकलमेव मया दातव्यमिति वादिनः प्रतिज्ञा तद्विषयमिति, तदसङ्गतं, प्रतिज्ञाविषयत्वे यदभियुज्यत इत्यनर्थकं, सपणव्यवहारवादेनाऽभियुज्यमानस्याऽधिकस्य न्यूनस्य वा प्रतिज्ञया दानापत्तेः । अतएव न ग्राह्यस्त्वनिवेदित इत्यपार्थकं अनिवेदितस्याऽपि प्रतिज्ञया देयत्वाविशेषात्, किञ्च यदा विभावितैकदेशविभावनस्य हेतुभावावगतिर्विरुध्येत । यच्चाप्यथवेति कृत्वोदाहरणान्तरं कृतं यत्रैकताम्रघटस्थं नानाद्रव्यमासीत्तत्रैकद्रव्यभावनया सकलमेव वादिनः (इतरः?) सिध्यतीति तदप्ययुक्तं, कथं तस्याऽप्यविभावितस्य सिद्धिः? तस्य तत्र स्थितत्वे प्रमाणाभावात्, न ह्यभियोक्तृवचनमत्रोत्तरस्य सिद्धिर्मिथ्यात्वस्याऽपि सम्भवात् । अभियोक्तृक्रियान्तरेण द्रव्यान्तरावस्थितिपादनमिति चेन्न, पूर्वस्थितस्यापि पश्चादवस्थानसम्भवात्, न चाऽभियोज्यगृहीतैकदेशग्रहणपर्य्यन्तं द्रव्यान्तरस्याऽपि तत्राऽवस्थितिरिति साक्षिभिर्ज्ञापनीयमिति वाच्यं, तद्ग्रहणस्याऽपि तत्र साक्षिवेद्यतयैव एकक्रिययैव सकलस्य प्रतिपादयितुं सुकरत्वान्नास्ति विभावितैकन्यायावसरः ।

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[1] O [2] Narada, p. 109, Sl. 242. [3] O

[4] Narada, Rinâdânam, Sl. 232: A.S.B., reads “साक्षी चेत् साक्ष्यमागते ।”

तस्मात् नवतार्किकमन्यस्य श्लोकस्य उदाहरणं हेयं । इति क्रियानिर्देशे तृतीयपादे क्रियाविषयनिरूपणप्रत्याकलनं । सम्प्रति ग्राह्यक्रियानिरूपणं । तत्र कात्यायनः[1] ।

"अनुमानाद्गुरुः साक्षी साक्षिभ्योलिखितं गुरु ।
अव्याहता त्रिपुरुषी भुक्तिरेभ्यो गरीयसी" ॥"

तथा च व्यासः[2] ।

"शास्त्रेषु लेख्यसाक्षिभ्यां भुक्तिरभ्यधिकामता ।"

तदेवमनुमानात् साक्षी बलवान्, ततोऽपि लिखित, सर्वेभ्य एव भुक्तिर्बलवती । सर्वेभ्यश्च दृष्टेभ्यो दुर्बलमनुमानम्, अनुमानमाह मनुः[3] ।

"वाह्यैर्विभावयेल्लिङ्गैर्भावमन्तर्गतं नृणां ।
स्वरवर्णेङ्गिताकारैश्चक्षुषा चेष्टितेन च ॥
आकारैरिङ्गितैर्गत्या चेष्टया भाषितेन च ।
नेत्रवक्त्रविकारैश्च गृह्यतेऽन्तर्गतं मनः ॥"

तथा कात्यायनः[4] ।

"आकारेङ्गितचेष्टाभिस्तस्य भावं विभावयेत् ।
प्रतिवादी भवेद्धीनः सोऽनुमानेन लक्ष्यते ॥
कम्पः स्वेदोऽथ वैकल्यमोष्ठशोषाभिमर्षणे ।
भूलेखनं स्थानहानिस्तिर्य्यगूर्द्धनिरीक्षणं ।
स्वरभेदश्च दुष्टस्य चिह्नान्याहुर्मनीषिणः ॥"

प्रतिवादीतिद्वयोरप्युपादानं, अन्योऽन्यं प्रतिपक्षवादात्, ओष्ठाभिर्षणं लेहनं, यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः[5] ।

देशाद्देशान्तरं याति सृक्कणी परिलेढि च ।
ललाटं भिद्यते चाऽस्य मुखं वैवर्ण्यमेति च ॥
परिशुष्यत्स्खलद्वाक्यो विरुद्धं बहु भाषते ।
वाक्चक्षुः पूजयति नो तथोष्ठौ निर्भुजत्यपि ॥
स्वभावाद्विकृतिं गच्छेन्मनोवाक्कायकर्म्मभिः ।
अभियोगे च साक्ष्ये च दुष्टः स परिकीर्त्तितः ॥

वाक्चक्षुर्न पूजयति न मुखमवलोकयन् ब्रूते इत्यर्थः । ओष्ठौ निर्भुजति कम्पयति, सुव्यक्तमपरं । तदेवमादिभिर्लिङ्गैर्वादिनोहीनपक्षत्वमनुमीयते । दिव्यादनुमानं बलवत्तरं, तदाऽऽह बृहस्पतिः[6] ।

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[1] O [2] O
[3] Manu, VIII, 25, 26, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 257. [4] O
[5] Yajnavalkya, II, 13, 14, 15 ; it reads स्विद्यते for भिद्यते । [6] O

“लिखिते साक्षिवादे च सन्दिग्धिर्यत्र जायते ।
अनुमाने च सम्भ्रान्ते तत्र दिव्यं विशोधनं ॥”

लिङ्गतदाभाषणमनवधारणमनुमानस्य च सम्भ्रान्तत्वं तदा दिव्यविधानात् अनुमानात् साक्षी बलवान्। अनुमानादरः साक्षीत्युक्तः। लिखितन्तु साक्षिभ्यो बलीयः, तदाऽऽह नारदः[1]।

लिखितं बलवन्नित्यं जीवत्स्वपि हि साक्षिषु ।
साक्षिभ्यो लिखितं श्रेयोलिखितान्नतु साक्षिणः ॥

तथा कात्यायनः[2] ।

“लेख्येच सति वादेषु न स्यात् दिव्यं न साक्षिणः ।

तथा ।

“तद्दिव्यैः साक्षिभिर्व्वाऽपि हीयते लिखितं क्वचित् ।
लेख्ये धर्म्मः सदा श्रेष्ठो ह्येतेनाऽन्येन हीयते[3] ॥”

तथा वृहस्पतिः[4] ।

“न जातु हीयते लेख्यं साक्षिभिः शपथेन वा ।”

तथा संवर्त्तः[5] ।

“लेख्ये लेख्या क्रिया प्रोक्ता वाचिके वाचिकी मता ॥
वाचिकी न तु सिद्धे च लेख्यस्योपरि या क्रिया ।
लेख्यस्योपरि यत् साक्ष्यं कूटं तदभिधीयते ॥
अधर्म्मस्य हि तद्द्वारमतोराजा विवर्ज्जयेत् ।
वाचिकैर्यदि सामर्थ्यमक्षराणां विहन्यते ॥
क्रियाणां सर्वनाशः स्यादनवस्थाऽपि जायते ।”

तदेवं भुक्तिलिखितसाक्ष्यानुमानदिव्यानां पूर्वं पूर्वं गरीयः परं परञ्च दुर्बलमितिस्थिते उभयोः प्रमाणसद्भावे बलीयसा निर्णयः स्यात्, तदाह कात्यायनः[6] ।

“प्रमाणैर्हेतुना वापि दिव्येनैव तु निश्चयं ।
सर्वेष्वेव विवादेषु सदा कुर्य्यान्नराधिपः ॥
पूर्व्वाभावे परेणैव नाऽन्यथैव कदाचन ।
प्रमाणैर्वादिनिर्द्दिष्टैर्भुक्त्या लिखितसाक्षिभिः ॥”

हेतुना अनुमानेन दिव्येन वा पूर्व्वाभावे परेण निर्णयः कार्य्यः, न तु पूर्वसद्भावे परेणेति दर्शयति, एवञ्च वदता अनुमानपर्य्यन्ताभावे दिव्यमिति दर्शितं। कात्यायन[7] एव स्वोक्तं विविनक्ति।

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[1] Narada, Rinâdânam, Sl. 75; A.S.B., reads: “लिखितं बलवन् नित्यं जीवितास्वेव साक्षिषु”।

[2] O [3] O [4] O [5] O [6] O [7] O

"यद्येको मानुषीं ब्रूयादन्यो ब्रूयाच्च दैविकीं ।
मानुषीं तत्र गृह्णीयात् न तु दैवीं कदाचन ॥
यद्येकदेशप्राप्ताऽपि क्रिया विद्येत मानुषी ।
सा ग्राह्या न तु पूर्णापि दैविकी वदतां नृणां ॥
क्रिया न दैविकी प्रोक्ता विद्यमानेषु साक्षिषु ।
लेख्ये च सति वादेषु न स्याद्दिव्यं न साक्षिणः ॥"

वदतां विवदतां, तथा व्यासः[1] ।

"मणिमन्त्रौषधिबलात् प्रदत्तं चाऽभिधानतः ।
विसंवदेद्दिव्यमपि न तु साक्षी गुणान्वितः ॥"

लिखित्वा साक्षिभिरनपवादं मत्वैवाऽऽह ऋणादाने याज्ञवल्क्यः[2] ।

"लेख्यस्य पृष्ठेऽभिलिखेद्दत्वा दत्वा धनं ऋणी ।
धनी चोपगतं दद्यात् स्वहस्तपरिचिह्नितं ॥"

उपगतं प्रवेशपत्रं। तथा विष्णुः[3] ।

"ससाक्षिकमर्थं ससाक्षिकमेव दद्यात् ।"

"लिखितेऽर्थे प्रविष्टे लिखितं पाठयेत्, असमवधाने लेख्यासन्निधाने, चोत्तमर्णः स्वलिखितं दद्यात्" लिखितप्रमाणके ऋणिलिखितान्तरेण प्रवेशो ज्ञाप्यो न तु साक्षिभिः। दुर्बलेन बलवत्त्वानुपपत्तेरित्यभिप्रायः। तथा नारदः[4] ।

"लेख्यं दद्याद्विशुद्धर्णे तदभावे प्रतिश्रुतं ।
धनिकर्णिकयोरेवं विशुद्धिः स्यात् परस्परं ॥"

लेख्यमृणपत्रं तदसन्निधाने प्रतिश्रुतं शोधनपत्रं, न तु साक्षिणः कार्य्याः तैः पत्रस्यानपोद्यत्वादिति तात्पर्य्यं; पत्रस्याऽप्रदाने दण्डमाह नारदः[5] ।

गृहीत्वोपगतं दद्याद् ऋणिकायोदयं धनी ।
अददद्याच्यमानस्तु शेषहानिमवाप्नुयात् ॥

असमये दत्ते पत्रिकाप्रवेशं याच्यमानोऽप्यददत् शेषं ऋणं नाऽऽप्नुयात् तस्मात् पत्रक्रिया न साक्षिभिरपोद्यत इति ब्रुवद्भिर्बलवत्तरक्रिया दुर्बलेनापोद्यत इति सामान्येन दर्शितं भवति। तेन 'पूर्ववादो भवेद् यस्य'

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[1] O

[2] Yajnavalkya, II, 93, reads दत्त्वादत्त्वार्णिकोधनं for दत्त्वादत्त्वा धनं ऋणी ।

[3] Vishnu, VI, 24, 25, 26; but on some points it differs as आप्तं for अर्थं, लिखितार्थे for लिखितेऽर्थे, and असमप्रदाने for असमवधाने ।

[4] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, Sl. 116; reads 'प्रतिश्रयं' for प्रतिश्रुतं ।

[5] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, Sl. 114.

इति तुल्यप्रमाणविषयं। अनएव द्वयोः सत्स्वपि साक्षिष्विति तुल्यप्रमाणकीर्त्तनं। साक्षिपदं सकल प्रमाणोपलक्षणं। न्यायस्याऽविशेषात्, दिव्यमाह मनुः[1]।

"असाक्षिकेषु त्वर्थेषु मिथ्याविवदमानयोः।
अविन्द स्तत्त्वतः सत्यं शपथेनाऽपि लम्भयेत्॥"

असाक्षिकेष्विति सकलदृष्टप्रमाणाभावार्थं, शपथेनाऽपि इत्यपिशब्देन गत्यन्तराभावात् दिव्यमिति दर्शयति। तथा नारदः[2]।

"अरण्ये निर्ज्जने रात्रावन्तर्वेश्मनि साहसे।
न्यासापहरणे चैव दिव्या सम्भवति क्रिया॥
[3]यदा साक्षी न विद्येत विवादे वदतां नृणां।
तत्र दिव्यैः परीक्षेत शपथैर्वा पृथग्विधैः॥"

अरण्यादिकीर्त्तनं साक्ष्यभावप्रदर्शनार्थं। तथा पितामहः[4]।

"यस्मिन्नेव विवादे तु साक्षिणां नास्ति सम्भवः।
साहसेषु च सर्वेषु तत्र दिव्यानि दापयेत्॥"

साहसपदं प्राणान्तिकदण्डार्हपरं, तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः[5]।

"समत्वं साक्षिणां यत्र दिव्यैस्तत्र विशोधयेत्।
प्राणान्तिकविवादेषु विद्यमानेषु साक्षिषु॥
दिव्यमापद्यते वादी न पृच्छेत्तत्र साक्षिणः।"

समत्वं साक्षिणां यत्रेति प्रतिवादिनोरन्यतरस्य गृहीतैः पृष्टैः साक्षिभिरनुक्तेऽर्थे परस्परविप्रतिपत्तौ समत्वे साक्षिणां गुणतः संख्यातश्च विशेषाभावे सन्देहस्य तदवस्थत्वाद्दिव्येन तत्र तत्र निर्णयः कार्य्य इति मन्तव्यं। साक्षिग्रहणकाले वादिप्रतिवादिनोः साम्ये पूर्ववादिनः साक्षिग्रहणस्योक्तत्वात्। प्राणान्तिकविवादो महापातकाभिशापस्तत्र सत्स्वपि साक्षिषु दिव्येन निर्णयः कार्य्यः। तदाह बृहस्पतिः[6]।

"महापापाभिशापेषु निक्षेपहरणे तथा।
दिव्यैः कार्य्यं परीक्षेत राजा सत्स्वपि साक्षिषु॥"

निक्षेपहरणं वधार्हमहापातकादन्यत्; यथा मनुः[7]।

"रत्नानाञ्चैव सर्वेषां हरणे वधमर्हति।"

एवं विषयविशेषे प्रमाणविशेषं निरूप्य प्रायशः साक्षिभिर्व्यवहारसमाप्तेस्तएव प्रथमं निरूप्यन्ते। अतएव गोतमः[8]।

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[1] Manu, VIII, 109; reads मिथो for मिथ्या, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 278.

[2] Narada, Rinâdânam, Sl. 241; reads न्यासस्यापह्नवे for न्यासापहरणे।

[3] Narada, Rinâdânam, Sl. 247. [4] O [5] O [6] O

[7] Manu, VIII, 323, reads 'मुख्यानां चैव रत्नानां' for the underlined portion, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 310. [8] O

"विप्रतिपत्तौ साक्षिनिमित्ता व्यवस्था ।"

प्रायश्च इत्यर्थः । साक्षी च द्विविधः । यथा मनुः[1] ।

"समक्षदर्शनात् साक्ष्यं श्रवणाच्चैव सिध्यति ।"

विष्णुरप्याह[2] ।

"समक्षदर्शनात् साक्षी श्रवणाद्वा" ।

द्वयमपि यदि वादिद्वयसन्निधौ । यथा कात्यायनः[3] ।

"अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिसान्निध्यादनुभूतन्तु यद्भवेत् ।
ताद्ग्राह्यं साक्षिणो वाक्यमन्यथाऽऽह बृहस्पतिः ॥"

अनुभूतं चक्षुषा श्रोत्रेण वा । साक्षिसंख्यामाह बृहस्पतिः[4] ।

"नव सप्त पञ्च वास्युस्त्वारस्त्रय एव वा ।
उभौ च श्रोत्रियौज्ञेयौनैकं पृच्छेत् कदाचन ॥"

नवादिषु पूर्व्वपूर्व्वालाभे परःपरो ग्राह्यः, विषमशिष्टत्वात्, यथामनुः[5] ।

यादृशा धनिभिः कार्य्या व्यवहारेषु साक्षिणः ।
तादृशान् सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावाच्यं मतञ्च तैः ॥
गृहिणः पुत्रिणो मौलाःक्षत्रविट्शूद्रयोनयः ।
अर्थ्युक्ताःसाक्ष्यमर्हन्ति न ये केचिदनापदि" ॥
आप्ताः सर्व्वेषु वर्णेषु कार्य्याः कार्य्येषु साक्षिणः ।
सर्व्वधर्म्मविदोऽलुब्धा विपरीतांस्तु वर्ज्जयेत्" ॥

न ये केचिदनापदीत्युपादानात् आपद्यनेवम्भूता अपि ये केचिदिति गृहित्वादिगुणशून्या अपि निर्द्दोषतामात्रेण साक्षित्वमर्हन्ति इत्यर्थः । अलुब्धा इत्यभिधाय च विपरीतांस्तु वर्जयेदित्यभिधानमाह लोभादिदोषवतां वर्ज्जनमभिप्रेतं, यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः[6] ।

"तपस्विनो दानशीलाः कुलीनाः सत्यवादिनः ।
धर्म्मप्रधाना ऋजवः पुत्रवन्तो धनान्विताः ॥
त्र्यवराः साक्षिणो ज्ञेयाः श्रौतस्मार्त्तक्रियारताः ॥
यथाजाति यथावर्णं सर्व्वे सर्व्वेषु वा स्मृताः ॥"

यथाजाति सङ्कीर्णजात्यभिप्रायेण । असङ्कीर्णायां यथावर्णमित्युपात्तत्वात्, मुख्याः सवर्णाः, असम्भवे अन्यवर्णाः, तेन संख्यागुणसाम्येऽपि यस्य वादिनः सवर्णाः साक्षिणस्तस्यैव ग्राह्या इत्युक्तं, अथ बृहस्पतिः[7] ।

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[1] Manu, VIII, 74, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 267.

[2] Vishnu, VIII, 13, S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 50.

[3] O [4] O

[5] Manu, VIII, 61, 62 and 63. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, pp. 264, 265.

[6] Yajnavalkya, II, 68, 69. [7] O.

"प्रष्टव्याः साक्षिणो ये च वर्ज्यास्तेत्र नराधमाः ।
तानहं कथयिष्यामि साम्प्रतं शास्त्र चोदितान् ॥
श्रौतस्मार्त्तक्रियायुक्ता लोभद्वेषविवर्ज्जिताः ।
कुलीनाःसाक्षिणोऽनिन्द्यास्तपोदानदयान्विताः" ॥

तथा नारदः[1] ।

"कुलीना ऋजवः शुद्धा जन्मतःकर्म्मतोऽर्थतः ।
त्र्यवराः साक्षिणो ज्ञेयाः शुचयः शुद्धबुद्धयः ॥
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा ये चाप्यनिन्दिताः ।
प्रतिवर्णं भवेयुस्ते सर्व्वे सर्व्वेषु वा पुनः" ॥

त्रयोऽवरास्त्र्यवराः साक्षिण इत्यधम-कोटिरयं। नवपर्य्यन्ता पराकोटिरसौ, तपस्वित्वादिगुणयुक्तत्वेन त्र्यवराः, पूर्व्वोक्तगुणेषु सत्सु यदि विद्याप्यधिका भवति तदा श्रोत्रियपदवाच्यौ द्वावपि साक्षिणौ, श्रोत्रियोऽपि पूर्णैकः साक्षी तस्यैकस्यापि साक्षित्वे उभावित्यनर्थकं स्यात्, उभौ च श्रोत्रियावित्यनन्तरञ्च नैकं पृच्छेत् इति । श्रोत्रियस्यैव वागतस्य, तथा शङ्खलिखितौ[2] ।

"एकः साक्षी सर्व्वथा न ग्राह्यः" । गुणवतोऽप्यग्रहणमिति सर्व्वथापदस्यार्थः । वादिनोरनुमतौ भवत्येकोऽपि, तथानारदः[3] ।

अथवानुमतो यः स्याद्वादिनोर्वदमानयोः ।
भवत्येकोऽपि साक्षित्वे प्रष्टव्यः सुतसंसदि ॥

स तु संसदि बहुजनसन्निधौ प्रष्टव्यः । तथैव सत्याभिधान-सम्भवात् । यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः[4] ।

"उभयानुमतःसाक्षी भवेदेकोऽपि धर्म्मवित् ॥

श्रोत्रियः । (न चानुमानपदं योग्यतोपलक्षणं लक्षणाकरणाभावादेकमितियोग्यस्यैव निषेधात् ।)

तपस्विन इत्यादिगुणवतामेव त्र्यवरादीनां विधानात् उभौ तु श्रोत्रियाविति गुणवतोर्विदुषोर्धर्म्मविदोरननुमति-योग्ययोरुभयोर्विधानसम्भवात्, तद्विरुद्धं कथमेकस्य विधानं भवति, तच्चानुमतिं विनापि योग्ययोर्द्वयोर्विधानं, योग्यस्यानुमतौ सत्यामेकस्यैवेत्यविरोधो बोध्यः । किञ्च धर्म्मवित्-पदादेवानुमतियोग्यस्य प्राप्तत्वादनुमतिपदमनर्थकं, उभयपदमप्यविशेषकं अनुमतियोग्ययोरिव एकस्याप्यनुमति-योग्यस्यैव ग्रहणात् । अनुमतिपरत्वे तु सार्थकं, तथैवैकस्य साक्षित्वात्, एतदेव व्यक्तमाह विष्णुः[5] ।

"अथ साक्षिणः कुलजातिवृत्तसम्पन्ना यज्वानस्तपस्विनः पुत्रिणो धर्म्मज्ञा अधीयानाः सत्यवन्तस्त्रैविद्यवृद्धाश्च अभिहितगुणसम्पन्नस्तूभयानुमत एकोऽपि" । अपूर्व्वाभिहितगुण-सम्पन्नानां अनुमतियोग्यानामेव

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[1] Narada, Rinâdânam, Sls. 153 and 154. The first sloka reads 'साक्ष्योऽनिन्द्याः' for साक्षिणो ज्ञेयाः । [2] O. [3] O.

[4] Yajnavalkya, II, 72.

[5] Vishnu, VIII, 8, 9, reads कुलजा for कुलजाति, S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 49.

बहुवचनान्तपदेन अवराणामनुमतानामपि विधानात् पुनरभिहितगुणसम्पन्नस्योभयानुमतस्यैव विधानार्थमुभयानुमतिवचनं, अन्यथा कुलजात्यादिसम्पन्नानां अवराणां विधानानुपपत्तेः । यत्तु मनुवचनं[1] ।

"एकोऽप्यलुब्धः साक्षी स्यात् बह्व्यः शुच्योऽपि न स्त्रियः ।
स्त्रीबुद्धेरस्थिरत्वाच्च दोषैरन्येऽपि ये वृताः ॥"

तदपि लुब्धस्यैकस्य साक्षित्वं बोधयति, न तु तन्निषेधमुखेनालुब्धस्य, तस्योभयानुमतिमन्तरेणापि साक्षित्वं ज्ञापयति, पूर्व्वोक्तवचनजातविरोधात्, तेनायमर्थः, प्रमाणसिद्धे लुब्धत्वे उभयानुमतोऽप्येकःसाक्षी न ग्राह्यः । भ्रान्त्यान्यतरस्यानुमतिसम्भवे तद्वचनेन निर्णये धर्म्मविरोधापत्तेः । अतएव च लुब्धमात्रोपादानमुभयानुमतौ सत्यामपि ग्रहणविरोधार्थं, लुब्धपदञ्च दोषमात्रोपलक्षकं । बहूनां सदोषत्वे उभयानुमतानां ग्रहणं कार्य्यं । निर्द्दोषस्तूभयानुमतिमन्तरेणापि ग्राह्य इत्येतदर्थं अवराणां विधानं, एकोऽप्यलुब्धःसाक्षी स्यादित्यनाकरं, सत्यपि च पाठे अलुब्धत्वमात्रेणैकस्य साक्षित्वं न वाच्यं । अलुब्धस्यापि स्नेहवैरादिनाभिधानसम्भवात् । निर्द्दोषमात्रपरमलुब्धपदमिति चेन्न, निर्द्दोषस्य सकलगुणसम्पन्नस्यापि उभयानुमतित्वेनैव विष्णुप्रभृतिभिर्ग्रहणप्रतिपादनात् । तस्माद्वृथान्यथापाठकल्पना । अतएव उभयानुमतः एकःसाक्षीति विश्वरूपप्रभृतीनां व्याख्यानमादरणीयं । अलुब्धपाठे वा निक्षेपादिवर्णविषयं वर्णनीयं । अतएव कात्यायनः[2] ।

"अभ्यन्तरर्णनिक्षेपे साक्ष्यमेकोऽपि वाच्यते ।
अर्थिना प्रहितः साक्षी भवेदेकोऽपि याचितः" ॥

निक्षेपकाले द्वाभ्यामेव सभ्यभावेन कार्य्याभ्यन्तरीकृतत्वात् निक्षिप्तेयत्ताविवादे साक्ष्यमेकोऽपि वाचनीयो न तत्रोभयानुमत्यपेक्षा कार्य्या, तथा केनापि प्रयोजनेनालङ्कारादियाचनाय प्रहितस्तदियत्तादिविवादे प्रहित एव साक्षी द्वाभ्यामेवादरणीयः, सत्यतावधृतत्वात् । न ह्यसत्यमेवालङ्काराय प्रस्थापयति तदा वा तस्मै ददाति यथा यत्र द्वाभ्यामेव स्ववचनं श्रावितोऽसावेकोऽपि साक्षी साहसेषु च । तथा व्यासः[3] ।

"शुचिक्रियश्च धर्म्मज्ञः साक्षी यत्रानुभूतवाक् ।
प्रमाणमेकोऽपि भवेत् साहसेषु विशेषतः" ॥

तथा बृहस्पतिः[4] ।

"दूतकः खटिकाग्राही कार्य्यमध्यगतस्तथा ।
एक एव प्रमाणं स्यात् नृपोऽध्यक्षस्तथैव च" ॥

स एव दूतकमाह[5] ।

"अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिवचनं भाषते प्रेषितस्तु यः ।
उभयानुमतः साधुर्दूतकः स उदाहृतः" ॥

खटिकाग्राही भाषोत्तरलेखकः । तथा बृहस्पतिकात्यायनौ[6] कार्य्यमध्यगतं व्याकुरुतः ।

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[1] Manu, VIII, 77, reads एकोऽलुब्धस्तु for एकोऽप्यलुब्धः, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 268.
[2] O. [3] O. [4] O. [5] O. [6] O.

"उभाभ्यां यस्य विश्वस्तं कार्य्यं वापि निवेदितम् ।
गूढ़चारी स विज्ञेयः कार्य्यमध्यग स्तथा" ॥
"अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनोर्वाक्यं यद्भूतं प्रभृतात् स्वयम् ।
स एव साक्षी स्याद्विसंवादे द्वयोरपि ?" ॥

तथा व्यासः[1] ।

"राज्ञा धर्म्मासनस्थेन यत् श्रुतं तत्त्वमिच्छता ।
नान्यः साक्षी भवेत्तत्र मुक्त्वा राजानमीश्वरम् ॥

अत्र बृहस्पतिः[2] ।

"निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु पुनर्न्यायो यदा भवेत् ।
अध्यक्षः सभ्यसहितः साक्षी स्यात्तत्र नान्यथा" ॥

तत्र कात्यायनः[3] ।

"लेखकः प्राड्विवाकश्च सभ्याश्चैवानुपूर्व्वशः ।
नृपे पश्यति यत्कार्य्यं साक्षिणः समुदाहृताः" ॥

सर्व्व एवैते वादिनोरनुमतिमन्तरेणापि एकैकशः साक्षिणः । यथोक्तश्च साक्षी द्विविधः । यथा प्रजापतिः[4] ।

"साक्षी हि द्विविधो ज्ञेयः कृत एकोऽपरोऽकृतः ।
लेख्यारूढ़ः कृतो ज्ञेयो मुक्तकोऽकृत उच्यते" ॥

लेख्यारूढ़ इति प्रायिकं । कृतस्य पञ्चविधत्वात् अकृतस्य षड्विधत्वात्, तदाह नारदः[5] ।

"एकादशविधः साक्षी शास्त्रदृष्टो मनीषिभिः ।
कृतः पञ्चविधस्तेषां षड्विधोऽकृत उच्यते" ॥
"लिखितः स्मारितश्चैव यदृच्छाभिज्ञ एव च ।
गूढ़श्चोत्तरसाक्षी च साक्षी पञ्चविधः स्मृतः" ॥

अकृतमाह तु नारदकात्यायनौ[6] ।

"अन्ये पुनरनिर्द्दिष्टाः साक्षिणश्च उदाहृताः ।
ग्रामश्च प्राड्विवाकश्च राजा च व्यवहारिणाम् ॥
कार्य्येष्वभ्यन्तरोयश्चार्थिनाप्रहितश्च यः ।
कुल्याःकुलविवादेषु भवेयुस्तेऽपि साक्षिणः" ॥

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[1] O. [2] O. [3] O. [4] O.

[5] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, Sls. 149 and 150.

[6] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, Sls. 151 and 152, but the first sloka reads "षडेते पुनरुद्दिष्टाः साक्षिणामकृताः स्वयम्" for the first line. These two slokas are not found in Katyayana.

तथा वृहस्पतिः[1] ।

लिखितोऽलिखितो गूढः स्मारितौ कुल्यदूतकौ ।
यादृच्छश्चोत्तरश्चैव कार्य्यमध्यगतोऽपरः ।
नृपोऽध्यक्षस्तथा ग्रामः साक्षी द्वादशधा मतः ॥
प्रभेदमेषां वक्ष्यामि यथावदनुपूर्व्वशः ।
जातिनामाभिलिखितं येन स्वं पित्र्यमेव च ।
निरासस्य स विज्ञेयः साक्षी लिखित-सञ्ज्ञकः ॥
"सन्धिक्रियां क्रियाभेदैस्तस्य कृत्वा ऋणादिके ।
प्रत्यक्षं लेख्यते यस्य लेखितः स उदाहृतः" ॥

लिखितस्यैव स्वयं परेण वा लिखन-भेदात् द्विविधत्वं । (उदाहृतः । लिखितस्यैव स्वयं परेण वा लिखन-भेदात् द्वादश विधानं । उदाहृतोऽपि षड्विधः ।) लिखितौ द्वावपि साक्षिणौ गूढावगूढौ च चत्वारोऽपि लिखिते यादृच्छिक-स्मारितकुल्योत्तर-साक्षिणस्तु प्रत्येकं त्र्यवरा एव, तदाह वृहस्पतिः[2] ।

"लिखितौ द्वौ तथा गूढौ त्रि-चतुः-पञ्च लेखिताः ।
यादृच्छाः स्मारिताः कुल्यास्तथा चोत्तरसाक्षिणः" ॥

लिखितादिषु सर्व्वत्र बहुवचनात् त्रयोऽवश्यं ग्राह्याः चतुःपञ्चेति तत् प्राप्तौ न तु तएव ग्राह्या इत्येतदर्थं । स्मारितयादृच्छिकावाह वृहस्पतिः[3] ।

"आहूय यः कृतः साक्षी ऋणन्यासक्रियादिके ।
स्मार्य्यते च मुहुर्यस्य स्मारितः स उदाहृतः ।
क्रियमाणे तु कर्त्तव्ये यः कश्चित् स्वयमागतः ।
अत्र साक्षित्वमस्माकमुक्तो यादृच्छिकोऽपि सः ॥"

गूढमाह वृहस्पतिः[4] ।

"अर्थिना स्वार्थसिद्ध्यर्थं प्रत्यर्थिवचनं स्फुटं ।
यः श्राव्यते स्थितो गूढो गूढसाक्षी स उच्यते ॥

उत्तरसाक्षिणमाह वृहस्पतिः[5] ।

"यत्र साक्षी दिशं गच्छन्मुमूर्षुर्वा यथाश्रुतं ॥
अन्यं संश्रावयेत्तन्तु विद्यादुत्तरसाक्षिणं ॥

तथा विष्णुः[6] ।

"उद्दिष्टे साक्षिणि मृते देशान्तरगतेऽपि वा ।

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[1] O. [2] O. [3] O. [4] O. [5] O.

[6] Vishnu, VIII, 12 ; reads तदभिहितश्रोतारः for तदभिहितज्ञातारः. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 50.

तदभिहित-श्रोतारः प्रमाणं ।" ग्रामस्य विषयमाह वृहस्पतिः[1] ।

"मुषितं घातितं यत्र सीमयोश्च समन्ततः ।
अज्ञातोऽपि भवेत् साक्षी ग्रामस्तत्र न संशयः ॥
निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु पुनर्न्यायो यदा भवेत् ।
अध्यक्षः सभ्यसहितः साक्षी स्यात्तत्र नान्यथा ॥"

अध्यक्षो राजवन्दितः प्राड्विवाकः, राजानं साक्षिणमाह, व्यासः[2] ।

"राज्ञा धर्म्मासनस्थेन यत् श्रुतं तत्त्वमिच्छता ।
न्याय्यः साक्षी भवेत्तत्र त्यक्त्वा राजानमीश्वरं ॥"

धर्म्मासनं व्यवहारदर्शनं तत्त्वमिच्छता इत्यर्थः । यथावृहस्पतिः[3] ।

"अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनोर्वाक्यं यत्कृतं भूभृता स्वयं ।
स एव तत्र साक्षी स्यात् विसम्वादे द्वयोरपि ॥,,

भाषोत्तररूपं वाक्यं तत्र पुनर्न्यायप्रकरणे सति संविवादे,— अन्यथा भाषादाने अन्यथा चोत्तरदाने अन्यतरो ब्रूते, नैतत् पूर्व्वं त्वयोक्तमिति तत्र राजैव साक्षी । अनेनैतद्दर्शितं । पुनर्न्याये पूर्ब्ववत्तु भाषोत्तराभ्यामेव निर्णय इति । कार्य्यान्तर्व्वर्त्तिनमाह वृहस्पतिः[4] ।

"उभाभ्यां यस्य विश्वस्तं कार्य्यं वापि निवेदितं ।
गूढ़चारी स विज्ञेयः कार्य्यमध्यगतस्तथा ॥,,

अर्थिप्रहितमाह वृहस्पतिः[5] ।

"अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिवचनं शृणुयात् प्रेषितस्तु यः ।
उभयोः सम्मतः साधुर्दूतकः स उदाहृतः ॥"

अर्थिना प्रहित इत्यर्थिपदं वादिद्वयपरं । उभयोरपि स्वपक्षार्थित्वात् तेनान्यतरेण वचनग्रहणार्थं प्रहितत्वाद्दूतक इत्युच्यते । कुल्यमाह वृहस्पतिः[6] ।

"विभागदाने विपणे ज्ञातिर्यत्रोपदिश्यते ।,,
द्वयोः समानो धर्म्मज्ञः कुल्यः स परिकीर्त्तितः ॥

द्वयोः समानः न कस्याप्यरिमित्रभूतः, साधारण इत्यर्थः । कात्यायनोऽप्याह[7] ।

"ऋक्थभागविभागे तु सन्देहे समुपस्थिते ।
कुल्यानां वचनन्तत्र प्रमाणं तद्विपर्य्यये ॥"

खटिकाग्राहिणस्तु लेखकस्य सभासदामेव न्यायदर्शनार्थं, वर्णितत्वाविशेषात् प्राड्विवाककोटावेव निक्षेपान्न सङ्गतेरेकोवाच्यः । ननु तथा राज्ञोऽपि कथं प्राग्भावः । उच्यते ।

राज्ञि स्वयं व्यवहारदर्शिनि विद्यमाने स एक एव साक्षी नान्य इति ज्ञापनार्थं । तदाह कात्यायनः[8] ।

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[1] O.
[2] O.
[3] O.
[4] O.
[5] O.
[6] O.
[7] O.
[8] O.

लेखकः प्राड्विवाकश्च सभ्याश्चैवानुपूर्व्वशः ।
नृपे पश्यति तत् कार्य्यं साक्षिणः समुदाहृताः ॥”

नृपतिना व्यवहारदर्शने लेखकादीनां साक्षित्वप्रतिपादनात्, अतएव व्यासवचनं[1]— “राज्ञा धर्म्मासनस्थेनेत्यादि ।” अथ नारदः[2] ।

“श्रेणिषु श्रेणिपुरुषाः स्वेषु वर्गेषु वर्गिणः ।
वहिर्वासिषु वाह्याः स्युः स्त्रियः स्त्रीषु च साक्षिणः ॥

तथा मनुकात्यायनौ[3] ।

“स्त्रीणां साक्ष्यं स्त्रियः कुर्य्युर्द्विजानां सदृशा द्विजाः ।
शूद्राश्च सन्तः शूद्राणां अन्त्यानामन्त्ययोनयः ॥”

लिखितादीनां कालविशेषावधि साक्षित्वमाह नारदः[4] ।

सुदीर्घेणापि कालेन लिखितः सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् ।
संजानन्नात्मनो लेख्यमजानंस्तु न लेखयेत् ॥
आष्टमाद्वत्सरात् सिद्धिः स्मारितस्येह साक्षिणः ।
आपञ्चमात्तथा सिद्धिर्यदृच्छोपगतस्य च ॥
आतृतीयात्तथा वर्षात् सिद्धिर्गूढस्य साक्षिणः ।
आवत्सरात्तथा सिद्धिं वदन्त्युत्तरसाक्षिणः ॥

औत्सर्गिकमेतद्रूपमभिधाय तस्यापवादमाह नारदः[5] ।

“अथवा कालनियमो न दृष्टः साक्षिणं प्रति ।
स्मृत्यपेक्ष्यं हि साक्षित्वमाहुः शास्त्रविदो जनाः ॥
यस्य नोपहता बुद्धिः स्मृतिशास्त्रे च नित्यशः ।
सुदीर्घेणापि कालेन स वै साक्षित्वमर्हति” ॥

अथासाक्षिणः । तत्र नारदः[6] ।

“असाक्षीव्यवहारेषु दृष्टः पञ्चविधो वुधैः ।
वचनाद्दोषतो भेदात् स्वयमुक्तिर्मृतान्तरः’ ॥

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[1] O. [2] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 155.

[3] Manu, VIII, 68; O in Katyayana. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 266.

[4] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 167, 168 and 169. The second half of the first sloka runs thus: “आत्मनैव लिखेज्जानन् न चेदन्येन लेखयेत्” ।

[5] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 170, 171; reads “स्मृतिः शास्त्रं च साक्षिणः for ‘न दृष्टः साक्षिणं प्रति’, and ‘स साक्षी साक्ष्यमर्हति’ for सवै साक्षित्वमर्हति” ।

[6] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 157; reads ‘असाक्ष्यपि हि शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्’ for the underlined portion.

विषयं विविनक्ति स एव[1]।

"श्रोत्रियाद्या वचनतः स्तेनाद्या दोषदर्शनात्।
भेदाद्विप्रतिपत्तिःस्याद्विवादे यत्र साक्षिणाम्॥
स्वयमुक्तिरनिर्दिष्टः स्वयमेवेत्य यो वदेत्।
मृतान्तरेऽर्थिनि प्रेते मुमूर्षुः श्रावितादृते"॥

श्रोत्रियादीनि व्याकरोति[2]।

"श्रोत्रियास्तापसा वृद्धा ये च प्रव्रजिता नराः।
असाक्षिणस्ते वचनान्नात्र हेतुरुदाहृतः"॥

वचनान्निषेधवचनादिति न्यायस्यार्थः।

न हि तेषां साक्षित्वेन ग्रहणे प्रश्ने वा निषेधातिक्रमादधर्म्मोत्पत्तिर्न्यायमूलत्वाद्वचनानां, सत्यपि वाधादोषे तत्प्रश्नेन सत्यप्रशस्तव्यवहारसमाप्त्यविरोधाद्व्यवहारप्रकरणे लिखननिषेधस्य पुरुषार्थत्वात्, ततश्च ते साक्षिणो न कार्य्याः, तेषां पूज्यतमत्वात्, अदण्डनीयत्वात्, तपः-प्रकर्षाच्च, भूरिकोपवत्त्वेन तच्छापभयेन व्यवहारद्रष्टारो न तान् पृच्छन्तीति तत्-साक्षिकरणानर्थक्यान्न ते कार्य्याः। यद्वा नित्यं तेषामग्निहोत्रादिकार्य्यव्यग्रतया परकीयकार्य्यप्रसरणासम्भवात् अनर्थकं तत् साक्षिकरणं। वचनादिश्रोत्रियत्वादिरूपाभिधानान्नात्रान्यो हेतुरित्यर्थः। तेन ते साक्षिणो न कर्त्तव्याः। अकृतास्तु भवन्त्येव साक्षिणः। उभौ तु श्रोत्रियौ ख्यातावित्यादिवचनात्। अतएव वृद्धस्याप्यसाक्षित्वं वृद्धत्वात् ग्लानेन्द्रियत्वादित्यर्थः। दोषादसाक्षिणो दर्शयति नारदः[3]।

"स्तेनाः साहसिकाश्चण्डाः कितवा वधकास्तथा।
असाक्षिणस्ते दुष्टत्वात्तेषु सत्यं न विद्यते"॥

तथा मनुनारदौ[4]।

नात्मसम्बन्धिनो नाप्ता न सहाया न वैरिणः।
अदृष्टदोषाः कर्त्तव्या न व्याध्यार्त्ता न दूषिताः॥

तथा कात्यायनः[5]।

"तद्वृत्तिजीविनो ये च तत्सेवाहितकारिणः।
तद्बन्धुसुहृदो भृत्या आप्तास्ते तु न साक्षिणः॥
मातृस्वसुः सुताश्चैव विवाह्यो भगिनीपतिः।
पिता बन्धुःपितृव्यश्च श्वशुरो गुरवस्तथा"॥

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[1] O. [2] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 158. [3] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 159.

[4] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ 177, reads नार्थसम्बन्धिनः and न दृष्ट-दोषाः for the words underlined respectively. [5] O.

बृहस्पतिः[1] ।

"मातुःपिता पितृव्यश्च भार्य्याया भ्रातृमातुलौ ।
भ्राता सखा वा जामाता सर्व्ववादेष्वसाक्षिणः" ॥

विस्तरभयान्न बहु लिख्यते । भेदादसाक्षित्वमाह, नारदः[2] ।

"राज्ञापरिगृहीतेषु साक्षिष्वेकार्थनिर्णये ।
वचनं तत्र भिद्येत ते स्युर्भेदादसाक्षिणः" ॥

तथा कात्यायनः[3] ।

"साक्षिणां लिखितानान्तु निर्द्दिष्टानान्तु वादिनाम् ।
तेषामेकोऽन्यथा वादी भेदात् सर्व्वे न साक्षिणः" ॥

अस्यार्थः, एकस्य भाषार्थस्योत्तरार्थस्य वा प्रतिपादं गृहीतानां साक्षिणां वचनप्रतिपत्तिमात्रेण भेदादसाक्षित्वं, न तु समसङ्ख्यानां, एकस्याप्यन्यथावादे सर्व्वेषां बहूनां साक्षित्वावधारणात् । अत एवाह[4] ।

"भेदाद्विप्रतिपत्तिःस्याद्विवादे यत्र साक्षिणाम्" ॥

इति वचनभेदवादे वा साक्षित्वमुक्तं, न तु सङ्ख्यासमानतापेक्षातः, सर्व्वत्र निरपेक्ष-श्रुतेः । नन्वेतद्विरुद्धं, एकस्याप्यन्यथा वापीतरेषां सङ्ख्यातिरेके निर्णयाभिधानात् । यथा मनुविष्णू[5] ।

"बहुत्वं परिगृह्णीयात् साक्षिद्वैधे नराधिपः ।
समेषु तु गुणोत्कृष्टान् गुणिद्वैधे द्विजोत्तमान्" ॥

तथा नारदः[6] ।

"साक्षिणां विप्रतिपत्तौ प्रमाणं बहवो मताः ।
साम्ये तत् शुचयो ग्राह्यास्तत्साम्ये शुचिमत्तराः" ॥

तथा बृहस्पतिः[7] ।

"साक्षिद्वैधे प्रभूतास्ते ग्राह्याः साम्ये गुणान्विताः ।
गुणिद्वैधे क्रियायुक्तास्तत्-साम्ये शुचिमत्तराः"

अथ मन्यसे वादिनोः साक्षिग्रहणे प्रतिपत्तावेतानि साक्षिणामेव ग्राह्यतया निर्द्दोषादतो न वाध इति । एवं तर्हि याज्ञवल्क्य-विरुद्धमेतद्, यथा[8] ।

"द्वैधे बहूनां वचनं साम्येषु गुणिनान्तथा ।
गुणिद्वैधे च वचनं ग्राह्यं ये गुणवत्तराः" ॥

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[1] O. [2] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 160, reads निश्चये for निर्णये and यत्र for तत्र ।

[3] O. [4] Not traced.

[5] Vishnu, VIII, 39; Manu, VIII, 73, S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 52. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 267.

[6] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 229, reads साक्षिविप्रतिपत्तौ for साक्षिणां विप्रतिपत्तौ, मतः for मताः and स्मृतिमत्तरा for शुचिमत्तराः । [7] O. [8] Yajnavalkya, II, 78.

अनेन गृहीत-साक्षि-प्रश्नानन्तरं वचनविप्रतिपत्तौ बहूनां वचनस्यैव ग्राह्यतया निर्द्देशात् न कथमेकस्यापि साक्षिणो बन्धभेदात् बहूनामप्यसाक्षित्वमुच्यते, सत्यं एतस्मादेव तर्हि विरोधात् द्वैधे बहूनामित्यादिकमप्युभयोः सद्भावे विषयत्वेन वर्ण्यतां। एतत् साक्षिग्रहणाच्च तद्वचनस्यापि ग्रहणमर्थप्राप्तमनूद्यते ।

वचनग्रहणार्थमेव साक्षिणो ग्रहणात्, तेन गृहीतानां तुल्यगुणानां साक्षिणां मध्ये यद्येकोऽन्यथा ब्रूते, तदा बहूनामेवाप्यसाक्षित्वमित्यादिविरोधात् समानं। किन्तु सकलप्रामाणिकव्यवहारविरुद्धत्वादन्यार्थस्यान्यथा समाधीयते । त्रयाणां मध्ये यद्येकस्यान्यथावादः स्यात्तदा इतरयोर्मध्ये एकस्यैवान्यथावादनात्तुल्यत्वेन तदपरस्यैकस्य निर्णयः स्यात्, एकश्चासाक्षी इत्युक्तं प्राक्। तेन साक्षिवचनभेदे यद्येकोऽधिकः स्यात्तत्र भेदादसाक्षित्वमिति वर्णनीयं। द्वित्राद्यधिके तु बहुत्वं परिगृह्णीयादित्यादिवचनमित्यविरोधः ।

एवञ्च तुल्यरूपेषु पञ्चसु पृष्टेष्वेकस्यान्यथावादे तुल्यादेकस्मात्त्रयोऽधिकास्तेन तत्र भवतु निर्णयः । तेष्वेव तु द्वयोर्विप्रतिपत्तावितरेषु त्रिषु द्वयोर्विप्रतिपन्नसमानयोरेकोऽधिक इति भेदादसाक्षित्वं बोद्धव्यं । वचनवशात्तु पूर्व्वोक्त एवार्थः । एकैकशः सर्व्वेषामेव प्रतिपन्नसमानत्वादेकैकस्य प्रमाणत्वान्मिलितानां प्रमाणत्वाभावात् । स्वयमुक्तिं व्याकरोति[1] ।

"स्वयमुक्तिरनिर्द्दिष्टः स्वयमेवेत्य यो वदेत् ।
मृतान्तरेऽर्थिनि प्रेते मुमूर्षुश्रावितादृते" ॥

साक्षित्वेनानुपन्यस्तः स्वयमेवागवत्यैमर्थमहं जानामीति ब्रुवाणो न साक्षी । तदाह नारदः[2] ।

अनिर्द्दिष्टस्तु साक्षित्वे स्वयमेवेत्य यो वदेत् ।
सूचीत्युक्तः स शास्त्रेषु न च साक्षित्वमर्हति ॥

तथा कात्यायनः[3] ।

"न साक्ष्यं साक्षिभिर्वाच्यमपृष्टैरर्थिना सदा ।
न साक्ष्यं तेषु विद्येत स्वयमात्मनि योजयेत् ॥
यः साक्षी नैव निर्द्दिष्टो नाहूतो नापि दर्शितः ।
ब्रूयान्मिथ्येति तथ्यं वा दण्ड्यः सोऽपि नराधमः" ॥

सत्यमिदं मिथ्याचैतदिति वदन्नुभयथापि दण्डनीयः। अनिर्द्दिष्टेनापृष्टेन च अभिधानात् । मृतान्तरं विविनक्ति[4] ।

"मृतान्तरेऽर्थिनि प्रेते मुमूर्षुश्रावितादृते" ॥

अन्तरोऽन्तरङ्गो, विवादे अर्थी प्रत्यर्थी धनञ्च, वहिरङ्गाः साक्षिसभ्यादयः, तेन यत्रासौ साक्षीकृतो गोभृत्यालङ्कारविषये तस्मिन्मृते नष्टे वा साक्षी मृतान्तर उच्यते । गो-भृत्यादेर्मूलभूतस्य मृतत्वात् । तत् संस्थानतो विप्रतिपत्तौ हि तस्य असाक्षित्वं इममर्थं कस्य जानीया इति प्रश्नानुपपत्तेरित्यसाक्षी मृतान्तरः, तथा येन ऋणादिविषये साक्षी कृतो अर्थिना प्रत्यर्थिना वा तस्मिन्मृते साक्षी मृतान्तरो भवति। अर्थिना च

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[1] Unknown.
[2] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 161, reads 'न स' for 'न च' ।
[3] O.
[4] Unknown.

पुत्रादिना देशकालधने यत्त्वाद्यपरज्ञाने तत्त्वज्ञानानर्हत्वादनुपन्यस्तस्य च साक्षिणः स्वयमुक्तित्वापत्तेर्मृतान्तरो न साक्षी, तदाह नारदः[1] ।

"योऽर्थः श्रावयितव्यः स्यात्तस्मिन्न सति चार्थिनि ।
क्व तद्वदतु साक्षित्वमित्यसाक्षी मृतान्तरः" ॥

ज्ञापयितव्यः इत्यर्थः विनष्टे अर्थिनि मृते, इत्युभयथैव मृतान्तरत्वं पुनर्नारदः[2] ।

सन्तोऽपि न प्रमाणं स्युर्मृते धनिनि साक्षिणः ।
अन्यत्र श्रावितं स्याच्च स्वयमासन्नमृत्युना ॥

यदि तु पुत्रादिषु पित्रादिना ज्ञापितं सकलमन्यत एव श्रुतं तदा तत्रासौ भवत्येव साक्षी । मुमूर्षुश्रावितत्वमुपलक्षणं अन्यथाऽदृष्टार्थतापत्तेः । तथाह कात्यायनः[3] ।

"अन्येन हि कृतः साक्षी नैवान्यस्तं विवादयेत् ।
तदभावे नियुक्तो वा ब्राह्मणो वा विवादयेत्" ॥

साक्षिणं वाचयेदित्यर्थः । साक्षिणश्च सत्येव दूषणे दूष्याः, तथा बृहस्पतिः[4] ।

अदुष्टान् दूषयन् वादी तत्समं दण्डमर्हतीति ।

साक्षिणाञ्च दूषणं सतामन्येषामन्येषां वा तद्वेदिनां ग्राह्यं । न तु तत्र श्रवरादिसाक्षिभिः प्रतिपाद्यं, अनवस्थापातात् ; तदाह व्यासः[5] ।

"सभासदाम्प्रसिद्धं यल्लोकसिद्धमथापि वा ।
साक्षिणां दूषणं ग्राह्यं न साध्यदोषदर्शनात् ॥
अन्यैस्तु साक्षिभिः साध्ये दूषणं पूर्व्वसाक्षिणाम् ।
अनवस्थाभवेद्दोषस्तेषामन्यत्र सम्भवात्" ॥

साक्षिभिरुक्ते दूषणं वाच्यं । तदाह कात्यायनः[6] ॥

"उक्तेऽर्थे साक्षिणो यस्तु दूषयेत् प्रागदूषितान् ।
न च तत्कारणं ब्रूयात् प्राप्नुयात् पूर्व्वसाहसम्" ॥

एतच्च साक्षिपरीक्षणमृणादिषु, न साहसादिषु । तदाह कात्यायनः[7] ।

"ऋणादिषु परीक्षेत साक्षिणः स्थिरकर्म्मसु ।
साहसात्यधिके चैव परीक्षा न क्वचिन्मता" ॥

मनुनारदौ[8] ।

साहसेषु च सर्व्वेषु स्तेयसंग्रहणेषु च ।
वाग्दण्डयोश्च पारुष्ये न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ।

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[1] Narada, Rinâdânam, 162. [2] Narada, Rinâdânam, 94.

[3] O. [4] O. [5] O. [6] O. [7] O.

[8] Narada, Rinâdânam, 189; "पारुष्ययोस्वाप्युभयोः" for the underlined portion. Manu, VIII, 72. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 267.

तथा कात्यायनः[1] ।

“व्याघाते च नृपाज्ञायाः संग्रहे साहसेषु च ।
स्तेयपारुष्ययोश्चैव न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ॥
अन्तर्वेश्मनि रात्रौ च बहिर्ग्रामाच्च यो भवेत् ।
एतेष्वेवाभियोगे च परीक्षा नास्ति साक्षिणाम् ॥”

तथा नारदः[2] ।

“असाक्षिणो ये निर्दिष्टा दासनैष्कृतिकादयः ।
कार्य्यगौरवमासाद्य भवेयुस्तेऽपि साक्षिणः ॥

तथा मनुः[3] ।

“अन्तर्वेश्मन्यरण्ये वा शरीरस्यापि वात्यये ।
स्त्रियाप्यसम्भवे कार्य्यं बालेन स्थविरेण वा ॥
शिष्येण बन्धुना वापि दासेन भृतकेन वा ॥”

तथोशनाः[4] ।

दासोऽन्धो बधिरः कुष्ठी बालः स्त्रीस्थविरादयः ।
एतेऽप्यनभिसम्बन्धाः साहसे साक्षिणो मताः ॥

मनुः[5] ।

बालवृद्धातुराणान्तु साक्ष्येषु वदतां मृषा ।
जानीयादस्थिरां वाचमुत्सिक्तमनसान्तथा ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[6] ।

सर्व्वः संग्रहणे साक्षी चौर्य्यपारुष्य साहसे ।

विष्णुः[7] ।

स्तेय-साहस-वाग्दण्ड-पारुष्य-संग्रहणादिकार्य्याणां निह्नवेनैव क्रियमाणत्वात् दैव-पितरस्तत्र साक्षिणः भवन्तीति मत्वा न तान् परीक्षेतेत्युक्तं । वचनन्तु तेषामप्यरि-मित्रादिभावनिरूपणेनोपपत्त्यनुपपत्तिभ्यामालोचनीयं । न तु तद्वचनमात्रादेव निर्णयः ।

अथ साक्षिप्रश्नः । तत्र कात्यायनः[8] ।

न कालहरणं कार्य्यं राज्ञा साक्षि प्रभाषणे ।
महान् दोषो भवेत् कालाद्धर्म्मव्यावृत्तिलक्षणः ॥

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[1] O.
[2] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 188.
[3] Manu, VIII, 69, 70. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 266, 267.
[4] O.
[5] Manu, VIII, 71. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 267.
[6] O.
[7] Vishnu, Vol. VIII, 6, reads:—“स्तेय-साहस-वाग्-दण्ड-पारुष्य-संग्रहणेषु साक्षिणो न परीक्ष्याः”. S.B.E., VII, p. 49.
[8] O.

साक्षिप्रभाषण इत्युभयार्थं पृथक् पृथक्। मनुः[1]।

देवब्राह्मणसान्निध्ये साक्ष्यं पृच्छेदृते द्विजान्।
उदङ्मुखान् प्राङ्मुखान् वा पूर्व्वाह्णे वै शुभे शुचीन्॥
[2]सभान्तः साक्षिणः प्राप्तानर्थिप्रत्यर्थि-सन्निधौ।
प्रत्यक्षं चोदयं साक्ष्यं न परोक्षं कदाचन॥
[3]अर्थस्योपरि वक्तव्यं तयोरपि विना क्वचित्।
चतुष्पदेष्वेवं धर्म्मो द्विपदे स्थावरेषु च॥
तैन्ये गणेय सेयेनमभावेऽपि हि वाचयेत्।

ननु प्रश्नः पृथक् पृथक्, कथं नाम समेताः। पृथक् पृष्टाः प्रब्रूयुरिति [4]गोतमेन विधानात्। उच्यते। विरोधं परिहरति कात्यायनः[5]।

समवेतैस्तु यद्दृष्टं वक्तव्यं तत्तथैव च।
विभिन्ने चैव यत् कार्य्यं वक्तव्यं तत् पृथक् पृथक्॥
भिन्ने काले तु यत् कार्य्यं विज्ञातं तत्र साक्षिभिः।
एकैकं वादयेत्तत्र भिन्नकालन्तु तद्भृगुः।

मिलितैरवगते मिलिता एव प्रष्टव्याः। एकैकशस्तु तत् कार्य्यावगमे पृथक पृथगित्यविरोधः। अथ साक्षिणां धर्म्मश्रावणं। तत्र बृहस्पतिः[6]।

“सत्यप्रशंसावचनैरनृतस्यापवर्ज्जनैः।”
सभ्यैः सम्बोधनीयास्तु धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थवेदिभिः॥
आजन्मनश्चामरणात् सुकृतं यत्त्वयार्ज्जितं।
तत् सर्व्वं नाशमायाति वितथस्याभिशंसनात्॥
गूढसभ्यः कूटसाक्षी ब्रह्महा च समाः स्मृताः।
भ्रूणहा वित्तहा चैषां नाधिकः समुदाहृतः॥
एवं विदित्वा यः साक्षी स यथार्थं वदेत्ततः।
तेनेह कीर्त्तिमाप्नोति परत्र च शुभां गतिं॥

अथ नारदः[7]!

“पौराणैर्धर्म्मवचनैः सत्यमाहात्म्यदर्शनैः।
अनृतस्यापवादश्च भृशमुद्वासयेदपि॥”

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[1] Manu, VIII, 87. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 269.

[2] Manu, VIII, 79. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 268. [3] O. [4] O. [5] O. [6] O.

[7] Narada, Rinâdânam, 2)0 and 2 2. But these two differ in many points, as in the first sloka पुराणैः for पौराणैः, कीर्त्तनैः for दर्शनैः, अपवादः for अपवादैः and भृशमुच्चासयेत् for भृशमुद्वासयेत्; and also in the second sloka, as—‘नग्नोमुण्डः कपालेन’ and अमित्राण for the underlined portion, respectively.

नागरैः प्रतिरुद्धः सन् वहिर्द्वारे वुभुक्षितः ।
अमूचान् भूयशः पश्येत् यः साक्ष्यमनृतं वदेत् ॥

अथ मनुः[1] ।

ब्रूहीति ब्राह्मणं पृच्छेत् सत्यं ब्रूहीति पार्थिवं ।
गोवीजकाञ्चनैर्वैश्यं शूद्रं सर्व्वैस्तु पातकैः ॥
ब्रह्महा ये स्मृता लोके ये च स्त्री-बालघातिनः ।
मित्रद्रुहः कृतघ्नाश्च ते ते स्यु र्ब्रुवतो मृषा ॥
स्वजन्मप्रभृति यत् सर्व्वं पुण्यं भद्र त्वया कृतम् ।
तत्ते सर्व्वं शुनो गच्छेद् यदि ब्रूयास्त्वमन्यथा ॥
एकोऽहमस्मीत्यात्मानं यस्त्वं कल्याण मन्यसे ।
नित्यं स्थितस्ते हृद्देशे पुण्यपापेक्षिता मुनिः ॥
यमो वैवस्वतो देवो यस्तवैष हृदिस्थितः ।

अथ मनुनारदौ[2] ।

“ नग्नोमुण्डः कपालेन भिक्षार्थी क्षुत्पिपासितः ।
अन्धः शत्रुकुलं गच्छेद यः साक्ष्यमनृतं वदेत् ” ॥
“ [3]यावतो बान्धवान् यस्मिन् हन्ति साक्ष्यनृतं वदन् ।
तावतः सङ्ख्यया तस्मिन् शृणु सौम्यानुपूर्व्वशः ” ॥
पञ्चप + नृते हन्ति दश हन्ति गवानृते ।
शतमश्वानृते हन्ति सहस्रं पुरुषानृते ॥
हन्ति जातानजातांश्च हिरण्यार्थेऽनृतं वदन् ।
सर्व्वभूम्यनृते हन्ति मा स्म भूम्यनृतं वदः ॥

दोषमतिदिशति मनुः[4] ।

“ अप्सु भूमिवदित्याहुः स्त्रीणां भोगे च मैथुने ।
अब्जेषु चैव रत्नेषु सर्व्वेष्वश्ममयेषु च ” ॥

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[1] Manu, VIII, 89—92; reads कृतघ्नस्य for कृतघ्नाश्च, जन्मप्रभृति यत्किञ्चित् for ‘स्वजन्मप्रभृति यत्सर्व्वं’, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 270.

[2] Manu, VIII, 93. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 270. Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 201, reads गृह for कुलं.

[3] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 207—209. Manu, VIII, 97—99. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 271.

[4] Manu, VIII, 100. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 271.

"[1]पशुवत् क्षौद्रघृतयोर्यानेषु च तथाश्ववत् ।
गोवद्रजतवस्त्रेषु धान्ये ब्रह्मणि चैव हि" ॥
"[2]एतान् दोषानवेक्ष्य त्वं सर्व्वाननृतभाषणे ।
यथाश्रुतं यथादृष्टं सर्व्वमेवाञ्जसा वद" ॥

अथ नारदो विष्णुश्च[3] । प्रथमे ।

"अश्वमेधसहस्रन्तु सत्यञ्च तुलया धृतम् ।
अश्वमेधसहस्राद्धि सत्यमेव विशिष्यते" ॥
"[4]सत्यं स्वर्गस्य सोपानं पारावारस्य नौरिव" ।
[5]वरं कूपशताद्वापी वरं वापीशतात् क्रतुः ॥
वरं क्रतुशतात् पुत्रः सत्यं पुत्र-शताद्वरम् ।
सत्येन भूर्धारयति सत्येनोदेति भास्करः ॥
सत्येन वायुः पवते सत्येनापः स्रवन्ति च ।
सत्यमेव परं दानं सत्यमेव परन्तपः ॥
सत्यमेव परोधर्म्मो लोकानामिति नः श्रुतम् ।
"[6]नास्ति सत्यात् परोधर्म्मो नानृतात् पातकं परम् ॥
साक्षिधर्म्मविशेषेण सत्यमेव वदेत्ततः" ।
"[7]सत्यं ब्रूह्यनृतं त्यक्त्वा सत्येन सत्यमेष्यसि" ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[8] ।

"सुकृतं यत्त्वया किञ्चिज्जन्मान्तरशतैः कृतम् ।
तत्सर्व्वं तस्य जानीहि यं पराजयसे मृषा" ॥

ब्राह्मणा अपि क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रसमास्तेऽपि क्षत्रियादिवदेव प्रष्टव्याः । उपस्थिताश्च । स्वयं परीक्षकै निरूपणीयास्तदाह कात्यायनः[9] ।

"उपस्थितान् परीक्षेत साक्षिणो नृपतिः स्वयम् ।
साक्षिभिर्भाषितं वाक्यं सभ्यैः सह परीक्षयेत्" ॥

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[1] Manu, VIII, 100-1.

[2] Manu, VIII, 101. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 271.

[3] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 211. Vishnu, VIII, 36. S.B.E., Vol. VIII, p. 51.

[4] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 210. O. in Vishnu.

[5] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 212—214. O. in Vishnu.

[6] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 226. O. in Vishnu.

[7] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 216. O. in Vishnu.

[8] Yajnavalkya, II, 75. [9] O.

नृपतिरित्युपलक्षणम् ।

“ विलिखत्यवनीं पद्भ्यां बाहुवासश्च धूनयेत् ।
भिद्यते मुखवर्णोऽस्य ललाटं स्विद्यते तथा ॥
शोषमागच्छतश्चोष्ठौ ऊर्द्ध्वं तिर्य्यक् च वीक्षते ।
त्वरया बहु वा बद्धमपृष्टं बहु भाषते ॥
कूटसाक्षी स विज्ञेयस्तं पापं विनयेद्भृशम् ।
श्रावयेद्वा तथान्येभ्यः साक्षित्वं योऽपि निह्नुते ।
स विनेयोऽध्यर्द्धशतं कूटसाक्ष्यधिको हि सः ” ॥

एवं निरूपितेषु साक्षिषु पृष्टेषु यदि न कश्चिद्ब्रूते तदा कर्त्तव्यतामाह याज्ञवल्क्यः[1] ।

“ न ददाति हि यः साक्ष्यं जानन्नपि नराधमः ।
स कूटसाक्षिणां पापैस्तुल्यो दण्डेन चैव हि ” ॥

तथा विष्णुः[2] ।

“ पारयन्तोऽपि ये साक्ष्यं तूष्णीम् भूत्वा उपासते
ते कूटसाक्षिणां पापैस्तुल्योदण्डेन चैव हि ” ॥

पारयन्त्यपीत्यपि शब्देन जानन्तोऽपि यदि सत्याभिधाने स्वकीयमनर्थप्रवेशमाशङ्कमानास्तूष्णीमासते, तदा न ते दण्डनीया भवन्तीत्युक्तं। आहूतस्य चानागमने अपृष्टस्य च सत्यवचने दृष्टे चाकथने कर्त्तव्यतामाह बृहस्पतिः[3] ।

“ आहूतो यस्तु नागच्छेत् साक्षी रोगविवर्ज्जितः ।
ऋणं दण्डञ्च दाप्यः स्यात्त्रिपक्षात् परतस्तु सः ॥
अपृष्टाः सत्यवचने प्रश्नस्याकथने तथा ।
साक्षिणः सन्निरोद्धव्या गर्ह्या दण्ड्याश्च धर्म्मतः ” ॥

ऋणपदं निक्षेपादीनुपलक्षयति, न्यायस्याविशेषात् । अथ साक्षिवचनं । तत्र बृहस्पतिः[4] ।

“ यस्याशेषं प्रतिज्ञातं साक्षिभिः प्रतिवर्णितम् ।
स जयी स्यादन्यथा तु साध्यार्थं न समाप्नुयात् ” ॥

अन्यथा मिथ्यैतदिति विपरीताभिधाने साध्यं न लभेत, भग्नत्वादित्यर्थः। तदेव स्पष्टयतो विष्णुयाज्ञवल्क्यौ[5] ।

“ यस्योचुः साक्षिणः सत्यां प्रतिज्ञां स जयी भवेत् ।
अन्यथा वादिनो यस्य ध्रुवं तस्य पराजयः ” ॥

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[1] Yajnavalkya, II, 77.

[2] Vishnu, VIII, 37 ; reads ‘जानन्तोऽपि हि ये साक्ष्यं’ for ‘पारयन्तोऽपि ये साक्ष्यं’, ‘भूता’ for भूताः, and वाप्यथ for ‘चैव हि’. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 52. [3] O. [4] O.

[5] Vishnu, VIII, 38. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 52. Yajnavalkya, II, 79.

प्रतिपाद्यतया यावत् प्रतिज्ञातं तावज्जानीम इति यदि साक्षिणो ब्रूयुस्तदा स जयी भवति। न तु भाषाकाले यावत् साध्यं निर्द्दिष्टं विभावितैकदेशन्यायनिर्विषयापत्तेः। अस्य विस्तरेण पूर्व्वं प्रतिपादितत्वात्। यस्य पुनः साक्षिणोऽन्यथा वदन्ति मिथ्येति तत्र भवत्येवायमर्थस्तस्य भङ्ग इति, तदाह व्यासः[1]।

"तीर्णप्रतिज्ञो विजयी मिथ्यावादी विहीयते"।

मिथ्यावादित्वावधारणाद्भङ्ग इत्यर्थः। अतएव। यत्र न स्मरामः इत्याहुस्तत्र न प्रतिज्ञातस्य सत्यत्वं नापि मिथ्यात्वं इति। न तत्र जयपराजयौ, परीक्षकाणामन्यतरपक्षावधारणे प्रमाणाभावात्, अतः क्रियान्तरेण दिव्यादिना निर्णयः कार्य्यः। यथा बृहस्पतिः[2]।

"लिखिते साक्षिवादे च सन्दिग्धि र्यत्र जायते।
अनुमाने च सम्भ्रान्ते तत्र दिव्यं विशोधनम्"॥

ऊनाधिकाभिधाने पुनराह बृहस्पतिः[3]।

"पूर्व्वपक्षे प्रतिज्ञातं अशेषं परिभावयेत्।
ऊनाधिकन्तु यत्रोक्तं न तन्निगदितं भवेत्"॥

तत्रोनाधिकाभिधाने साक्षिनिर्द्दिशकस्य भङ्ग इति केचित्। अस्याप्यन्यथावादित्वादिति तदयुक्तं, 'मिथ्यावादीविहीयेत' इति वचनात् विपरीताभिधानस्यान्यथावादत्वान्नत्वन्यथावादस्य न स्मरामीत्यादिवादेऽपि तथात्वापत्तेः, इष्यत एवेति केचित्। साधकबाधकप्रमाणाभावेन सन्देहे सत्यपि भग्नत्वे क्तत्वापत्तेः अस्य निरास्यत्वाद्बृहस्पतिश्चान्यथावादिसाध्यस्य प्राप्त्या भङ्गमभिधाय पुनरूणाधिकाभिधानार्थं वचनान्तरविवरणं कृतवान्। तदनर्थकं भवेदन्यथा वचनेनैव प्राप्तत्वात्, अतएवात्र तन्निगदितमित्यर्थतत्त्वमाह, न च साध्याप्राप्तिं, नारदोऽप्यनुक्तत्वमेवाह,[4]

"निर्द्दिष्टेष्वर्थजातेषु साक्षी चेत् साक्ष्यमागतः।
न ब्रूयादक्षरसमं न तन्निगदितं भवेत्"॥
[5]ऊनमप्यधिकं वापि प्रब्रूयुर्यत्र साक्षिणः।
तदप्ययुक्तं विज्ञेयमेष साक्षिविधिः स्मृतः॥

तथा कात्यायनः[6]।

"ऊनाधिकन्तु यत्र स्यात् साक्ष्यन्तत्र विवर्जयेत्।
साक्षी तत्र न दण्ड्यः स्यादब्रूवन् दण्डमर्हति"॥

अयमपि साक्षित्वस्य वर्जनीयतामाह।

ऊनाधिकाभिधानेऽपि व्यतिरेकेऽन्वयव्यतिरेकयोरन्यतराभिधाने इव साक्ष्यस्य विवर्ज्जनं स्यात्तदापि तत्त्ववचने निर्णयात् तूष्णीं स्थितस्यैव वा कथकतया दण्डप्रसक्तौ न दण्ड्यः स्यादिति निषेधयति; यथा-

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[1] O. [2] O. [3] O. [4] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 232.
[5] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 237. Reads वार्थैः for वापि. [6] O.

ज्ञाननिर्देशेन सत्साक्षित्वात्तस्मादसङ्गतो भङ्गवादः । विश्वरूपस्य मते ऊनाधिकाभिधाने तदयुक्तमिति मुनिभिरभिहितत्वात् । अनुक्तस्य प्रश्नात् प्रागिवात्रापि संशयस्याविशेषात् यथासम्भवं क्रियान्तरेण दिव्यादिना निर्णयः कार्य्यः । पूर्व्वस्यासाधनत्वात्, तदुक्तं कात्यायनेन[1] ।

"वादिना यदभिप्रेतं स्वयं साधयितुं स्फुटम् ।
तत्साध्यं साधनं येन तत्साध्यं साध्यतेऽखिलम्" ॥

अखिलसाधनस्य साधनत्वादिति तदालोचनीयं । नियुक्तेऽप्यर्थे संशयेऽनुक्ते वा न तावदुक्ते निरूपणापूर्व्वकप्रमाणाभावेन गृहीतानां साक्षिणां सम्पूर्णाभिधानस्य प्रमाणाभावाविशेषात् कुतः संशयः; न च न्यूनाभिधानेनाप्रमाणता, अप्रामाण्यसाधकत्वेन स्वहेतोः साध्यविरुद्धत्वात्, तथा हि प्रमादाशक्तिसम्भ्रमास्तावन्नाशङ्कनीयाः, पूर्णाभिधानेऽपि तदविशेषात् अनिर्णयापत्तेः । न चाशयदोषः, स हि वादिनोरन्यतरप्रयोजनेन तत्र सम्पूर्णमेव वा वदेत्, अपह्नुवीत एव वा, न पुनरर्द्धजरतीयं, द्वयोरपि प्रयोजनासिद्धेः; तदसिद्धौ स्वप्रयोजनस्यापि धनलाभादेरसम्भवः । तस्मात् स्वधर्म्मरक्षार्थं सत्यमेवाभिहितवान् इति कथमुक्तेऽर्थे संशयः । न च कृत्स्नासाधकत्वेनाकृत्स्नसाधकत्वमपि तत्र वचनान्न सम्भवतीति वाच्यं, निर्दोषपुरुषवचनानां अन्यथात्वानुपपत्तेः । मुनिवचनन्तु कृत्स्नसाधनस्याभिप्रेतसाधकत्वमाह, न पुनरेकदेशस्य साधनमसाधनमेवेति नैकदेशान्तरसिद्ध्यर्थं क्रियान्तरमन्वेषणीयं, तत्र साक्षिनिर्द्देशकस्य साक्षिवचनेनैकदेशे सत्यवादित्वावधारणात् तस्यैव दिव्यं देयं । जितेन्द्रियेणापि शतपुराणसिद्धये पृष्टो यदि नवतिं पुराणान् ब्रूते, तदा दशपुराणान्यूनास्तेऽनुक्ता भवन्ति न तूक्ताः प्रमाणविरोधादित्युक्तं, श्रीकरेण त्वन्यथावादे भङ्गमभिधाय यदि तु प्रतिज्ञातार्थात् न्यूनाधिकं वा साक्षिणो वदन्ति तदा तेषामसाक्षित्वमभिधाय ऊनमप्यधिकं वापीति पठितं, तेनान्यथावादे पराजयमभिधाय यदात्विति पक्षान्तरावभिधानावगतेः क्रियान्तरेण निर्णयोऽभिमत इति प्रतीयते । अतः कथितेऽप्यकथितवदभिधानं तद्धर्म्मक्रियान्तराधीन-निरूपणप्राप्त्यर्थं साक्षिणो हि तूष्णीं स्थिताः । क्रियान्तरं निरपवादमेव तेन साक्षिभि र्न्यूनाधिकनिर्द्देशेऽपि न साक्षिनिर्द्देशकस्य पराजयः, वाद्यन्तरस्यैव यावद्भङ्गो युक्तः । ऊनाभिधाने कियत्यंशे वादिनः सत्यतासिद्धत्वासिद्धत्वाद्वाद्यन्तरस्य मिथ्यावादितासिद्धेः । अधिकाभिधाने प्रतिज्ञातस्यैव सत्यत्वाद्विजयो युक्तः । अधिकन्तु न सिध्यति, तेनैवानुपन्यासात्; न्यूनाभिधाने च तत्सिद्धये क्रियान्तरं कार्य्यं, तच्च सिद्धेप्येकदेशगतमेव मया दत्तमिति प्रतिज्ञाय दिव्यं कार्य्यमिति, एवन्तु न क्रियाद्वयापत्तेः, क्रियान्तरकरणे फलतो विश्वरूपेण महाविशेषः, ननु द्वयोरपि साक्षिस्थिरीकरणपूर्व्वकव्यवहारेषु प्रवृत्तेः कथं साक्षिविज्ञेयाऽन्यूनाधिकसाध्यनिर्द्देशो वादिन, उच्यते । नात्राशयदोष सम्भावनेति तावत् सिद्धं, प्रेक्षावत्सु विपरीताभिधानानुपपत्तेः, किन्तु साक्षिस्थिरीकरणकाले तद्वचनान्यूनाधिकसङ्ख्यापरिज्ञानमसम्यगवगम्य भ्रान्तेन तावत् सङ्ख्यानिर्द्दिष्टः साक्षी, स पुनरारोपितयथाज्ञानमेव निर्द्दिष्टवानिति साक्षिभिरेव वा अनारोपणकाले यथाकथञ्चिदभिहितं धर्म्मस्यानारोपितैः सम्यगुक्त इति न विरोधः । यत्र च साक्षिणो न

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[1] O.

ब्रुवते, प्रमाणान्तरेण च तेषामन्यतरव्यतिरेकयोरन्यतरज्ञानमवधार्य्यते, तत्र वादिनोरन्यतरस्य जयःपराजयो वा परीक्षकैर्निर्द्देष्टव्यः प्रमाणस्याविशेषात् प्रष्टानान्तु वचनद्वैधे कर्त्तव्यतामाहतुर्म्मनुविष्णू[1],—

बहुत्वं परिगृह्णीयात् साक्षिद्वैधे नराधिपः ।
समेषु च गुणोत्कृष्टान् गुणिद्वैधे द्विजोत्तमान् ॥

द्वैधमेकस्य द्वयाभिधायित्वेऽपरस्य च व्यतिरेकाभिधायित्वे भवति । पुनर्न्नजानामि न स्मरामि इत्यभिधानेऽपि सत्यपि वस्तुनि तत् सम्भवे ऽपि द्वैधापवादकत्वात् । अत एव नारदः[2] ।

"साक्षिविप्रतिपत्तौ तु प्रमाणं बहवो मताः ।
तत्साम्ये शुचयो ग्राह्यास्तत्साम्ये शुचिमत्तराः" ॥

विप्रतिपत्तिर्विरुद्धार्थाभिधान एव भवति, न चाज्ञानादस्मरणाद्वा वस्तुनोऽभावो भवति, विप्रतिपत्तौ च नैकाधिकेनाधिक्यं ग्राह्यं, किन्तु द्वित्राद्यधिकत्वेनेत्युक्तं, समेषु च इत्युभयार्थमुभयत्र च सम्बन्धः तेन समेषु गुणेषु बहुत्वेन निर्णयः कार्य्यः । तथासमेषु समसंख्येषु गुणोत्कर्षान्निर्णयः कार्य्यः । एकान्तगुणोत्कर्षे त्वसङ्ख्येनापि निर्णयः । यथा शङ्खलिखितौ[3] —

कामं त्रयाणामेकोऽपि स्वपरिगृहीतः सर्व्वलोकसम्मतः यदा तु साक्षिप्रश्नाज्जयपराजयावधारणे वृत्ते पराजितो वादी पूर्व्वेभ्योऽधिकगुणैः समसङ्ख्यैरेव समगुणैः पूर्व्वद्विगुणसङ्ख्यैरन्यथा ज्ञापयति तदा पूर्व्वनिर्णये त्वनिर्णयो भवति, पूर्व्वसाक्षिणां कूटत्वावधारणात्, तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः[4] ।

उक्तेऽपि साक्षिभिः साक्ष्ये यद्येके गुणवत्तमाः ।
द्विगुणा वान्यथा ब्रूयुः कूटाः स्युः पूर्व्वसाक्षिणः ॥

तथा कात्यायनः[5] ।

"यत्र वैभावितं कार्य्यं साक्षिभिः पूर्व्ववादिनां ।
प्रतिवादी तदा तत्र भावयेत् कार्य्यमन्यथा ॥
अनुक्रान्तु कुलीनैर्वा कूटाः स्यु पूर्व्वसाक्षिणः" ।

नन्वेतदसम्बद्धं नारदवचनात् यथा[6],

"निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु प्रमाणमफलं भवेत् ।
लिखितं साक्षिणो वापि पूर्व्वं नावेदितं न चेत् ॥
यथा पक्वेषु धान्येषु निष्फलाः प्रावृषो गुणाः ।
निवृत्तव्यवहाराणां प्रमाणमफलं परम्" ॥

ततो निर्णीते व्यवहारे कथं साक्ष्यन्तरग्रहणं कथञ्च तत्प्रश्ने पूर्व्वेषां कूटत्वं । उच्यते । सति

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[1] O.
[2] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 229. Reads यतः for मताः and स्मृतिमत्तरा for शुचिमत्तरा.
[3] O.
[4] Yajnavalkya, II, 80.
[5] O.
[6] Narada, Chap. I, Sloka 68.

लिखिते बलवत्सु साक्षिषु तान् विहाय स्वयमेव दुर्व्वलसाक्ष्युपन्यासेन पराजितस्य बलवत्तरप्रमाणोपन्यासो न न्याय्यो विफलोऽसाविति निर्णीतवचनस्यार्थः। तदेवाह कात्यायनोऽपि[1]।

"क्रियां बलवतीमुक्त्वा दुर्व्वलां योऽवलम्बते।
स जयेऽवधृते सभ्यैः पुनस्तां नाप्नुयात् क्रियाम्" ॥

तस्य स्वबलेनैव पराजितत्वात्। यत्र तूपन्यस्तमेव बलवत् प्रमाणं परत्र साक्षिरूपं दूरदेशस्थत्वेन च सम्प्रतितदधीननिरूपणासामर्थ्येन दुर्व्वलसाक्षिभिर्निर्णयो जातस्तदनन्तरञ्च देयत्वेन बलवत् साक्षिसमागमे तैरेव निर्णयः कार्य्यः, बलवत् प्रमाणस्य तेन पूर्व्वमुपन्यस्तत्वात्, न तेन बलवती युक्ता तेन तत्रैव कूटत्वमित्यविरोधः। अत एव नारदः[2]

"साक्षिसभ्यावसन्नानां दूषणे दर्शनं पुनः।
स्वचर्य्यावसितानाञ्च नोक्तः पौनर्भवो विधिः" ॥

स्वचर्य्यावसितस्य स्ववचनैरपराजितस्य, पौनर्भवो विधिः पुनर्न्यायकरणं नास्तीत्यर्थः। उपन्यस्तस्य तु बलवत् प्रमाणस्यासन्निधानेन दुर्व्वलप्रमाणग्रहणात् पराजितसाक्षिदोषसम्बद्धत्वात् अस्ति प्रमाणावसरः। एवञ्च यत्रापि द्वयोः साक्षिवचनान्निर्णयो जातः तत्रापि दैवात् बलवत्तरसाक्षिसमागमात् तैरेव निर्णयः कार्य्यः। पूर्व्वनिर्णयहेतवः साक्षिणः कूटा भवन्ति। अतएव वादिना भाविते यदि प्रतिवादी हि प्रतिपादयतीत्युक्तं कात्यायनेन। उक्ते च साक्षिभिरर्थे तद्वचनं निरूपणीयं, तदाह कात्यायनः[3]।

"उपस्थितान् परीक्षेत साक्षिणो नृपतिः स्वयम्।
साक्षिभिर्व्याहृतं वाक्यं सह सभ्यैः परीक्षयेत् ॥
यदा शुद्धा क्रिया न स्यात्तदा तद्वाक्यशोधनम्।
शुद्धतायान्तु वाक्यार्थः शुद्धः शुद्धोऽन्यथा न तु" ॥

किमस्याश्वत्थामा-हत इति युधिष्ठिरवचनात् सत्यानृतं दुर्व्वलवचनानां वा परस्परव्याहरतां वा स्वरविशेषो वा कीदृशोऽपेक्षितार्थसमर्पणं नेतीत्यादिकं पर्य्यालोच्य पश्चावधारणमिति साक्षिणः।

अथ लिखितं। तत्र बृहस्पतिः[4]।

"साक्षिणामेव निर्द्दिष्टः संख्यालक्षणनिर्णयः।
लिखितस्याधुना वच्मि यथावदनुपूर्व्वशः ॥
षाण्मासिकेऽपि विषये भ्रान्तिः सञ्जायते यतः।
धात्राक्षराणि सृष्टानि पत्रारूढान्यतः पुरा ॥
राजलेख्यं स्थानकृतं स्वहस्तलिखितन्तथा।
लेख्यन्तु त्रिविधं प्रोक्तं भिन्नं तद्बहुधा पुनः ॥

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[1] O.
[2] Narada, II, 40; reads नास्ति for नोक्तः.
[3] O.
[4] O.

भागदानक्रियाधान-सम्विद्दास-ऋणादिभिः ।
सप्तधा लौकिकं लेख्यं त्रिविधं राजशासनम् ॥
दत्त्वा भूम्यादिकं राजा ताम्रपट्टेऽथवा पटे ।
शासनं कारयेद्धर्म्म्यं स्थानवंशादिसंयुतम् ” ॥
धर्म्म्यं धर्म्मार्थं । तदादेशादिकं यस्य राजा लिखितेन प्रच्छति । (?)
सेवाशौर्य्यादिना तुष्टः प्रसादलिखितन्तु तत् ।

तथा,

“ यद्वृत्तं व्यवहारेषु पूर्व्वपक्षोत्तरादिकम् ।
क्रियावधारणोपेतं जयपत्रेऽखिलं लिखेत् ” ॥

इति राजलेख्यं त्रिविधं । स्थानकृतं सप्तधाह वृहस्पतिः[1] ।

“ भ्रातरः संविभक्ता ये विरुद्धत्वात् परस्परम् ।
विभागपत्रं कुर्व्वन्ति भागलेख्यं तदुच्यते ॥
भूमिं दत्त्वा तु यः पत्रं कुर्य्याच्चन्द्रार्ककालिकम् ।
अनाच्छेद्यमनाहार्य्यं दानलेख्यन्तु तद्विदुः ॥
गृहक्षेत्रादिकं क्रीत्वा तुल्यमूल्याक्षरान्वितम् ।
पत्रं कारयते यस्तु क्रयलेख्यन्तदुच्यते ॥
जङ्गमं स्थावरं दत्वा बन्धं लेख्यं करोति यः ।
गोप्यभोग्यक्रियायुक्तमधिलेख्यं तदुच्यते ॥
ग्रामो देशश्च यः कुर्य्यान्मतं लेख्यं परस्परम् ।
राजाविरोधिधर्म्मार्थं सम्वित्पत्रं वदन्ति च ॥
वस्त्रान्नहीनः कान्तारे लिखितं कुरुते तु यः ।
कर्म्माणि ते करिष्यामि दासपत्रं तदुच्यते ॥
धनं वृद्ध्या गृहीत्वा तु स्वयं कुर्य्याच्च कारयेत् ।
उद्धारपत्रं तत्प्रोक्तं ऋणलेख्यं मनीषिभिः ॥

तदेतत् स्थानलेख्यं यादृशं कार्य्यं तदाह वृहस्पतिः[2] ।

“ देशाचारयुतं वर्षमासपक्षाह-वृद्धिमत् ।
ऋणि-साक्षि-लेखकानां हस्ताङ्कं लेख्यमुच्यते ” ॥

अथ याज्ञवल्क्यः[3] ।

“ समाप्तेऽर्थे ऋणी नाम स्वहस्तेन निवेशयेत् ।
मतं मेऽमुकपुत्रस्य यदत्रोपरि लेखितम् ॥

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[1] O. [2] O. [3] Yajnavalkya, II, 86, 87, 88.

साक्षिणश्च स्वहस्तेन पितृनामक-पूर्व्वकम् ।
अत्राहममुकः साक्षी लिखेयुरिति ते समाः ॥
उभाभ्यामर्थिते नैतन्मया ह्यमुकसूनुना ।
लिखितं ह्यमुकेनेति लेखकोऽन्ते ततो लिखेत् ” ॥

अलिपिज्ञेन ऋणिकेन साक्षिणा यथा कार्य्यमित्याह, व्यासः[1] ।

“ अलिपिज्ञऋणी यः स्यात् लेखयेत् स्वमतन्तु सः ।
साक्षी वा साक्षिणान्येन सर्व्वसाक्ष्य-समीपगः ” ॥

साक्षिणा वान्येन वा पत्रलेखकादिनेति स्वहस्तलिखितपत्रमाह, याज्ञवल्क्यः[2] ।

“ विनापि साक्षिभिर्लेख्यं स्वहस्तलिखितन्तु यत् ।
तत्प्रमाणं स्मृतं सर्व्वं बलोपधिकृतादृते ” ॥

विनापीति स्वहस्तलिखितस्य ससाक्षिकस्य प्रामाण्यमविवादमिति दर्शयति । त्रयाणामपि पत्राणां बलाबलं कुरुते व्यासः[3] ।

“ स्वहस्तकाज्जानपदं तस्मात्तु नृपशासनम् ।
प्रमाणतरमिष्टं हि व्यवहारार्थमागतम् ॥
द्विस्त्रिर्लिपिज्ञः स्वकृतमन्यलेख्येन युक्तिभिः ।
कुर्य्याद्धि सदृशं लेख्यं तस्माज्जानपदं शुभम् ॥
अप्रकाशात् साक्षियुक्तं लेखकाक्षरमुद्रितम् ।
लोकप्रसिद्धं स्वकृताल्लेखमन्यकृतं शुभम् ॥
देशाध्यक्षादिना लेख्यं यत्तज्जानपदं कृतम् ।
स-कालं पश्चिमं वा तु तस्माद्राजकृतं शुभम् ” ॥

सदोषपत्रमाह कात्यायनः[4] ।

“ साक्षिदोषात्तु यद्दुष्टं पत्रं वै लेखकस्य वा ।
ऋणिकस्योपधा दोषात्तथाधारणिकस्य च ॥
दुष्टैर्दुष्टं भवेल्लेख्यं शुद्धं शुद्धैर्विनिर्दिशेत् ।
तत् पत्रमुपधादुष्टैः साक्षिलेखककारकैः ” ॥

धारणिककारकपदाभ्यां पत्रदातोच्यते । तस्य दोषानाह, बृहस्पतिः[5] ।

“ मुमूर्षु शिशुभीतार्त्तैः स्त्रीमत्तव्यसनातुरैः ।
देशोपाधिबलात्कारैः कृतं लेख्यं न सिध्यति ” ॥

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[1] O. [2] Yajnavalkya, II, 89; reads लेख्यं for सर्व्वं.
[3] O. [4] O. [5] O.

मत्तकार्म्मणादिदानमुपाधिः (?) । तथा व्यासः[1] ।

"दासास्वतन्त्रवालैश्च स्त्री-कृतञ्चैव यद्भवेत् ।
प्रमाणं नैव तल्लेख्यं इति शास्त्रविदो विदुः" ॥

तदेवमादिरूपदोषाभावे स्वहस्तेन लिखितं साक्षिलेखकाद्यक्षरयुक्तपत्रं प्रमाणं, ननु कथं साक्षिलेखककारकलिपिज्ञानं, तदाह कात्यायनः[2] ।

"दर्पणस्थं यथाविम्बमसत्सदिव दृश्यते ।
तथा लेख्यस्य विम्बानि कुर्व्वन्ति कुशला नराः" ॥

तथा व्यासः[3] ।

"लेख्यमालेख्य यत् केचित् लिखन्ति कुशला नराः ।
तस्मान्न लेख्यसामर्थ्यात् सिद्धिरैकान्तिकी मता" ॥

तत्राह याज्ञवल्क्यः[4] ।

"सन्दिग्धलेख्यशुद्धिः स्यात् स्वहस्तलिखितादिभिः ।
युक्तिप्राप्तिक्रियाचिह्न-सम्बन्धागमहेतुभिः" ॥

युक्तिप्राप्तिः, पत्रलिखितदेशकाले तयोः सहावस्थानं, क्रिया च पत्रलिखिताः साक्षिणः, चिह्नं मुद्रादिकं, सम्बन्धोऽर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनो धनदानादिव्यवहारः, आगमोद्रव्यसम्भवः । तदेवमादिभिर्हेतुभिः पत्रं निरूपयेत् । तदाह नारदः[5] ।

"त्रिविधस्य च लेखस्य भ्रान्तिः सञ्जायते यदा ।
ऋणिसाक्षिलेखकानां हस्तोत्थैः साधयेत्तदा" ॥

तथा विष्णुः[6] ।

"यत्रर्णीधनिकोवापि साक्षी वा लेखकोऽपि वा ।
म्रियते तत्र तल्लेख्यं तत् स्वहस्तैःप्रसाधयेत्" ॥

धनिकोवापीति शुद्धपत्रिकाविषयं । तथा कात्यायनः[7] ।

"अथ पञ्चत्वमापन्नो लेखकः सह साक्षिभिः ।
तत् स्वहस्तादिभिस्तेषां विशुध्येत्तु न संशयः ॥
ऋणी स्वहस्तसन्देहे जीवतो वा मृतस्य वा ।
तत् स्वहस्तकृतैरन्यैः पत्रैस्तल्लेख्यनिर्णयः" ॥

निरन्तरप्रदर्शितञ्च पत्रं ऋणिकेन चानिषिद्धं अदूषितञ्च सिध्यति । तदाह वृहस्पतिः[8] ।

"दर्शितं प्रतिकालं यच्छ्रावितं स्मारितञ्च यत् ।
लेख्यं सिध्यति सर्व्वत्र मृतेष्वपि हि साक्षिषु" ॥

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[1] O.
[2] O.
[3] O.
[4] Yajnavalkya, II, 92.
[5] O.
[6] Vishnu, VII, 13. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 48.
[7] O.
[8] O.

तथा कात्यायनः[1] ।

"दृष्टे पत्रे स्फुटान् दोषान् नोक्तवान् ऋणिका यदि ।
ततो विंशतिवर्षाणि क्रान्तपत्रं स्थिरं भवेत्" ॥

तथा दर्शितस्यापि पुत्रस्य भोगेन सिद्धिमाह कात्यायनः[2] ।

"शक्तस्य सन्निधौ वन्धो यस्य लेख्येन भुज्यते ।
वर्षाणि विंशतिं यावत्तत्पत्रं दोषवर्ज्जितम्" ॥

तदेवंविधं पत्रं साक्षिभ्यो वलवत्, तदाह नारदः[3] ।

"लिखितं वलवन्नित्यं जीवत्स्वपि हि साक्षिषु" ।

तथा वृहस्पतिः[4] ।

"न जातु हीयते लेख्यं साक्षिभिः शपथेन वा" ।

तथा कात्यायनः[5] ।

"लेख्ये च सति वादेषु न स्याद्दिव्यं न साक्षिणः ।
कालेन हीयते लेख्यं दूषितं न्यायतस्तथा" ॥

तथा वृहस्पतिः[6] ।

"आढ्यस्य निकटस्थस्य यच्छक्तेन न याचितं ।
शुद्धर्ण-शङ्कया तत्र पत्रं दुर्व्वलतामियात् ॥
लेख्यं त्रिंशत्समातीतमदृष्टश्रोत्रियञ्च यत् ।
न तत्सिद्धिमवाप्नोति तिष्ठत्स्वपिहि साक्षिषु" ॥

अप्रदर्शनाश्रावणाप्रार्थनैः पत्रस्याप्रामाण्यात् सुतरां साक्षिणामप्रामाण्यं दिव्यस्य सुतरामनवकाशः तावत्कालाप्रार्थनादीनामानृण्यगमकत्वमन्यथादृश्यमानत्वादिति भावः । बलवत्पत्रस्य दुर्व्वलत्वं वदता दुर्व्वलयो साक्षिदिव्ययोर्दण्डापूपन्यायादप्रामाण्यमुक्तं । अस्यापवादमाह वृहस्पतिः[7] ।

"उन्मत्तजडबालानां राजभीतिप्रवासिनां ।
अप्रगल्भं भयार्त्तानां न लेख्यं हानिमाप्नुयात्" ॥

उन्मत्ततादिनैवाप्रार्थनोपपत्तेः, तथा नारदः[8] ।

"मृताः स्युः साक्षिणो यत्र धनिकर्णिकलेखकाः ।
तदप्यपार्थं लिखितं न चेदाधिः स्थिराश्रयः" ॥

सर्व्वेषां मरणेन चिरकालीनमुक्तं । आधानेऽपि स्थिरभूम्यादिभोगादेव अप्रार्थनं ऋणस्येति नानृण्यकल्पनं । एतत्तु पत्रं त्रिनैवर्णं देशवशापेक्षया नश्यति, तदाह कौण्डिन्यः[9] ।

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[1] O. [2] O. [3] Narada, Rinâdânam, 75. [4] O.
[5] O. [6] O. [7] O. [8] Narada, Rinâdânam, 138. [9] O.

“दशवर्षोपेक्षितमृणं न ग्राह्यमन्यत्र बालवृद्धव्याधितयोषिद्देशत्यागपरचक्रविभ्रमेभ्यः” । अत्राप्याढ्यस्य निकटस्थस्य च शक्तेन दशवर्षोपलक्षितत्वमिति बोद्धव्यं । इति लेख्यप्रकरणम् ।

सम्प्रति भुक्तिर्विविच्यते वृहस्पतिसम्मतत्वादस्यैव क्रमस्य यथा—

“[1]एतद्विधानमाख्यातं साक्षिणां लिखितस्य वा ।
सम्प्रति स्थावरे प्राप्ते भुक्तेश्च विधिरुच्यते” ॥

न्यायस्य सर्व्वेभ्यो बहुतराभ्यर्हितत्वात् । प्रथमं साक्षिणस्ततोभुक्तितो बहुविषयत्वात् लिखितस्य ततः स्वल्पविषयतया भुक्तिनिरूपणं । स्थावर इति प्रायिकं प्राप्ते भूम्यादौ तस्य तत्र भुक्तिमाहतुर्विष्णुकात्यायनौ[2] ।

“त्रिभिरेव तु या भुक्ता पुरुषैर्भूर्यथाविधि ।
लेख्याभावेऽपि तां तत्र चतुर्थः समवाप्नुयात्” ॥

लेख्यं शुद्धप्रमाणोपलक्षणं ।

यथाविधीतिशक्तस्य सन्निहितस्य विरोधं विनेत्यर्थः । तथा व्यासः[3] ।

“यद्विनागममत्यर्थं भुक्तं पूर्व्वतरैस्त्रिभिः ।
न तच्छक्यमपाकर्त्तुं क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषागतं” ॥

अत्यर्थमिति सन्निहितस्य विरोधं विना यत्त्रिभिर्भुक्तं तद्विनाप्यागमं लभ्यत एव नापहर्त्तुं शक्यत इत्यर्थः । लेख्याभावेऽपीत्येकवाक्यत्वात् । अथ नारदः[4] ।

“अन्यायेनापि यद्भुक्तं पित्रा पूर्व्वतरैस्त्रिभिः ।
न तच्छक्यमपाकर्त्तुं क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषागतं” ॥

पित्रा सह त्रिभिरित्यर्थः । चतुर्थः समवाप्नुयादिति वचनात् । भोगं विशिनष्टि व्यासः[5] ।

“पिता पितामहो यस्य जीवेच्च प्रपितामहः ।
त्रयाणां जीवतां भोगो विज्ञेयस्तत्त्रिपूरुषः” ॥

युगपज्जीवत्सु त्रिषु षष्टिवर्षभोगेऽपि न त्रैपुरुषिकः । पितामहस्यैव तत्र स्वातन्त्र्यात् तस्यैव भोगः । को नामासौ इत्यपेक्षायां व्यासः[6] ।

“प्रपितामहेन यद्भुक्तं तत् पुत्रेण विना च तं ।
तौ विना यस्य पित्रा च तस्य भोगस्त्रिपौरुषः” ॥

एकेन तावद्भुक्तं तस्मिन्मृते तत्पुत्रेण, तयोश्च मृतयोस्तृतीयेन, तस्मिन्मृते चतुर्थस्य त्रिपौरुषिको भोगो भवति । त्रयाणामेव स्वतन्त्रत्वात् । कियन्तं कालमेकैकस्य इत्यपेक्षायामाह व्यासः[7] ।

“वर्षाणि विंशतिं भुक्ता स्वामिनाऽव्याहृता सती ।
भुक्तिः सा पौरुषीभूमे द्विगुणा च द्विपौरुषी ॥
त्रिपौरुषी च त्रिगुणा न तत्रान्वेष्य आगमः” ॥

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[1] O. [2] Vishnu, V, 187. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 40. O. in Katyayana. [3] O.

[4] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 91, reads पितु for पित्रा and अपाहर्त्तुं for अपाकर्त्तुं.

[5] O. [6] O. [7] O.

स्वामिनाऽव्याहता या एव विंशतिवर्षभुक्तेर्द्विगुणत्रिगुणविधानात् त्रैपौरुषिकोऽपिभोगः। सन्निहित एव प्रतिवादिनीत्यवगम्यते। न त्वसन्निधानादव्याहतेति व्यवदिश्यते। अत एव सामान्येन प्रत्यर्थिसन्निधानं सर्व्वभोगोपलक्षणमाह व्यासः[1]।

"सागमो दीर्घकालश्च निश्छिद्रोऽन्यरवोज्झितः।
प्रत्यर्थिसन्निधानश्च पञ्चाङ्गो भोग इष्यते"॥

आगम्यते प्राप्यते स्वं भवति येन क्रयादिना स आगमः। दीर्घकालत्वं यस्मिन् पुरुषे यावान् कालो भोगस्योक्तः। छिद्रोविच्छेदः। तद्रहितोनिश्छिद्रः। अन्यरवोविप्रतिपत्तिः तद्रहितः। शक्तस्य स्नेहाद्युपेक्षाकारणरहितस्य प्रत्यर्थिनोद्रव्यस्वामिनः सन्निधानं, सोऽयं पञ्चाङ्गोभोगः। तत्र त्रैपुरुषिकभोगश्चतुर्थे पुरुषे प्रमाणं। ननु विंशतिभोगो भूमौ प्रमाणं दशवार्षिकस्य धन इत्यपि श्रूयते। यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]।

"पश्यतोऽब्रुवतोहानिर्भूमेर्विंशतिवार्षिकी।
परेण भुज्यमानाया धनस्य दशवार्षिकी"॥

पश्यतोऽब्रुवतइत्यपेक्षायामाह, परेण भुज्यमानायां भुमौ विंशतिवार्षिकी उपेक्षकस्य स्वत्वहानिरुक्ता। धने च गवादौ दशवार्षिकी, तत्सहिता भुक्ति भोक्तुः स्वत्वे प्रमाणमित्याह, तथा त्रिंशद्वार्षिकीं भुक्तिं प्रमाणमाह, बृहस्पतिः[3]।

"अव्यासनात् समारभ्य भुक्तिर्यस्य विघातिनी।
त्रिंशद्वर्षाण्यविच्छिन्ना तस्य तां न विचालयेत्॥"

अव्यासनं क्रयणादिरागमः। नन्वनयोरेव परस्परं विवोधः। विंशतिवर्षस्य भुक्तेः प्रमाणत्वे ततः प्रभृतिरवैरप्रमाणमिति त्रिंशद्ग्रहणमनर्थकं। अथास्यैव वा वाधितत्वं तदा विंशतिपदं विरुद्धं त्रिंशद्वर्षात्प्रभृतिप्रमाणत्वात्। उच्यते। पश्यतोब्रुवतइति निर्द्देशात् वाङ्मात्रेणाविरोधे विंशतिवचनं बोद्धव्यं, त्रिंशद्वर्षवचने त्वविघातिनीतिश्रुते र्विशिष्टोघातो विघातः कलहकादिरूपः, स यत्र नास्ति, वाचनिकमात्रस्तु विद्यते तद्विषय इत्यविवोधः। तथा विंशतिवर्षाणि क्रमेण वलीयसः पत्रस्य कूटताशङ्का निवृत्त्यर्थं दुर्व्वलस्य तु साक्षिणः त्रिंशद्वर्षभोगेन शुद्धिरिति प्रयोजनं। तदेवं धने दशवार्षिकी भूमौ च विरोधप्रकाशस्याभावेन त्रिंशद्वर्ष-भोगयोः प्रामाण्यात्तदवधि सर्व्वभुक्तेरेव प्रामाण्यात् त्रैपुरुषिकीत्यनर्थकं। अथ अस्या एव प्रामाण्यं, तदा विंशति-त्रिंशत्पदं विरुद्धं। अत्र श्रीकरमिश्राणां समाधानं, पश्यतः प्रतिवादिनोर्विवादमकुर्व्वतः। भूमेर्विंशतिवर्षभोगः प्रमाणान्तरानपेक्षः प्रमाणं। तावता च प्रतिवादिनस्तद्भूमिस्वत्वहानिः। ताम्रघटादिधनस्य तु दशवर्षभोगप्रमाणं। आगमरहितायाश्च भुक्तेः प्रामाण्यबोधकवचनानि अनागमस्तु योभुङ्क्ते इत्यादीनि प्रतिवादिपरोक्ष-विषयाणि।

[4]"सम्भोगो यत्र दृश्येत न दृश्येतागमः क्वचित्।
आगमः कारणं तत्र न सम्भोग इति स्थितिः"॥

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[1] O. [2] Yajnavalkya, II, 24. [3] O.

[4] Manu, VIII, 200. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 290.

इत्यादीनि मन्वादिवचनानि स्वल्पकालभोगाभिप्रायाणि यथोक्तकालप्रतिवादिसमक्षभोगविषयाणि च भोगप्रामाण्यवचनानि। अस्य समक्षभोगोऽपि यस्त्रिभिः पुरुषैः कृतः, स प्रमाणं। तत्र त्रैपुरुषिकवचनानि। ननु च केवलपितृगताया अपि भुक्तेः प्रमाणत्वमुक्तम्।

"आहर्त्तैवाभियुक्तः स्यादिति" नारदेन[1] "आगमस्तु कृतो येनेति"[2] याज्ञवल्क्येनेत्याशङ्क्योक्तं। यत्रागमोऽपि वादिनाकृतोऽस्ति तत्रागमस्य कूटाभियोगे तेनैव पित्रादिना आगम उद्धरणीयः। न तु तत्सुतस्तत्सुतो वागममुद्धरेत्। भुक्तिरेव तदागमसहिता प्रमाणमिति। त्रिपुरुषभुक्तिस्तु आगमानपेक्षा प्रमाणमिति। पुनःशेषे सर्व्वथा त्रिपुरुषादिभोगोऽविप्रतिपत्तिप्रमाणं विप्रतिपन्नत्वे वलकृताद्भोगस्याप्रामाण्यमित्यन्त्तं, तदसङ्गतं, अनिष्पन्नप्रतिपक्षस्त्रिपौरुषभोगः प्रमाणं इत्यन्ये। यद्ययमर्थः, सन्निहितस्याविप्रतिपत्ताविति तदा विंशतिवचनमनर्थकं। द्वैपुरुषभोगस्यापि समक्षविषयत्वादवाधितत्वाद्भोगप्रामाण्यस्य यथा सन्निधानादेवाविप्रतिपन्नत्वमुक्तं, तेन द्वैपुरुषिकात् प्रभृति परोक्षभोगः प्रमाणं विंशतिवार्षिकाच्च प्रभृति समक्षभोगः प्रमाणं, तत्र समक्षभोगस्याहर्त्तरि प्रामाण्यनिषेधात्, तथा कात्यायनः[3]।

येनोपात्तं हि यद्द्रव्यं सोऽभियुक्तस्तदुद्धरेत्।
चिरकालोपभोगेऽपि भुक्तिस्तस्यैव नेष्यते॥

तथा नारदः[4]।

"आहर्त्तैवाभियुक्तः सन्नर्थानामुद्धरेत् पदं।
भुक्तेरेव विशुद्धिःस्यात् प्राप्तायाः पितृतः क्रमात्॥"

आहर्त्तैवोद्धरेन्नान्य इतिनायमन्वयः। तदा हि तत्पुत्रादीनामागमशोधननिषेधः स्यात्, न च तदुचितं, सति सम्भवे तेषामप्यागम-शोधनेन भुक्तेरेव सुदृढसिद्धेः। न चार्थानां पदं प्रापकं क्रयादिकमेवोद्धरेन्न भुक्तिमित्यर्थः।

"आहर्त्ता शोधयेत् भुक्तिमागमञ्चापि संसदीति"[5] वृहस्पतिविरोधात् तस्मादाहर्त्ता शोधयेदेतेरित्यन्वयः। युक्तञ्चैतत्। आहर्त्तुर्हि विदितागमवृत्तान्तस्य तदुपेक्षया भोगं वदतोऽनागमत्वावधारणात् चौरत्वमेव स्यात्, तदाह नारदः[6]

"अनागमन्तु यो भुङ्क्ते बहून्यब्द-शतान्यपि।
चौरदण्डेन तं पापं दण्डयेत् पृथिवीपतिः॥"

योभुङ्क्ते इत्येकवचननिर्द्देशात् आहर्त्तृविषयं वचनं बहून्यब्द-शतान्यपीति चैकस्य यावान भोगकालः सम्भवति, तावदभिप्रायं यथा कात्यायनः[7]।

"येनोपात्तं हि यद्द्रव्यं सोऽभियुक्तस्तदुद्धरेत्।
चिरकालोपभोगेऽपि भुक्तिस्तस्यैव नेष्यते॥"

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[1] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 90.

[2] Yajnavalkya, II, 28.

[3] O.

[4] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 90.

[5] O.

[6] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 87.

[7] O.

चिरकालोपभोगेऽपीति बह्वन्यब्दशतानीत्यनेन समानार्थं याज्ञवल्क्यः[1] ।

“आगमस्तु कृतो येन सोऽभियुक्तस्तदुद्धरेत् ।
तत्सुतस्तत्सुतो वापि भुक्तिस्तत्र गरीयसी ॥”

नतु चतुर्थ एवपुरुषे भोगप्रामाण्यात् कथं पुत्रापौत्रगोचरायाः भुक्तेर्गरीयस्त्वाभिधानं । उच्यते ; गरीयसीतिभुक्तिः प्रधानं प्रमाणं आगमस्तु सहकारी, तेनागमोपन्यासस्ताभ्यामपि कर्त्तव्यो न तु शोधनं । आहर्त्ता शोधनमवश्यं कार्य्यं, तेन तस्यागमः प्रधानं भुक्तिश्च सहकारिणी, तदाह नारदः[2] ।

“आधौ तु कारणं दानं मध्ये भुक्तिस्तु सागमा ।
प्रमाणं भुक्तिरेवैव सम्मता सा चिरन्तनी” ॥

आदावनागमकर्त्तरिदानमागमः । कारणं प्रमाणं । न च भुक्तिरित्यभिहितं, तदुक्तं नारदेन[3] ।

“विद्यमानेऽपि लिखिते जीवत्स्वपि हि साक्षिषु ।
विशेषतः स्थावरादौ भोग एव स्थिरःस्मृतः” ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[4] ।

“आगमोऽभ्यधिको भोगात् विनापूर्व्वक्रमागमात् ।
आगमो बलवान्नैव भुक्तिः स्तोकापि यत्र न” ॥

स्तोकापीति नाल्पकालाभिप्रायं । वृत्तेरप्यल्पकालभोगं विना स्वत्वहानिसम्भवात् तेनाग्रहीतक्रीतग्रहीतादिभूमेस्थिरानुवर्त्तने तदेकदेशभोगेऽपीत्यस्यार्थः, तदाह वृहस्पतिः[5] ।

“अध्यासनात् समारभ्य भुक्तिर्यस्याविघातिनी ।
त्रिंशद्वर्षाण्यविच्छिन्ना तस्य तां न विचालयेत्” ॥

इदमविच्छिन्नं भोगमाह । स चैकदेशभोगेष्वपि सत्सु भोगो भवति । तदाह स एव[6] ।

“यद्येकशासने ग्राम-क्षेत्रारामाश्च लेखिताः ।
एकदेशोपभोगेऽपि सर्व्वे भुक्ता भवन्ति ते” ॥

शासनं पत्रताम्रपट्टादिकं । एकदेशस्यानुपभोगेऽपि कृत्स्नस्य क्रीतादेर्हानिः । तथा वृहस्पतिः[7] ।

“संविभागक्रयप्राप्तं पित्र्यं लब्धञ्च राजतः ।
स्थावरं सिद्धिमाप्नोति हानिश्चोपेक्षया तथा” ॥

संविभागक्रयादिलब्धस्यैव सति भोगे सिद्धिः, तद्भोगोपेक्षया हानिरिति । तथा विष्णुकात्यायनौ[8]

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[1] Yajnavalkya, II, 28. Reads तमुद्धरेद् for तदुद्धरेद् and न तत्सुतस्तत्सुतो वा for तत्सुतस्तत्सुतोऽवापि .

[2] O. [3] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 77.

[4] Yajnavalkya, II, 27. Reads क्रमागतात् and आगमोऽपि बलं नैव for the underlined words respectively.

[5] O. [6] O. [7] O. [8] Vishnu, V, 181. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 39. O. in Katyayana.

"सागमेन तु भुक्तेन सम्यग्भुक्तं यदा तु यत् ।
आहर्त्ता लभते तत्तु नापहार्य्यन्तु तत् क्वचित्" ॥

सम्यगिति विंशतिवर्षपर्य्यन्तं, तथा नारदः[1] ।

"आगमेन तु शुद्धेन भोगो याति प्रमाणताम् ।
अविशुद्धागमो भोगः प्रामाण्यं नैव गच्छति" ॥

सर्व्वाण्येतानि वचनानि आहर्त्तृगोचराणि। तेनागमशोधनमाहर्त्ता कार्य्यं। मध्ये भुक्तिस्तु सागमेत्यस्यार्थः। आहर्त्तृपरभूतयोस्तुतुर्यात् पूर्व्वभूतयोर्म्मध्यपदार्थयोः पुत्रपौत्रयोर्भुक्तिः प्रधानं प्रमाणं, आगमस्तु सहकारी। तेन अभ्यागमोपन्यासः कार्य्यो, न तु तस्य शोधनं; आहर्त्तृभुक्तिविशोधितत्वात्। यदि पुनराहर्त्ता आगमशोधनार्थमभियुक्त एव मृतस्तदा पुत्रपौत्राभ्यां तस्य शोधनं कार्य्यं, नान्यथा। तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः[2] ।

"सोऽभियुक्तः परेतः स्यात्तस्य ऋक्थी तमुद्धरेत् ।
न तत्र कारणं भुक्तिरागमेन विना कृता" ॥

तथा नारदः[3] ।

"तथारूढविवादस्य प्रेतस्य व्यवहारिणः ।
पुत्रेण सोऽर्थः संशोध्यः न तं भोगो निवर्त्तयेत्" ॥

तदेवमुक्तप्रबन्धेनाहर्त्तरि षष्टिवर्षभोगेऽपि तत्प्रामाण्यनिषेधात् कथं विंशतिवार्षिकादिभोगस्य समक्षविषयत्ववर्णनं न च निषेधादेवाप्रमाणतेति तस्मादनुपपत्त्या ते प्रमाणतां मन्यन्ते, यथोक्तं तैर्यत्र पुनः प्रतिवादिसम्बन्धनिमित्तोऽपीतरस्य भोग उपपद्यते एव यथा ज्ञातीनामेकासन्निधाने ऽन्येषां तदंशभोगः। तत्र त्रैपुरुषिकभोगोऽप्रमाणं। एवञ्चाहर्त्तुरपि भोगोऽनुपपन्न एवेति कथं न प्रमाणं, कथञ्चागमोजड़ादिधनेषु दशविंशतिवार्षिकभोगानुपपत्त्या भोक्तुः स्वत्वकल्पना, जड़ादिस्वत्वग्राहकप्रमाणविरोधात्; यच्च त्रैपुरुषिकभुक्तेतरत्र समक्षविषयत्वमुक्तं तदपि व्यासविरुद्धं। स्वामिनाव्याहता सतीति सन्निहितेनेति प्रतीतेः सन्निधाने अव्याहतेति व्यपदेशानुपपत्तेः। तथा विष्णुकात्यायनौ[4] ।

"त्रिभिरेव तु या भुक्तापुरुषैर्भूर्यथाविधी"त्यादि हेतुः भोगस्य विधानं दीर्घकालत्वं निश्छिद्रत्वं अन्यरवोज्झितत्वं प्रत्यर्थिसन्निधानञ्च दर्शितं। किञ्च विंशतिवर्षात् प्रभृति त्रैपुरुषिकभोगनिष्पत्तिलक्षणपर्य्यन्तं समक्षभोगस्यैवानुपपत्तिर्नपरोक्षभोगस्यानन्तरक्षणमात्रेणैव परोक्षतास्यापीति कथं मनीषिणां मनसि निविशते। किञ्च परोक्षस्य त्रैपुरुषिकस्य भोगस्य प्रतिवाद्यसन्निधाने नैवोपपन्नत्वे कथं स्वत्वगमकत्वं, तथाप्यनुपपत्तौ द्विपुरुषिकभोगस्यापि गमकत्वं स्यादनुपपत्तेरविशेषात्। कथञ्च विप्रतिपन्नसन्निधौ विंशतिवार्षिक एव भोगः प्रमाणं, न पुनर्विंशतिवार्षिकादिः तस्यापि स्वत्वमन्तरेणानुपपत्तेरविशेषात् धनेऽपि दशवार्षिक एव, न पुनर्नववार्षिकादिरित्यपि कथं, दशवार्षिकस्यापि भोगस्य धनगतस्येव स्वत्वमन्तरेणैवानुपपत्तिः न च

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[1] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 85.

[2] Yajnavalkya, II, 29; reads यः for सः.

[3] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 93.

[4] Vishnu, V, 183. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 39. O. in Katyayana.

भूमिगतस्यापि इति व्यवस्था किं कृता; उपपन्नमनुपपन्नं कर्त्तुं शक्यं न हि वचनसहस्रैः। अथवा यदुपपन्नं स्यादनुपपन्नं न कदाचित्तत्र। विंशतिवार्षिकभोगस्य च लेख्यादिप्रमाणशुद्धिकरत्वमाह, कात्यायनः[1]।

"शक्तस्य सन्निधौ योऽर्थो यस्य लेख्येन भुज्यते।
वर्षाणि विंशतिं यावत्तत्पत्रं दोषवर्ज्जितम्" ॥

यथोक्तभोगस्य स्वत एव प्रमाणत्वेन साध्यसिद्धौ पत्रदोषनिराकरणार्थत्वं। तस्मात् श्रीकरमिश्रोक्तं हेयं। समानपक्षतया बालोऽपि निरस्तः। विश्वरूपेणतूक्तं तस्मात् पश्यतोऽब्रुवतोव्यवहारे हानिर्भवति, यदहमन्यायेन भुनज्मि तदाक्षमाकारणाभावे कथमेतावन्तं कालं क्षमत इति व्यवहारे हानिरपि यावद्ददाति, न च प्रमादाद् यथावस्थाने हानिपरत्वाभावात्, किन्तु तूष्णीं तन्न सोढ़व्यमिति तात्पर्य्यं। न च तदा विंशतिपदविशेषकं समक्षवर्षत्रयभोगेऽपि कथं क्षमत इति पर्य्यनुयोगात्मिकाव्यवहारे हानिर्भवत्येवाशङ्क्य विंशतिग्रहणं ऊर्द्ध्वं विंशतेर्लेख्यदोषोद्भावननिराकरणार्थमित्युक्तं। त्रैपुरुषिकी भुक्तिः समक्षमुपेक्षाहेत्वभावेऽपि उपेक्षिता सा वर्त्तमानकालोपगमे पाक्षिकसागमानागमसन्देहे प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्या इत्युक्तेरथपाक्षिकागमसम्भवादंशहरणे दोष इत्यभिप्राय इत्युक्तं। स्मार्त्तस्तुकालः, समधिकं वर्षशतं यावद्भवति तावता पुरुषत्रयस्य भोगः सम्भवतीति तत्रापि सागमभोगं प्रमाणं दर्शयति कात्यायनः[2]।

"स्मार्त्तकाले क्रियाभूमेः सागमा भुक्तिरिष्यते।
अस्मार्त्तकालेऽनुगमात् भावात (?) क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषामता ॥"

स्मार्त्तः स्मृत्यर्हः, स न भवतीति अस्मार्त्त स्तस्मिन् काले आगमस्यानुगमोऽन्वयः। तस्याभावे त्रिपुरुषीभुक्तिः प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्येत्यन्तं विश्वरूपमतं। तदप्यसुन्दरं। यदि पश्येतेति वचनं तूष्णीमवस्थाननिषेधपरं, तर्ह्यनर्थकं, प्रमादात् तूष्णीं स्थितत्वेऽपि हानेरङ्गीकारात्, कुतो न विरोधं कृतवानसीति पर्य्यनुयोगमात्रं, न तु तेन भङ्गोभवन्मते, तस्मादनर्थकं। किञ्चापरेण भुज्यमानायां भूमौ पश्यतोऽब्रुवतश्च स्वामिनः स्वामित्वमेव हीयते, भोक्तुरेव तत्स्वं भवति। वचनादवगम्यते; तथागोतमः[3]।

"अजड़पोगण्डधनं दशवर्षभुक्तं परैः सन्निधाने भोक्तुरेव; जड़ोविकलेन्द्रियः। पोगण्डः पूतोगण्डः कपोलेऽनुत्पन्नः श्मश्रुर्यस्य स भण्यते। तथा नारदः[4]।

"बाल आषोड़शाद्वर्षात् पोगण्डो वापि शब्द्यते।"

केचित्पठन्ति पौगण्डस्यापि विंशतेः तौ न भवत इत्यजड़-पौगण्डौ, तयोर्धनं तयोरेव सन्निधौ परैः शुद्धस्वामिभिः आगमस्वामिस्व * * *नादिशून्यैर्भुक्तं अन्यदीयं भवति, यदि भोगो न कारणं प्रमाणतापि क्रमणादेव कारणाभावेन सत्तायाः स्वत्वकारणताज्ञापकता तथा नारदः[5]।

"भुज्यमानान् परैरर्थान यः स्वान्मोहादुपेक्षते।
समक्षं जीवतोऽप्यस्य भुक्तिं स कुरुते वशे ।"

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[1] O. [2] O. [3] O. [4] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 35.

[5] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 78.

स्वानर्थानित्यन्वयात् स्वद्रव्योपेक्षकं पुरुषं भुक्तिर्वशीकुरुते । तथा मनुनारदौ ।[1]

"यत्किञ्चिद्दशवर्षाणि सन्निधौ प्रेक्षते धनी ।
भुज्यमानं परैस्तूष्णीं न स तल्लब्धुमर्हति ॥"

तेन धनेन धनी, अन्यथा अविशेषकत्वात् जीविष्यति न विना धनेनेत्यनुपपत्तेः । परैःपश्यतो यदि तावत् कालमुपेक्षते, तदा धनी न तल्लभेत भोक्तुरेव तद्भवति इति वाक्येभ्योऽवगम्यमानमनर्थं परिहाय यदन्यथा व्याख्येयं तदसङ्गतार्थं श्रुतहान्यश्रुतकल्पनापत्तेः । यदपि विंशतिग्रहणस्य लेख्यसद्भावनिराकरणार्थत्वमुक्तं तदपि न दशवर्षग्रहणस्य तदसद्भावात्तस्य नान्यार्थत्वं वाच्यं, किमपराद्धं विंशत्या ? यदप्युक्तसागमानागमभोगसंशये पाक्षिकागमसम्भवात् । अपहरणे दोषप्रसक्ते स्त्रिपुरुषिकीभुक्तिः प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्येति तदप्यसम्भवि, पाक्षिकागमस्य वानागमस्यापि सम्भवात, कथं तदपहरणदोषः ? उपेक्षकद्रव्यापहारस्यापि सम्भवात् कथं त्रिपुरुषिकी भुक्तिः प्रमाणीक्रियते ? त्रिपुरुषभुक्तेरपि पाक्षिकागम-सम्भवात् अपहरणे दोष इति परामर्शात् कुतो न तैः प्रमाणीक्रियते? कथञ्च पुरुषेण भुक्तिः प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्या ? यदि सा स्वतो न प्रमाणं, प्रमाणमेवेति चेत् कथं प्रमाणं न तावत् चक्षुरादिवत् सत्तयाप्रमाणान्तरेऽपि तु अनुपपत्तिरिति चेत् तन्न पाक्षिकागम सम्भवाभिधानेन विश्वरूपेणैव वागमस्यापि पाक्षिकस्योक्तत्वात् कुतोऽनुपपत्ति? उभयथाप्युपपत्तेर्मृतेष्विव जीवत्स्वपि त्रिषु त्रैपुरुषिकभोगस्यानुपपत्त्याप्रमाणत्वं स्यात् । तच्च त्रयाणां जीवतामिति वचनविरुद्धं समधिकवर्षशतंयावत्त्रैपुरुषिकीभुक्तिरित्यप्यनागमं, वर्षाणि विंशतिं भुक्तेति षष्टिवर्षभोगस्य तथात्वोक्तेः । मञ्जरीकारस्यापि विश्वरूपसमानलक्ष्यतया समानमेव दूषणं जीमूतकेन तु कारणोत्तरप्रकरणे दर्शितं । अस्पीय साऽपि कालेन भोगोपेक्षानुपपत्त्या अर्थापत्ति-सम्भवेऽपि वचनाद्दशविंशतिवर्षभोग एव नियमेन स्वत्वं ज्ञापयति, यथा कालप्राप्तिवशेन वीजमङ्कुरं जनयति तरुश्च कुसुममिति । यद्वा स्वामिनोऽनन्यथासिद्धोपेक्षाभोक्तुः स्वत्वेप्रमाणमिति न्यायः । दशवर्षाद्युपन्यासस्तु चिरकालोपलक्षणार्थ इति । अथवा न तावत् कालभोगोऽपि स्वत्वापादक इति स्मृत्यर्थः । स्वामिना चापरित्यक्तेऽपि स्वाम्यम्भवति यथा जयेन राज्ञः परराष्ट्रधन इति । भुक्तिप्रकरणे तूक्तं, यच्चिरं जीविपुरुषपरम्परया चिरकालानुवर्त्तीभोगस्त्रिपुरुषागतः स केवल एव प्रमाणं, 'अन्यायेनापि यद्भुक्तं' इत्युपलक्षणमात्रं । न चाप्रमाणत्वाशङ्कया अयमन्यथानुपपद्यमानो भोगो वाधितुं शक्यत इति । पुनर्यद्वेति कृत्वा द्वादशविंशतिवर्षभोग एव निरुपाधिः स्वत्वे प्रमाणं, अर्व्वाचीनस्तु वचनवशान्न प्रमाणं, त्रिपुरुषागतत्वं चिरकालोपभुज्यमानत्वञ्चावधेरुपरिकाल-परिमाण-नियममात्रपरमित्यपि मन्तव्यं । तदसम्बद्धं । दशविंशतिवर्षादर्व्वाचीनस्य भोगस्य सत्यामुपपत्तौ न स्वत्वगमकत्वमित्यनुपपत्तेः, न हि अनुपपत्तेरुपजाताया वचनशतेनापि अनुपपादकत्वं नियन्तुं शक्यते । न ह्यसावुपपादक-ज्ञापनाय कालमपेक्षते, वीजादौ तु काल एव सहकारीति वैषम्यं । यच्च दशविंशत्यादिपदस्योपलक्षणत्वमुक्तं, तदप्यसम्बद्धं, धने दश, भूमौ विंशतिः, त्रैपुरुषीभुक्तिरित्यादिपदानां स्वार्थहान्यापत्तेः । यच्च भोगोऽपि स्वत्वकारणमित्युक्तं, तद्यदि दशविंशतिवार्षिकाभिप्रायं, तदा त्रैपुरुषिकवचनमनर्थकं, ततः प्रागेव स्वत्वस्य जातत्वात् ज्ञातत्वाच्च । त्रैपुरुषाभिप्रायश्चेद्दशविंशत्यादिपदमनर्थकं । किञ्च प्रमाणत्वं करणत्वं वा उपलक्षणत्वं वा इत्युभयथावादी हेय एव ।

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[1] Manu, VIII, 147. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 279. Narada, Rinâdânam, 79.

एष विशोभी जोम्लोकः सर्व्वस्थाने समानियतवादात् ।
यदा स न लभेत शोभां तेन विशोभी जनैर्भणितः ॥
तदिदं बहुविधमुक्तं भुक्तेः प्रामाण्यसिद्धये धीरैः ।
न किमपि नीत्यागतमिति कथमेतस्याः प्रमाणत्वम् ॥

तस्मादाकाशकुसुमसमान एव प्रमाणभावोऽस्याः भुक्तेः, दूरनिरस्तं लिखितादिभ्यो बलीयस्त्वं । सम्प्रति बहुदृश्वानः प्रमाणवारणाः समाधिमभिदधति । मन्वादिवचनबन्धाः शृङ्खन्यायेन दत्तभराः । अयं तत्त्वार्थः । क्रीताहितप्रतिगृहीतादिधनभूमिगतः परस्य दशविंशति-वार्षिको भोगः । क्षमाकारणजड़-पोगण्डत्वाद्यभावेऽप्युपेक्षिततत्त्वानि कुरुते । स्वोपभोगार्थं तेन क्रयात्तस्य च तेनोपेक्षितत्वादिति मुनीनामभिप्रायः । यथा मनुः[1] —

“धर्म्मार्थं येन दत्तं स्यात् कस्मैचिद् याचते धनम् ।
पश्चाच्च न तथा तत् स्यान्नदेयं तस्य तद्भवेत्” ॥

तस्मादनुमन्त्रितं गृहीत्वा यदि तेन धर्म्मकार्य्यं न करोति, तदा दानमेव निवर्त्तते । न तस्य तत् स्वम्भवति । तद्वदेवात्र क्रयणादिनिवृत्तिः । अतएव नारदः[2] ।

“आधिश्च द्विविधः प्रोक्तो जङ्गमः स्थावरस्तथा ।
सिद्धिरस्योभयस्यापि भोगो यद्यस्ति नान्यथा” ॥

तेन यदि पूर्व्वस्वामिना विक्रीयापि तावत् कालं तदुपभुक्तं तदा विक्रेतुरेव तद्धनं । अथवा पश्चाद्विक्रेत्रा भुक्तं तदा पश्चात् क्रेतुरेव, तन्न पूर्व्वक्रेतुः । अतएव—“आधौ प्रतिग्रहे क्रीते पूर्व्वा तु बलवत्तरा” इति वचनान्तरं,[3] तदपवादार्थं पश्यतोऽब्रुवत इति वचनं विरचितवान् । यथोक्तकालीन भोगात्तु पूर्व्वपूर्व्वमाध्यादेर्दुर्व्वलत्वमिति न विरोधः । तदा चाध्यादिकं गृह्णानो न भोगं ग्रहीतुमर्हति । पश्यता ब्रुवता तेन तद्भोगस्योपेक्षितत्वात् । तत्क्षणमेव स्वत्वमपैति दत्तपरद्रव्ये । यद्वा कर्म्माधीनावश्यम्भावि-तावत्कालीनभोगस्यानारम्भ एव स्वत्वनाश हेतुः तावद्भोगनिष्पत्त्या च ज्ञायते इत्यविरोधः, यदि तु भोग्यमपि भूम्यादिकमेकस्मिन् विक्रीय तत्समक्षमेवास्मिनविक्रीणानं पश्यन्नपि पूर्व्वक्रेता न निवारयति तदा तदैव पूर्व्वक्रेतुः स्वामित्वहानिः, न तु तत्रापि यथोक्तकालभोगापेक्षा, तदाह वृहस्पतिः[4] ।

“पश्यन्नन्यस्य ददतः क्षितिं यो न निवारयेत् ।
स्वामी सतापि लेख्येन न पुनस्तां समाप्नुयात्” ॥
ऋक्थिभिर्वापरैर्वापि दत्तं तेनैव तद्भृगुः ।

वचनद्वयेऽपि पश्यत एवाविरोधकमात्रेणैव स्वाम्यनिवृत्तिश्रुतेः । एवमादिप्रतिग्रहादिष्वपि द्रष्टव्यं । सतापि लेख्येनेति लेख्यादिना प्रमाणेनेति पश्यतोऽब्रूवत इति च परोक्षक्रीत-समक्षभोगविषयं वर्णनीयमिति न विरोधः । न चाशङ्कनीयं कथमेकेनाहिते क्रीते प्रतिगृहीते वा अपरस्य तत्सम्भवति ? यतोऽसम्भव आधौ

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[1] O.
[2] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 139.
[3] Yajnavalkya, II, 23.
[4] O.

प्रतिग्रहे क्रीते इत्यस्यानारम्भापत्तेः। न चाब्रूवतः कथं स्वत्वमुपयच्छति इति वाच्यं, वचनवलाददोषात्, यथा स्वामी ऋक्थ-क्रयसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमेष्विति गौतमवचनात् स्वत्वमनुमीयते। तथा अजड़ापोगण्डधनमित्यादेर्गौतमवचनादेव तस्य विनाशोऽपीति न विरोधः। न च वाच्यं आधिसीमापरिक्षेप जड़वालधनैर्विना इत्यनन्तरवचनेनाधेः पर्य्युदासात् कथमाहितस्वत्वनाशस्तत्रापि क्रयप्रतिग्रहयोः पर्य्युदासाद्धानिः वचनस्य तद्विषयत्वसम्भवात्। न चाधिपदं क्रयप्रतिग्रहावुपलक्षयति तथाप्रमाणाभावात्, किन्त्वाधितयादत्ते भूमिस्वामिनः स्वत्वन्नापैति इति तस्यार्थः नत्वधिग्रहीतुरपि, तदाह मनुः।[1]

"आधिश्चोपनिधिश्चोभौ न कालात्ययमर्हतः।
नावहार्य्यौ भवेदाप्तौ दीर्घकालमुपस्थितौ॥"

यथोपनिधिः परस्मिन् विंशतिवर्षाऽपि दीर्घकालमवस्थितः स्थापकस्य न नश्यति तथाधिरपि परस्मिन् स्थापितश्चिरेणाप्याधिदातुर्न नश्यतीत्यर्थः। ग्रहीतुः पुनराधिनाशमाह नारदः।[2]

"प्रत्यर्थिपरिभोगात्तु स्वामिनो हि दशाः समाः।
आध्यादीन्यपि जीर्य्यन्ति स्त्रीनरेन्द्रधनादृते॥"

न ह्येतद्वचनमाधिदातृविषयं, वत्सरशतेनापि तदीय स्वाम्याविनाशात्, "आधिस्तु भुज्यते यावत्तावत्तन्न प्रदीयते" इति वचनात्। स्वामिनो हि प्रत्यक्षं विंशतिवार्षिकभोगमात्रस्य स्वत्वनाशे तावन्न हेतुत्वं, अनुपेक्षितस्यासाधनत्वात्, किन्तूपेक्षामहितस्य। न चाधिदातुरव्याधिक्रयणादिलब्धस्य परभोगोपेक्षया हानिः; वृहस्पतिः तत्रोपनिधिनिक्षेपजड़वालधनैरुपेक्षानिमित्तैः सहचरितमुपेक्षानिमित्तमेवाधिपदमाह, आधिदातुरेव चाधिरुपेक्षानिमित्तं, न ग्रहीतुरित्याधिसीमोपनिधिनिक्षेपेत्यनेन दत्तस्याधेः पर्य्युदासो न गृहीतस्येति न विरोधः। तस्मात् पश्यतोऽब्रुवत इति वचनमाधौ प्रतिगृहीत इत्यस्यापवादकं। आधिग्रहणक्रयणप्रतिग्रहकर्त्तृणामाहितक्रीत-प्रतिगृहीतेषु गवाश्वादिषु योग्येषु दशवर्षाणि परभोगोपेक्षया स्वत्वहानिः। भूमौ तु विंशतिवार्षिकी, तेन वचनात् कारणत्वेनावधारितोपेक्षाकार्य्यभूतां स्वत्वहानिं ज्ञापयति। क्रयणादिरिव स्वत्वस्य कारणं यदेव तस्य ज्ञापकं, तेनोपेक्षकस्य स्वत्वहानौ भूतायां पूर्व्वस्वामिनः स्वत्वमनापादितमिति यथेष्टमन्यस्मिन्नाधिक्रयणादिकं क्रयणादिना परभूतया पूर्व्वेण वाध्यं, स्वामित्वेनैव तस्य कृतत्वादिति भावः। तेन भवति पूर्व्वस्यापवादकं अत इदं परिहृतं, किमिति भूमावूनविंशतिवार्षिको नववार्षिकश्च गवाश्वादौ भोगः प्रमाणं भवतीति। यदि हि दशविंशतिवर्षव्याप्यभोगस्य प्रामाण्यमन्यथाप्युपपद्यमानतयोच्यते तदा स्यादेवैतत्, किन्त्वाधिसिद्धस्वामिभावस्य या उपेक्षा तस्याहानिकरत्वं ज्ञाप्यते स्वामी ऋक्थक्रयसंविभागादिवचनेन। तस्मादस्मार्त्तैरियमुक्ता भुक्तेः प्रमाणता भ्रान्तेः। दशविंशतिवर्षीया हेया सा तु प्रमाणज्ञैः। त्रैपुरुषिकी हि भुक्तिः पूर्व्वोदितलक्षणोपेता। स्ववचनमात्राधीनस्वत्वफलत्वात् प्रमाणं सा। भूस्वामिना खलु अव्याहता त्रैपुरुषिकीभुक्तिर्निष्पाद्यैव भोक्तुः स्वत्वं भूम्यादौ जनयति। तदाह कात्यायनः।[3]

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[1] Manu, VIII, 145—reads "अवहार्य्यौ भवेतां तौ दीर्घकालमवस्थितौ" for the second half. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 279.

[2] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 82. Reads द्वि-दशाः समाः for हि दशाः समा।

[3] O.

“यथाक्षीरं जनयति दधिकालाद्रसान्वितं ।
दानहेतु स्तथाकालात् भोगस्त्रिपुरुषागतः ॥”

स्वद्रव्यसाध्यत्वाद्दानस्य स्वत्वमुत्पादयन् भोगो दानस्य हेतुर्भवति दानं वा हेतुः स्वत्वस्यैवेति दानहेतुः, अतएव नियतकालान्तरभाविना स्वत्वेन व्याप्ता त्रैपुरुषीभुक्तिः स्वत्वे प्रतिग्रहादिवद्भवति प्रमाणं; एवं लक्षणादिभुक्तिरेकेन विंशतिवर्षाणि अधिकानि वा भुक्त्वा न तु न्यूनानि, तस्मिंश्च मृते तत्पुत्रेणापि तावत्कालमेव भुक्त्वा तस्मिन्नपि मृते तत्पुत्रेणापि तथैव भुक्ता भूस्वामिना च वक्ष्यमाणदाक्षिण्यस्नेहादिक्षमाकारणाभावे त्रैपुरुषिकभोगस्योपेक्षैव कृता, सेदानीं भोगेऽपि भूम्यादौ पूर्व्वस्वामिस्वत्वनाशकरी, भोक्तुश्च स्वत्वनिमित्तं भवतीत्यदूरान्तरितं । भोगस्यैवकारणत्वमुच्यते सर्व्वथा तावद्भोगे कृते पूर्व्वस्वत्वनाशः परस्वतोत्पादश्च जात इति सिद्धं, अतएव यदि नामात्ययं भुक्तं पूर्व्वतरैस्त्रिभिरिति व्यासस्य ।

“अन्यायेनापि यद्भुक्तं पित्रा पूर्व्वतरैस्त्रिभिरिति”

नारदस्य[1] वचनान्तरेणान्यायेन भुक्तमिति ज्ञापितत्वादेव तदाहरणप्रसक्तेर्न तच्छक्यमपाकर्त्तुमिति निषेधयति । सन्दिग्धागमविषयत्वे पुनरनयोर्भोक्तुरपि स्वामित्वाभावसम्भवात् आहरणाप्रसक्तेः निषेधो न स्यात्, अतएव अजड़पौगण्डधनमित्यत्रापि स्वामिनाव्याहतासतीति स्वामिभावस्यैव उपेक्षकत्वनिर्द्देशः । अतएवान्यायेनापीत्यपि शब्दात् न्यायात्तावदुपभोगेऽपि अनाहरणीयत्वमेव कुतः इत्यपेक्षायां क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषागतमिति हेतुनिर्द्देशात् तदधीनं भोक्तुः स्वामित्वं जातमतो नापहर्त्तव्यमित्युक्तं । तथा नारदः ।[2]

“स्त्रीधनञ्च नरेन्द्राणां न कथञ्चन जीर्य्यति ।
अनागमं भुज्यमानं वत्सराणां शतैरपि ॥”

स्त्रीधनञ्च स्त्रीधनं वत्सराणां शतैरिति त्रैपुरुषिकभोगार्थं आगमाभावोऽनागमः न तु तत्सन्देहः, तदात्वनागमत्रैपुरुषिकभोगस्य स्त्र्यादिस्वत्वविशेषप्रमाणतानिषेधो भूम्यादावागमाभावेऽपि प्रामाण्यं दर्शयति । सन्देहे त्रैपुरुषिकभोगानुपपत्त्या पूर्व्वागमे कल्पनस्य विस्तरेण पूर्व्वं दूषितत्वात् भोगस्यैवागमकत्वं वाच्यं तदाचान्यदीयतया ज्ञात एव द्रव्ये यथा क्रयादिना स्वत्वं जायते न तु सन्दिग्धे तथात्रापीति यत्नत्यागेन । तदेवंविधभोगः स्वत्वस्य कारणं नान्य इति लोकागतमेकस्य स्वत्वनिमित्तत्वं क्रयादेरिवमुनिभिः स्मृतं, कारणीभूतस्यैव त्रैपुरुषिकभोगस्य स्वकार्य्यस्वत्वगमकत्वमुक्तं । दशविंशतिवार्षिकभोगापेक्षा क्रयणाद्युत्पन्नस्वत्वहानिकरी न तु भोगः । पदानर्थक्यात् । अतएव बृहस्पतिः ।[3]

“अनुमानाद्वरः साक्षी साक्षिभ्यो लिखितं गुरु ।
अव्याहतात्रिपुरुषीभुक्तिरेभ्यो गरीयसी ॥”

इति ब्रुवाणः सैव प्रमाणं नान्य इति व्यनक्ति । अव्याहतेति परोक्षविषयस्यापि व्युदस्यति, पुनराह ।

[4]“अनुमानं वसत्यत्र साक्षी चामरणाद्भवेत् ।
अव्याहतं लेखभोगं प्रमाणन्तु त्रिपौरुषम् ॥”

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[1] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 91.   [2] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 83.   [3] O.   [4] O.

एतदपि त्रिपुरुषभोगमव्याहतमेव प्रमाणमाह समाहारोपात्तयोर्लब्धभोगयोरव्याहतमित्यन्वयात् । यत्र हेत्वन्तरादेव सन्निहितस्याप्युपेक्षा सम्भवति, न तत्र पुरुषभुक्तिः प्रमाणमित्याह बृहस्पतिरेव ।[1]

“भुक्तिस्त्रिपुरुषिकी सिध्येत्परोक्षान्नात्र संशयः ।
अनिवृत्ते सपिण्डत्वे सकुल्यानां न सिध्यति ॥
विभाज्य श्रोत्रियैर्भुक्तं राजामात्यैस्तथैव च ।
सुदीर्घेणापि कालेन तेषां सिध्येन्न तद्धनम् ॥
असक्तालस-रोगार्त्त-बालभीतप्रवासिनाम् ।
शासनारूढमन्येन भुक्तं भुक्त्या न हीयते ॥”

तथा कात्यायनः ।[2]

“सनाभैर्बान्धवैर्वापि भुक्तं यत् स्वजनैस्तथा ।
भोगात्तत्र न सिद्धिः स्याद्भोगमन्येषु कल्पयेत् ॥
न भोगं कल्पयेत् स्त्रीषु देवराजधनेषु च ।
बालश्रोत्रियवृद्धे च प्राप्तेऽपि पितृतः क्रमात् ॥”

तथा मनुनारदौ ।[3]

“दायसीमादायधनं निक्षेपोपनिधिस्त्रियः ।
राजस्वं श्रोत्रियस्वञ्च न भोगेन प्रणश्यति ॥”

प्रपितामह-पितामह-पितृपर्य्यन्तं क्रमात् प्राप्तेऽपि न प्रामाण्यं भोगस्येत्याह । एतैर्वचनैर्यत्नमहोपेक्षाहेतुस्त्रिपुरुषभोक्तृणां क्वचित् सपिण्डत्वस्वजन्यादिकं क्वचिद्वा भूस्वामिन एवाशक्त्यालस्य-रोगबालभीतप्रवासित्वादिकं तत्र तत्र भुक्तेः प्रामाण्यं निराकुर्व्वन्तः सर्व्वत्र सन्निहितानामेव स्वामिनामुपदर्शितभोगोपेक्षाकारणाभावे तदुपेक्षां भोगप्रामाण्ये कारणमाहुः । ‘असमक्षभोगविषयत्वे तु त्रैपुरुषिकभोगवचनानां । असक्तालसरोगार्त्तादिव्यावर्त्तनमदृष्टार्थं स्यात् ॥ तस्मात्त्रिपुरुषभुक्तिः शक्तेर्दृष्टाप्युपेक्षिता कुरुते । स्वामिनमेवमस्वामिनमस्वामिन एव तु स्वाम्यं ॥ यद्वा त्रैपुरुषिकफलभोगोपेक्षैव कारणाभावे । जनयति भोगोभोक्तुः स्वाम्यं विनिहन्तिपूर्व्वस्य ॥

ननु भवतु यथोक्तलक्षणस्य त्रैपुरुषिकभोगस्य क्रयणादिवत् कारणतया स्वत्वे प्रमाणं तदर्व्वाचीनस्य तूपेक्षाकारणाभावेऽप्युपेक्षितस्य जीवतामेव त्रयाणां षष्टिवर्षभोगस्यान्यथानुपपद्यमानस्य कुतो न स्वत्वगमकत्वं ? न हि सप्ताष्टवर्षभोगोऽप्यन्यथोपपद्यते किमुत चिरन्तनो गमयत्येवेति चेन्न, त्रैपुरुषिकवचनानामानर्थक्यात्, अथास्य कारणाभावेनान्यस्य पुनरुपपत्त्याप्रमाणतेति चेन्न, तथापि प्रमाणाभावविशेषात् । उच्यते । स्वामिनाव्याहता सतीति स्वामित्वाभावस्यैव त्रैपुरुषिकभोगात् स्वामित्वं नश्यति, भोक्तृणामेव तत्सम्भवतीति, त्रैपुरु-

---

[1] O. [2] O.

[3] Manu, VIII, 149. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 279, reads आधिःसीमा बालधनं for the underlined words. Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 81, follows Manu.

षिकवचनस्यार्थः। तेनागमान्तराभावे सिद्धस्यैव वागमत्वं प्रमाणत्वञ्च। अतएवान्यायेनापि यद्भुक्तमिति यद्विनागममित्यादिवचनानि इममर्थं स्पष्टयन्ति। सन्दिग्धागमविषयस्त्वर्व्वाचीनो जीवतां त्रयाणां षष्टिवर्ष-भोगोऽनुपपत्त्याप्रमाणमेव। न चेदमशास्त्रीयं। तथाह याज्ञवल्क्यः[1]।

"आगमस्तु कृतो येन सोऽभियुक्तस्तदुद्धरेत्।
न तत्सुतस्तत्सुतो वा भुक्तिरत्र गरियसी" ॥

पुत्रपौत्रयोरपि भुक्तिः प्रमाणं दर्शयति, स एवाह[2]

योऽभियुक्तः परेतःस्यात्तस्य ऋक्थी तमुद्धरेत्।
न तत्र कारणं भुक्तिरागमेन विनाकृता ॥

एवं विषये भुक्तेरागमेन विना प्रामाण्य-निषेधात् अन्यत्र तदनुजानाति नारदोऽपि[3]।

"तथारूढ़विवादस्य प्रेतस्य व्यवहारिणः।
पुत्रेण सोऽर्थः संशोध्यो न तं भोगान्निवर्त्तयेत् ॥"

अयमपि निषेधेनान्यत्र निवर्त्तकत्वमनुजानीते। यत्तु मध्ये भुक्तिस्तु सागमेति तदप्यनन्तरोक्तविषयमेव। यद्वा साक्षिपत्रादिसम्भवयोग्यकालविषयमेतत् ततस्तत्-सुतोवेति तत्कालातिक्रमविषयं, एवञ्च आगमस्तुकृतोयेनेत्यादिवचनान्यपि आगमशोधनोचितकाले बोद्धव्यानि, तदतिक्रमे चत्वारिंशत्-पञ्चाशद्वर्षभोगस्यान्यथानुपपद्यमानस्य स्वत्वहेतुगमकत्वं न वारयितुं शक्यते। न्यायमूलानि व्यवहारवचनानि तदनुरोधेनैव वर्णनीयानि।

इति सकलमुनीनां भुक्तिवाक्यं विमृश्य।
स्वरसत इह सोऽर्थो गम्यते न्यायतश्च ॥
स पुनरुपनिबन्धो (?) गृह्यतां बुद्धिमद्भिः।
भवति यदि न जाड्यं श्रद्धया प्राक्कृतेषु।
मया प्राचां निबन्धृणां इयं वापि पुरस्कृता।
दूषणं विश्वरूपादेर्निराकृत्य प्रपञ्चितम्[4]।

*अथ विशेषविधौ साक्षी मिथ्याकथने सत्यवादी भवेत् यथा,—

"राजदण्डे ब्राह्मणार्थे प्राणिनां वधहेतवे।
विवाहे च भिषक्पाने मिथ्याया सत्यवाग्भवेत् ॥[5]"

तदेवंस्थिते भाषाया उत्तरानर्हत्वादुत्तरस्य वा आभासत्वात् द्वयोरपि च सद्रुपत्वे क्रियाया भुक्ति-लिखित-साक्षिरूपाया अनुमानेन वा सर्व्वेषामभावे दिव्येन वा निरूपकपक्षमवधार्य्य जयिने जयपत्रं दद्यात्। तस्य च लक्षणमाह बृहस्पतिः[6]

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[1] Yajnavalkya, II, 28, reads तमुद्धरेत् for तदुद्धरेत्। [2] Yajnavalkya, II, 29.

[3] Narada, Rinâdânaṃ, 93, reads "न तं भोगपदं नयेत्" for the underlined words.

[4] Unknown. [5] Unknown. [6] O. * Seems out of place here.

"यद्वृत्तं व्यवहारेषु पूर्व्वपक्षोत्तरादिकं ।
क्रियावधारणोपेतं जयपत्रेऽर्थिनं लिखेत् ॥
पूर्व्वोत्तरक्रियायुक्तं निर्णयान्तं तदा नृपः ।
प्रदद्याज्जयिने लेख्यं जयपत्रं तदुच्यते ॥"

तथा कात्यायनः[1] ।

"अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिवाक्यानि प्रतिज्ञावचनन्तथा ।
निर्णयश्च यथा तस्य तथा चावधृतं स्वयम् ॥
तत्तद्यथाक्षरं लेख्यं यथा पूर्व्वं निवेशयेत् ।
सभासदश्च ये तत्र स्मृतिशास्त्रविदः स्मृताः ॥"

प्रतिज्ञापदेन च प्रतिपाद्यतया स्थिरीकृतमुच्यते यथा तस्येति साक्षिवचनस्य द्वैधे सति षड्गुणवत्त्वादिनाग्रहणान्निर्णयोमतः । शेषं सुव्यक्तं । अत्र भाषोत्तरयोर्लिखनं पुनर्न्यायेन वादिनोरन्यथाप्रत्यवस्थान-निराकरणार्थं तथावधानस्य सम्यक्प्रदर्शनार्थं सर्व्वं, तेन निरूपका अपि निरपवादा भवन्तीति सर्व्वमनवद्यम् ।

मुनिगणवचननयनरत्नमणिमालैषा सुवचनगुणसंग्रथिता ।
विद्वत्कण्ठे प्रियाप्रिया शुशुभे ॥
पारिभद्रकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमान् जीमूतवाहनः ।
विदुषां परितोषाय निर्म्ममे न्यायमातृकाम् ॥
व्यवहारगणकथनं विना न तदादर-निवृत्तिः ।
भवति च नाचादरः इति तद्विस्तारो न दोषकरः ॥ ० ॥

इति पारिभद्रमहामहोपाध्याय श्रीजीमूतवाहनकृता
व्यवहारमातृका समाप्ता ॥

---

[1] O.

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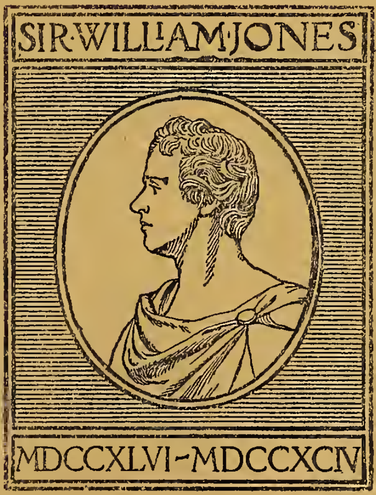
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PREFACE.

Pushtu literature in general is rendered so invariably in the Peshawuri (Yusufzai) dialect,—the language in its purest form,—that it presents to the reader neither the peculiarities which characterize the speech of other divisions of the Pushtu-speaking family, nor even those other peculiarities which enter into the everyday conversation of the Yusufzai villager.

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In the Pushtu script, endeavour has been made to reproduce as faithfully as possible the pronunciation of the tellers; and in the translation, to follow as closely as possible the mood and literal meaning of the original.

F. H. MALYON,

BANNU: *21st Punjabis.*

5th March, 1911.

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SOME CURRENT PUSHTU FOLK STORIES.

I. STORY OF THE TIRAH FAQIR.

داسي خبر کَوِي چه يو ټګ تيرا خاص په آپردو ته په پقيري جامي کښ لاړ وُه - او په هغه ځائي کښ يو جماعت کښ ناست وُه - اول خلقو هغه دَ پاره ټکاله را وړه - مګر هغه سرِي ويلهُ چه زهٔ بزرګ يم او ما ته دا ټکالي اِخي [1] ضرور نشته - بيا هغو خلقو روپي را وړې - چه پقير بادشاهَ دغه څيز قبول کَي نو ډيره مهروباني[2] به وِي - هغه ويلهُ چه زهٔ مِ نه کيږي چه روپي و آخلم - ټولو خلقو ويلهُ چه دا ډير ستر بزرګ دي نو مناسب دَي چه دغه پقير مونږ ته يوه معجزه[3] وُښائي او فلاني غر نه چينه وُباسي - دغه خبره هغو خوښه کَه[4] او پقير ته ئي ويلهُ چه مونږ ته تهٔ اخپله بزرګي وُښايه - له فلاني غر نه چينه وُباسه هغه پقير ويلهُ چه ډيره ښه خبره کُوو[5] - مګر تاسو ټول خلق جمع ورځي حاضر شو - او هغه ځائي ما ته وُښايو چه کوم ځائي کښ چينه غواړو - ټولو خلقو دغه خبره خوښه کَړَه او چيني ځائي ئي وُښيل * * * نو چه کومه ورځ مقرره کړي وَه هغه ځائي ته ټول خلق جمع شول - او پقير ته اول معلوم وُه چه په دَي ځائي کښ دا چينه غواړِي او په آغه[6] ځائي کښ يو مشق اوبو نه ډک په زمکي کښ ئي خښ کړي وُه - هغه چه راغيَ ټولو خلقو ته آواز وُ کَړُه چه اي خلقَ ! په دي ځائي کښ به زهٔ چينه وُباسم - خو چه په سترګو سره اوبه وُکسو[7] نو يو دم درومو[8] له دَي ځائي نه او پنځو ورځو پس بيا

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[1] Equivalent to يښځه

[2] مهرباني

[3] A miracle.

[4] In the Orakzai and Afridi dialects, the past tense of کړل is commonly used in a contracted form, the medial ړ disappearing.

[5] In the Orakzai and Afridi dialects, the 2nd pers. plural of the verb terminates in و , and not in ئي as among the Yusufzai.

[6] آغه = Yusufzai هغه

[7] A peculiarity of the Orakzai dialect, the present tense of کتل being formed from the root کس and not from وين.

[8] In Orakzai, and also Afridi dialects, the present tense of the verb تلل is frequently formed from the root دروم in preference to the roots لاړ or ځ.

را شو - ډيري اوبه به وِي پهٔ دَيي غر - او پقير نيزيي سره په مشق ګذار وُکهٔ - مشق نه اوبه رواني شوَيي - ټولو خلقو دغه يقين وُکهٔ چه پقير چينه وُباسته - هر سړيي پقير وته بخشيش ورکه او چه شپه شوَه نو پقير آخپل خوني [1] ته راغي او بيا له هغه ځائي په سپر [2] روان شهٔ * * * * * چه هغه [3] وطن خلق پنځي ورځي پس وُراغلل [4] نو په هغه ځائي چه اوبه تِر وتلي وَي يو تش مشق پروت وُه *

II. THE STORY OF THE GAY WIFE, HER STEP-SON, AND A LABOURER.

داسي خبر کَوي چه يو سړيَ وُه چه هغه سړِيي [5] يو ځوئي وُه - ښځه ئي په کور کښ نه وَه او لږيي روپيي جمع کَيي زن دَ پاره - بيا واده ئي وُکړه ليکن هغه ښځه خرافه [6] وَه - يوي ورځي دا سړيي ورچني [7] لاړ دَيي چه ښځه وته [8] ئي څلور ياران راغلي دِيي او آخپلو کښ ئي دا خبره وُکه چه صبا به موږ پلاني [9] پټيي کښ يوي کو - تهٔ بيا راشه - ښځي وُوِ چه داسِي کار وُکو چه پلاني بټياري نه ورتيي داني و آخلو او هغه داني په لياريي [10] کښ وُکرو نو زه به سم هغه پټيي وته درشم وليي چه هغه داني بد زه زمکيي باندِ وُکسم .... دا خبره دَ سړِيي ځوي و آوريده - چه صبائي شهٔ نو دا ورځي پړتُه [11] او کومي داني تالي وَيي هغه داني دِيي وړِيي ګرديَ کيَ آخپل پټيي طرف ئي تالي کيَ - نو ديي ښځي صبائيي چه شه ټکاله پخلي [12] وَه هغه ټکاله ئي روانه که زمکيي باندِ به ئي داني کتيَ [13] - په هغي لياريي تله آخپل ميړه [14] باندِ وُراغلهَ [15] - ميړه ئي وُوِ چه تهُ څه ته راغليَ - ښځي وُوِ چه تا پاره مِ ټکاله را وړيي دَه - سړِيي وُو چه ډيره ښه دَيي [16] خو بيا مه را وړه - چه هغه ځائي نه ستنه [17] شوَه نو منځ کښ يو

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[1] A corruption of the Persian, خانه

[2] پ ف and ب in Pushtu are frequently interchanged. سفر - خراب.

[3] دَ before a substantive in the possessive case is usually omitted among Orakzais and Afridis.

[4] The use of و with the past tense of راتلل, although of course entirely irregular, is not uncommon among members of the above two tribes.

[5] See Note 3, page 356.

[6] See Note 2, page 356.

[7] An adverb peculiar to the Afridi and Orakzai dialects.

[8] وته = to, an Orakzai form of the postposition.

[9] See Note 2, page 356.

[10] A common corruption of لار = road.

[11] Peculiarly Orakzai. An Afridi would say اُڅت شه.

[12] پخلي = پخولي.

[13] = کتلي: commonly abbreviated as above.

[14] ميړه, husband · used more commonly among Orakzais than خاوند or څاښتن.

[15] See page 356, Note 4 (above).

[16] The Orakzai and Afridi dialects frequently confuse genders, especially in the use of دي and دَه, وُه and وَه.

[17] = پستانه. See page 365, Note 12. An Orakzai will generally use the word in its above shortened form.

زيارت وُه - هغي ښځي وُوِ چه اي زيارتَ ! زه يو سوال کوم - که تُه ما [1] سوال قبولوي * هغه وړکي
په يو قبر کښ پټ شوي وه او آواز ئي وُ کُه چه تا سوال قبول دَيي - څه سوال کَويَ ؟ ښځي
وُوِ چه ما په کور کښ يو وړکَي ديَ چه هغه وړکي ما بانډِ نِن ډيره ټکي کړي دَه نو زه غواړم
چه هغه اُوس ړوند شِي * دي وړکي قبر نه ښځي وته وُوِ - چه تاسو خوني کښ پلاني غوا دَيي -
هغه غوا حلاله کُو - نو غوښه چه هغه وړکي وُخوړي نو هغه به ړوند شِي * دا ښځه ډيره خوشحالَ
شوَه او کوم وقت ميړي کور تَه را غلَه نو دي ښځي وُوِ چه مونږ يو څوي دي او دا هُم ناجوړ دَيَ نو
مناسب دَيَ چه هغه غوا حلاله کُو - دِي سړِي وُوِ چه بله غوا به وآخلو - مگر دِي ښځي دا خبره نه منله
او سړِي وُوِ چه ډيره ښه دَيَ - هغه غوا ئي حلاله کَه غوښه ئي دي وړکي بانډِ وُ خوړوله - چه غوښه
خلاصه شوه ښځي وړکي نه پښتنه وُکَه چه څنګه ئي ؟ هغه وُوِ - زه خو ډير ټکړه يم مگر سترګو نظر مِ بالکل
کم شُه - اِچ [2] نه کسم - ښځه ډيره خوشحالَ شوَه او آخپلو يارانو وته څواب وُليږه چه تاسو را شوُ. ما څوي
ړوند شوي دَيَ - اِچ نه کسي - څلور ياران دي ښځي جمع کړل - ديګ ئي بانډِ کُه - څوي وته ئي
وُوِ چه په دي ديګ لانډِ اور بلوه - زه ورچنيَ څم * په غوجلي کښ يوه کنده وَه چه په هغي کښ
ښځي ياران کښينولي وُو - چه کوم وخت دا ښځه ورچنيَ وُ وتلَه نو دي وړکي اوبه ښې ګرم کَړِي - کومي
کُنډي کښ چه ياران ناستَ وُو نو دي وړکي ټولي اوبه هغو بانډِ ورولي - هر څلور کسَ سړِي مړهٔ شو -
چه ښځه را غلَه نو آخپل ياران ئي مړهٔ وُليدو[3] - دي وړکي وته هغي ژړا وُکَه چه پلار وته دا حال مه
وايه - وړکي وُوِ ډيره ښه دي - اِچړي[4] به حال وُ نه وايم - بازار تَه وړکي لاړ شُه - يو څنګلي مزدور ئي را
وست - هغه وته ئي وُوِ چه مونږ په کور کښ يو سړِيَ مړ دي - هغه درياب کښ وُ غورزوه - يوه روپي به
در کوم - هغه سړِي دا خبره خوښه کَه او چه بيګي[5] شُه نو وړکي ته ئي وُوِ چه هغه مړ سړِيَ را وُ باسه
وړکي وُوِ چه ډيره ښه دَي مگر تُه خيال وُ کړ چه دا مرده بيا را نه شِي * هغه مزدور مړ سړِي په
درياب کښ و آچوه - چه مزدور واپس وړکي څخه راغي چه ما تَه روپي راکړ - وړکي وُوِ چه هغه بيا
راغلي دَيَ - راشَه چه دا سړِيَ درياب په منځ[6] کښ و آچوه - مزدور بل سړِيَ هُم سيند کښ وُ غورزاوه

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[1] In possessive pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons, the Orakzai and Afridi dialects as a rule drop the initial خ and س, or, occasionally, substitute دَ. e.g. خما = ما, or دَ ما ستاسو = تاسو or دَ تاسو.

[2] اِچ, A corruption of هيڅ.

[3] = وليدل: the addition of final و to the 3rd pers. plur. masc. past is very common colloquially.

[4] اِچري = هيڅري

[5] See page 358, Note 6.

[6] منځ = مينځ

چه بیرته راغي وړکي غږ وُکهُ چه اي مزدورَ - تهُ څه چل کوَيَ چه دا مړ سړيَ بیا را گرزیدلي دیَ ؟ دِي مزدور دریم ځل هُم دریاب کښې وآچول چه واپس راغي وړکي وُوِ چه ته توقي کوَيَ هغه مړ سړي تا نه منځ کښې را غلي دیَ - مزدور ډیر په قهر شُه- قَسَم ئي وُكهُ چه دا سړي زه بیا پري نږدم[1] - سړيَ ئي په دریاب کښې و آچول - چه دا سړيَ بیا را نه شِي - په دي وخت یو هندو را غلي دي لانبو وهلو دَ پاره آخپل رام رام گورو گورو وائي - مزدور دا خیال وُه چه هغه مړده دریاب نه را وتلي دي - هندو ئي تِنگ کُه دریاب په منځ کښې و آچول * مزدور روان شُه وړکي خوني پله[2] - چه نژدي شُه یو مُلا وه چه نمنزه[3] د پاره خوني نه وتلي دَي - دي مزدور هغه باندِ خیال شُه - په زِړه کښې ئي وُوِ چه اي مړده ! خدايِ دِ و آخله[4] - تهُ ما نه منځ کښې بیا راغلیَ ! هندو په جامي کیږيَ کله مُلا په جامي ! هغه مُلا ئي هُم تِنگ کُه دریاب ته ئي و آچول - مُلا لاس و آچول - مزدور ئي پښي نه تِنگ که - هر دوه دریاب کښې غرق شُوو - ښځه او وړکي بیغمه شُوو *

III. THE STORY OF HAZRAT KHIZR, THE WOMAN, AND THE TWO HEADS.

یو سړي وُه - یوه ئي ښځه وَه - یو بل سړيَ هُم ملگړي ئي وُه - دري واړه په یوي لیاري باندِ تلو- ناگهانه چه په دي ځائي غله را غلو[5] او هر دوه سړي ئي مړه کو- غلونه چه مال ئي و آخسته لاړ شو- ښځه په آخپلو سرو پوري پاتي شوَه - چه بیگي[6] شُه نو هغه ځائي باندِ حضرت خضر راغي - ښځي تَه ئي وُوِ چه دغو سړو سرونه نژدي کړ چه زَه دعا وُکم چه خدايَ دي سړِي جوړ کِي - ښځه زر پورته شوَه - آ دغه سرونه ئي نژدي کُو - او چه حضرت خضر دعا وُکه نو دَ رب په حکم سره دغه دوه سړي جوړ شُو- مگر هغه سرونه غلط شوي وُو - کوم چه ښځي دَ میړه سر وُه هغه بل سړِي سر سره بدل وُه - یو مړي ویلهُ[7] چه دغه ښځه ما دَه - بل سړِي وُوِ چه تهُ دروغ وائيَ - دغه ما ښځه دَه * دغه ښځه چا رسیږي ؟ تهُ انصاف وُکړ *

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[1] پري نږدم = پرېږدم نه—a peculiar colloquialism. This division of the syllables of certain verbs, and the insertion between them of نه, or of the emphatic دِ (with aorist), or in certain cases of pronouns in the oblique case, is especially in vogue in the Yusufzai dialect.

[2] = طرف : a common word in colloquial Pushtu.

[3] نموز - نوز - نمنزه - all common corruptions corresponding to the نمونځ , prayer, of the Yusufzai dialect.

[4] A very general Pathan expression. In spite of its literal meaning being precisely opposite, the occasions on which it is used render its nearest English equivalent the 'Devil fly away with you' of the translation.

[5] راغلو , used colloquially for راغلل . [Page 357, Note 3].

[6] Among Orakzais, bīgī, dusk, is commonly used instead of mâkhâm.

[7] Orakzais and Afridis commonly make the 3rd pers. past of ویل in ویلهُ in preference to وُوِ or وُویل.

IV. THE STORY OF THE THREE BROTHERS, AND THE RUBY.

داسي خبره خلق کوي چه يو سړي وُه چه هغه سړي دري ځامن وُو - او دي سړي په آخپلو کوټي کښې دري ديګونه د روپو خښ کړي وُو - په هر ديګ سر بانډِ ئي يو لعل ايښي وُه - چه کوم وخت دا سړي مړ شُه نو کشر ورور ته دا ديګونه معلوم وُو چه دري دِي - هر يو ديګ بانډِ يو يو لعل دَي - يو لعل ئي پټ کُه - او کوم وخت چه دغه ميراث ويشوله نو يو ديګ بانډِ لعل نه وُه - مشر ورور وُِ چه معلوميږي چه دغه لعل په ورونړو کښې چا پټ کړي دي - مګر داسي را ته معلوم نه دي چه منځني پټ کړي وِي يا کشري پټ کړي وِي - منځني وُِ چه ما هُم داسي خيال دي چه په مونږ آخپلو ورونړو کښې غل شته ولي چه په دي ديګو نه نور اِچوک[1] معلوم نه وُه - کشر ورور هم په دي شان خبره وُکه - ډير کوششت[2] وُکه - مګر دغه خبره نه لنډيدَه - نه په نژدو کليو[3] کښې چا لنډولي شوَه - څو يو بادشاه وُه چه هغه دوي[4] لونړه وي - خلقو ويله ورونړو وته چه هغي[5] ډيري اُوښياري دِي - که تاسو ورشو نو تاسو خبره به خلاصه کِي * دغه هر دري کَس روان شوُ - څه قدر مزل ئي وُکه چه يوه وُنه دَه چه ډيره ښه سيوره[6] دَي - هغي وني د لانډِ کښيناستو - مشر ورور وُِ چه په دي وني لانډِ ښځه ناسته شوي دی - بل ورور وُِ چه دغه ښځه اُميدواره هُم دَي - دريم وُِ چه دغه ښځه مړه وره هم دی * داسي هغو په عقل سره آخپلي خبرى وُکي او چه دغه ځائي نه روان شو نو په لياري کښې يو ورور خبره وُکه چه په دي لياري بانډِ اُوښ تير شوي دَي په يوی سترګي ړوند دَي - دريم وُِ چه يو غاښ دَ دِي اُوښ هُم نشته - او هغه کشري وُِ چه په دِي اُوښ بانډِ يو طرف غوړي دِي په بل طرف بيګنه دَي * په دي ځائي نه ورونړه دري واړه تير شُو - چه ورسته[7] طرف نه يو غږ وُ شُه چه اَودر يږو ! دري ورونړه اُودريدو - يو سړيَ راغي پښتنه وُکه چه اي جوانو - تاسو په دي ځائي کښې ښځه نه دَيَ ليدلي ؟ مشري ورور وُِ چه اُميدواره نه وَه ؟ ښځي ميړه وُِ چه وَه - دويم ورور وُِ چه مره وره نه وَه ؟ - ښځي چاختن[8] وُِ چه مره وره وَه - بيا هغو هر درو ورونړو وُِ چه

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[1] اِچوك = هيڅ څوك : a common corruption.

[2] = کوشش.

[3] An alternative form of the oblique plural.

[4] Alternative form of دوه : peculiar to Afridis and Orakzais.

[5] هغي contracted from هغوئي.

[6] = Shade: a word in use chiefly among Orakzais.

[7] = ورستو.

[8] چاختن = څاختن, in Yusuf.

درومه آخپلي ښځي تپوخ [1] کَوَه - مونږ دَ تا ښځه نه دیَ لیدلي ښځي خاوند وُوِ چه دا ځنګه خبره دیَ - چه تاسو ښکي ما وته تیټ وُښیلي - او اُوس بیا وایو چه مونږ معلوم نه یُو - ما سره تاسو شرع وُکو یا آخپله ښځه را کو - دغو ورونړو وُوِ چه راځه مونږ شرع پاره روان یُو - دا سړيَ هُم په دو سړیو سره روان شُه - لږ مزل ئي وُکه چه ورسته طرف نه بل غږ وُشه چه اي جوانو تاسو اُودرېږو! چه دغه سړي اُودریدو نو یو بل تن راغي پښتنه تِر وَکه چه اي سړیو په دي ځائي کښ تاسو اُوښ نه وُه لیدلي ؟ هغو وُوِ چه په یوي سترګي ړوند نه وُه ؟ اوښ خاوند ځواب وُکه چه وُه - دویم وړور وُوِ چه یو غاښ ئي مات نه وُه ؟ اُوښ خاوند وُوِ چه وُ ئي وُه [2] - دریم وړور وُوِ چه یوه طرف بیګنه او بل طرف غوړي نه وُه ؟ اُوښ خاوند وُوِ چه وُه - بیا دغو دریو ورونړو وُوِ چه آخپل اُوښ تپوخ کوه مونږ دَ تا اوښ نه یُو معلوم - اُوښ خاند [3] غږ وُکه چه تاسو دَ ما غله یُو - یا آخپل اوښ راکُو یا ما سره شرع وُکو - دغو سړیو وُوِ چه راځه مونږ شرع ته روان یُو ❊ کوم وخت چه هغه بادشاه ځخه دا ټول سړي وُرسیدل نو آخپل حال ئي بیان کُه - بادشاه وُوِ چه اول حال دَ ښځي وایو چه تاسو دغه ښځه ځنګه پیژندي وَه - اول وړور وُوِ چه اکثر دَ ښځي ناستي پلان [4] وِي - نو ما په دي سبب سره وُ پیژندُه [5] چه دا ښځه دیَ - دویم وړور وُوِ چه دا په کوم وخت پورته کیدهَ نو دي زمکي بانډ لاس لګولی وُه - نو ما وُ پیژندُه چه دغه ښځه اُمیدواره دیَ - دریم وُوِ چه دا ښځه چه زمکي نه پورته کیدَه نو اول تلي ئي واپس رستون [6] شوي وُه - نو زه په عقل سره پوهه شوم چه دا ښځه مره وره دي - بادشاه وُوِ چه اي ښځي خاندَ! دا سړي ډیر اُوښیار دِي - په عقل سره ئي پیژندلي دیَ - ته درومه - آخپلي ښځي تپوخ وُکړ - او هغه ښځي خاوند روان شُه ❊ بادشاه بیا وُوِ چه اُوس دَ اُوښ حال وایو - هغه تاسو په کوم دستور سره پیژندلي وُه - اول وُوِ چه اُوښ پل په لیاري باند تیر وُه نو ما وُوِ چه دا اُوښ دیَ - او لیاري یوه طرف واښه خوړلي شَوي وُو بل طرف ولیاړ [7] وُو نو زه پوهه شوم چه دغه اُوښ په یوي سترګي کښ ړوند دیَ - دویم وړور وُوِ چه زه په دي خبري پوهه شِوَي وم چه دي اُوښ واښو کښ یو ځائي بل ځائي یو تار پریښلي [8] وُه نو زه پوهه

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[1] The above conventional spelling has been adhered to in these tales, although among Orakzais the word is rather pronounced as though spelt, تپوس .

[2] A rare use of و in connection with the simple auxiliary for emphasis.

[3] خاند = خاوند .

[4] See Note 2, page 356.

[5] A vulgar variation of وُپیژندل

[6] From ورستو : a corruption.

[7] = ولاړ : a vulgar form of the word.

[8] = پریښولي .

شوم چه يو غاښ ئي مات دَي - او دريم ورور وُوِ چه يوه طرف مچان تلُو بل طرف غلازيِ - نو زه پوهه
شوم چه کوم طرف مچان ځِي نو په دي طرف غوړي دي - بل طرف چه غلازي تليَ[1] نو زه پوهه
شوم چه دغه طرف بيګنه دَي - بادشاه وُوِ چه اي اوښ والا! دغو سړيو په عقل سره پيژندلي دي آوښ والا
روان شُه په آخپل کار پسي * بادشاه دريو ورونړو وته بيا وُوِ چه تاسو ډير اُوښيار يُو - اُوس څه غواړو -
ورونړو وُوِ چه دا دَ لعل خبره خلاصه شِي - چه کوم يو سړيَ غل وِي هغه معلوم که - بادشاه ځواب ورکړ
چه ما دوي لونړه دِي - آغو نه پيښتنه وُکم چه دا خبره لنډولي شِي - زه خو تاسو خبره نه شم خلاصولي
بادشاه لور نه تپوخ وُکه چه اي لوري! دري سړِي شرع پاره راغلي دِي مګر ډير اُوښيار دِي - زه څه
بنډ و بست وُکم - لور ئي وُوِ چه دا کار به زه وُکم - خو اول زه دَ دغو سړيو عقل وُکسَم - بادشاه وَوِ چه
ډيره ښه دَيَ - سِل متي[2] خوي وُکسه - بادشاه زادي وُوِ چه زه يوه چټِي مشري وته ليکم - أو مشري
وته چټي کښِ وُليکلو[3] چه اي ځوانَ! ته دَ ما ميلمه ئي - کوم څيز ته زړه کيږي؟ هغه وُوِ چه زه خو پلاو
خوړم - بادشاه زادي يو ښه پسه و آخستهُ - پلاو ئي طيار کړ - آغه سړِي چه ټکاله وُخوړه نو بادشاه زادي
وُوِ چه اي ځوانَ! ټکاله خوند وُه؟ سړِي وُوِ چه ښه خو وُه . . . . بادشاه زادي وُوِ چه کوم قصور
وُه؟ سړي وُوِ چه اسي وُو چه دَ سړِي غواښه ما باندِ وُخوړو لَه - بادشاه زادي وُوِ چه تُه لاړ شَه ورچِني
کښِينه - زه لاړه شم[4] چه پسه خوند نه پيښتنه وُکم چه دا پسه کوم څيز نه پيداو[5] شوي دَيَ - بادشاه زادي
چه لاړه پسه خوند نه ئي تپوخ وُکه چه دغه پسه څه څيز نه پيداو شوي دَيَ؟ پسه خوند وُوِ چه دا
پسه پيداو شُه نو په هغي ورځي دَ دي پسه مور مړه شوَه - او دَ ما ښځه په هغه ورځو بوره[6] شِوَي وَه -
او ما ښځي پسه تَه آخپل تي ور کول - نو دا پسه سړِي په شودو سره کټه[7] شِوَي دَيَ - بادشاه زادي
حيرانه پاتي شوَه - وُئي وِ[8] چه دغو سړيو[9] خبره نه شم خلاصولي - دا سړِي ډير اُوښيار دِي * دَ دي
بادشاه يوه بله لور وَه - هغي بادشاه تَه عرض وُکه چه مهربانَ! زه به دغو سړيو خبره خلاصه کَم - مګر ما باندِ
نر نامه چيږدِه - بادشاه دا عرض خوښ که - آخپلي لور باندِ نر نامه چيښلهَ[10] - بادشاه زادي وُوِ چه اي

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[1] Contracted form of 3rd pers. fem. plural, past, of تلل.

[2] متة = Yusufzai خل.

[3] Colloquial corruption of و ليکل. See page 357, Note 3.

[4] See page 363, Note 1.

[5] = پيدا.

[6] بوره = a woman whose child dies within a few days of birth.

[7] کټه = Orakzai, substitute for Yusuf. پال = rear, tend.

[8] See page 362, Note 2.

[9] = سړو.

[10] = کيښوده, softened among the Orakzais as above to چيښله.

ما وينځي - لاړه شه - هغو سړيو ته ټکاله ور کړ - ور ته وُوايه چه اوه آسمانونه دِي - آسمان وره[1] دیَ - ستورِي ځانړ دِي - نو دي وينځي ته بادشاه زادي اوه ناغن ور کړي وُو - غوښه او غوړي هُم ئي وړ کړي وَه - وينځې دوه ناغن آخپله وُخوړو - غوښه ئي هُم وُخوړَه - باقي ټکاله ئي هغو سړيو تَه ور کړَه - ور تَه ئي وُوِ چه بادشاه زادي تاسو باندِ سلام ويلي دیَ - پس سلام نه ويلي دِي چه آسمانونه اوه دِي - آسمان وره دي - ستورِي ځانړ دِي - هغو چه ټکاله وُخوړَه وينځي تَه ئي وِ[2] چه شاه زادي وته مونږ سلام وُکړه - پس سلام نه وايه چه آسمانونه پنځه دِي - آسمان شين دَي - ستوري نشته - وينځه را غلهَ - بادشاه زادي ته دَ دو سړيو خواب ئي وُوِ - بادشاه زادي وُوِ چه تا ولي دوه ناغن او غوښه او غوړي خوړلي دِي - وينځي څه عذر کَوُه مگر هغي ښه وُدربولهَ[3] - او چه صبائي شُه نو هغي شاه زادي او بادشاه آغه دري ورونړه دربار ته راغلو - بادشاه زادي (کومه چه نر نامه ځان باندِ ايښي وَه) وُوِ چه اي سړيو ما[4] خبره و آورو - زه تاسو وته يو حکايت کوم - يوه دَ وزير لور وَه - باغ تَه سيل دَ پاره لاړَه وَه - کوم وخت چه باغ تَه وُرسيدَه نو باغوان فورته[5] شُه ګلونه ئي وزير لور پاره[6] وُکُو[7] - وزير لوري وُوِ چه اي باغوانَ ! څه غواړي ؟ باغوان وُوِ چه اِڅ مِ فکر نه دَي - مگر يو عرض لرم - وزير لور وُوِ چه تا عرض منظور دیَ - وايه - باغوان وُوِ چه دَ ما عرض دا دیَ چه کومي ورځي تُه وادَه شيَ نو اول شپي ما باندِ مهرباني وُکه يعني هغي شپې ما باندِ ملاقات وُکړه - وزير لور وُوِ چه ډيره ښه دیَ - بيغمه اُوسه - کومي ورځي چه وزير لور وادَه شوَه نو خپل ميړه تَه ئي وُوِ چه باغوان سره ما خو وعدَه کړي دي - که تا مهرباني وِي نو زه به باغوان خنځه ورشم چه ما وعدَه پوره شِي - ميړه وُوِ چه ډيره ښه دي - لاړ شَه آخپل وعده پوره که - وزير زادي روانه شوَه چه ورځَني وُوته چه يو مزري[8] راغلَه - وزير زادي وَتَه ئي وُوِ چه زه ډير وږي يم - تَه خداي ما لاس لره را وستيَ - وزير زادي وُوِ چه اي مزريَ - خدأي دَ پاره ما پريږده چه زه

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[1] A word rarely used except by Orakzais, = overcast, clouday.

[2] وِ = وُوِ, an abbreviation used colloquially.

[3] دربول = Yusufzai ټکول . Cp. Arabic root ضَرَبَ , dharaba.

[4] In the Orakzai and Afridi dialects, the خ is dropped from the possessive pronouns خما and خمونږ . The preposition دَ is sometimes substituted.

[5] See Note 2, page 356; = پورته .

[6] Orakzais frequently omit colloquially the particle دَ in دَ...پاره .

[7] A colloquialism, = وُکړل .

[8] A colloquialism = زمري : the transposition of consonants in a word is common among Pathans, especially the Yusufzais.

باغوان خفه لاړ شم[1] - چه بیا باغوان نه را ډرومم نو بیا ما وُخوړه - مزري وُوِ چه ډیره ښه دي - بیړه[2]
کوَه - چه وزیر زادي هغه ځائي نه روانه شوَه نو غل راغي - وزیر زادي تَه ئي وُوِ چه شُکر دِي چه تهُ
ما لاس ونه راغليَ - تا باندِ به ډیري روپي وَ آخلم - وزیر زادي وُوِ چه ډیره مهرباني دِيَ چه ما ته یوه
ګینټه فرصت راکيَ چه زه باغوان خفه لاړ شم - او بیا چه واپس راشم نو بیا ما بوزه - غلهَ وُوِ چه ډیره ښه
دي - زر ډرومه - وزیر زادي چه باغوان تَه وُ رسیدَه نو باغوان ته ئي وُوِ چه فورته شه - عرض چه ما ته
کړي وُه زه راغلي یم - باغوان فورته شهُ - سلام ئي وُکهُ چه زه تا نوکر یم - پنځه ویشت روپي بچت
دي باغوان خفه ويَ هغه ئي وزیر زادي تَه فیشکش[3] ور کَي - وُ ئي وِچه تهُ ډیره وفا لري چه ما سره
ملاقات تا وُکهُ - وزیر زادي چه هغه ځائي نه روانه شوه غلهَ باندِ را غلهَ نو غل خوبیاوالي[4] وُه - وزیر زادي
وُوِ چه فورته شه ! نا وختیږي[5] که ما بیائي - غل فورته شهُ سلام ئي وُکهُ چه زه تا نوکر یم ولي چه تا ما
سره ډیره وفا وُکهَ - روپي ور خفه ويَ - هغه یئي وزیر زادي ته ور کيَ - وزیر زادي هغه ځائي نه روانه
شوَه - مزري باندِ راغلهَ - مزري خوبیاوالي وُه - وزیر زادي غږ وُکه چه فورته شهَ مزريَ ! ما وُ خوړه !
مزري فورته شهُ سلام ئي وزیر زادي ته وُکهَ - ور تَه ئي وُوِ چه شاباش ! ډیره وفا والا ښځه ئي ......
بیا وزیر زادي کومه چه دا حکایت دریو ورونړو تَه کولهَ (چه نر نامَ ځان باندِ ئي ایښي وُه) هغو تَه وُوِ
چه اي سړیو! زه وایم چه باغوان ښه وُ کړو[6] - تاسو په عقل کښ وزیر زادي سره چا ښه وُکړو؟ مشري
ورور وُوِ چه باغوان ښه نه دِيَ کړي - ښه میړه کړي دي - منځني ورور وُوِ چه ښه مزري کړي دي چه
آغه ځناور آغي په وفا څه پوهیدل - کشري ورور وُوِ چه ښه غلهَ کړي دي چه پریښلهَ[7] * بادشاه زادي
چه دَ دو خبري آوریدي خپل پلار ته سلام وُکه چه اي بادشاهَ ! اول ورور خپلي ښځي خیال دي چه
زړه ئي خوند سره لګیږي - او دویم آخپلي ګیډي خیال دي چه دَ مزري صِپت[8] کيَ - دریم غل دي
ځکه چه هغه وُوِ چه غله ښه کړي دي - بادشاه وُوِ چه کوم کشر دي؟ نورو دوُ ورونړو وُوِ چه دغه دِيَ -
بیا بادشاه هغه کشري تَه وُوِ چه تهُ آخپلو ورونړو تَه لعل ور کړ - ډرومو - تاسو خبره لنډه شوَه *

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[1] = لاړشم. This splitting up of the verb and treating the first syllable لاړ as an adjective is peculiar to the Orakzai and Afridi dialects.

[2] بیړه = **haste**: frequently used by above tribes in preference to the commoner زر.

[3] = پیشکش.

[4] Used in preference to the اوده of the Yusufzai dialect.

[5] = ناوقتَ کیږي.

[6] See page 362, Note 7.

[7] = پریښودهَ, Yusufz.

[8] = صفت.

V. THE STORY OF THE MAN WHO WENT TO FIND HIS LUCK.

په دنيا کښې خو يو نصيب دیَ چه موقع سړِي تهَ پيښه شِي يو عقل دیَ چه خپله موقع وُ نيسي که دغه آر[1] دوه نه وي سره - نو په يو شيَ اِچ گذاره نه کيږي - ولي چه دوي ورونړه وُو - نو يو ورور ئي ډير ښه نصيب وُه - او بل ورور ئي نه عقل وُه او نه ئي نصيب وُه - نو آخپل ورور نصيب نه پښتنه وُ که چه ما نصيب چرته دیَ - هغه ورور نصيب وُوِ چه پلاني ځنگل کښې خوبېاوالی دیَ - دغه سړِيَ په آخپل نصيب پسې روان شُه - په لياري کښې يو مزري وُه - هغه له دغه سړِي نه پښتنه وُ که چه کوم ځائي تهَ ځي ؟ سړِي وُوِ چه پلاني ځنگل کښې ما نصيب دیَ - آغه ځخه ځم - مزري وُوِ چه ما پښتنه هُم وُکړ چه زه ولي داسي ناجوړ يم او په اِچ سره دِ نه جوړيږم - سړِي وُوِ چه ډيره ښه دیَ - او چه آغه ځائي نه لوړِخه لاړ شه نو يو آس نماست[2] وُه - دِي سړِي نه ئي تپوښ وُ که چه کوم طرف ځيَ ؟ آغه ور تهَ آخپل حال بيان که او مخ کښې يوه ونه وَه - هغي تر پښتنه وُ که چه سړيا ! تهُ کوم ځائي له ځيَ ؟ سړِي آخپل زړه حال بيان کُه - ونِي وُوِ چه ما تپوښ هم وُکړ چه زه ولي په دي حال کښې وچه يم - سړِي وُوِ چه ډيره ښه دیَ - کوم وخت چه آخپل نصيب ځخه وُرسيدُه نو آخپل نصيب ئي پورته کُه او په قهر سره ئي وُوِ چه زه لوږي نه مړ شوم او تُه په ځنگل کښې خوب کويَ - آغه وُوِ چه تا عقل نشته - بيا سړِي تپوښ وُ کُه چه اي دَ ما[3] نصيبَ ! مزري[4] ځه ناجوړتيا دَه - او ځه سره به جوړ شِي - آغه نصيب ځواب وُ کُه چه مزري وته وُ وايه چه تهُ کم عقل سړِيَ وُ خوړه - نو شفا به دِ وُ شِي - او آس تهَ وُ وايه چه تُه يو چاختن وُ نيسه چه تا باندِ سورلي وُ کِي نو به تکړه شيَ - او ونِي تهَ وُ وايه چه دَ بيخ نه لاندِ اوُو بادشاهانو خزانه دَه - که هغه وُ باسي نو شنه به شيَ - سړِيَ رستون[5] روان شُه - او چه دا خبره ئيِ وُکړه نو ونِي وُوِ چه که ما بيخ نه دغه خزانه وُ باسي نو ډيره مهربانگي[6] به وِي اوُو بادشاهانو بادشاه به شيَ - سړِي ځواب ور که چه زه خزانه ځه کوم ؟ ما نصيب ويښ شوي دیَ - آغه به ما دَ پاره کار کويِ - بيا چه آس باندِ راغيَ نو آس وُوِ چه ما ځواب ځنگه دیَ - سړِي وُوِ چه تهُ چاختن وُ نيسه چه تا باندِ سورلي وُ کِي نو تهُ به جوړ شيَ - آغه آس وُوِ چه تهُ ما چاختن ئي - ما و آخله - سړِي

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[1] Frequently thus pronounced in conversation, = هر.

[2] نماست equivalent to the Yusufzai پروت.

[3] In the Afridi dialect, the possessive pronouns are occasionally marked by the prefix دَ, e.g. دَ ما, دَ تا (cp. Yusufzai ستا, زما).

[4] See Note 8, page 362.

[5] From ورستنو: a corruption.

[6] مهرباني.

وُوِ چه بل چوك[1] وُ کوره ما بخت ویش دي - هغه به ما دَ پاره آسونه راولي - او مزري ته راغي نو
مزري وُوِ چه ما څواب څنګه وُه - سړي وُوِ چه ته کم عقل سړي یَ وُ خوړه نو به روغ شي - آخه مزري وُوِ
چه تا ته نور چا څه څواب نه وُه کړي - سړي وُوِ چه یو آس وُه او یوي وني[2] څواب کړي. - او آخه
تول حال ئي مزري ته بیان کُه - مزري چه دا حال ئي وآوریدُه نو وُوِ چه تُه هُم ستر[3] کم عقل ئي
او پورته شُه - آخه سړی ئي مړ کُه وُ خوړه .... هغه سړي[1] عقل نه وُه چه خپل موقع وُ نه
پیژندَه - نصیب ئي اچ پکار نه شُه *

VI. THE KING'S TALE AND THE WAZIR'S. (A FAIRY STORY).

دَ بادشاه یو وزیر وُه چه یوی ورځي وُ دګیدل[4] بادشاه وُوِ چه ولي! څه چل دی؟ تهٔ دګیږې -
وزیر وُوِ چه ډیره سخته ډر ما باندِ تیر شوی دی - هغه اُوس ما په زړه شُه - نو څکه زه وُ دګیدم - بادشاه
وُوِ چه حال وُوایه - وزیر وُوِ چه پلاني کال کښ زه بل وطن ته لاړم - هالته[5] په بازار کښ ګرزیدلم چه
یو پقیر مِ وُ لیدل[6] - پقیر وُوِ چه اې څوان! چرته ګرزی؟ ما هغه پقیر تهٔ حال بیان کُه - پقیر وُوِ چه
ما سره راځه او چه ور سره روان شوم نو په یو کوهي باندِ راغلو - آخه پقیر زه په کوهي کښ وآچولم مګر
کوهي په منځ کښ یو تکوړی[7] وه چه زه ور باندِ اسار[8] شوم - چه ما کوز وُ کته[9] چه هغه کوهي کښ
داسي منګرونه او لړم دي! تولو ما ته خولي نیولي دی - ما په زړه کښ وِ[10] چه که زه په دی کوهي کښ
پریوزم نو ما به وُ خوری[11] - او په بله ورځ چه یو کاروان راغي - هغو قافله والاو اوبو دَ پاره یوه بوقه وآچوله
ما هغه بوقه تنګه کړله - کاروان والاو ته ما ذغ وُ که چه زه بني آدم یم - ما اسك کُو - هغو خلقو زه را
وُ خیژولم - ما تول حال هغو تهٔ تیر کُه - چه بیا پستانه[12] بازار ته را غلم نو هغه پقیر ما بیا وُ لیدل - هغه

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[1] خ frequently changed to چ by Afridis and Orakzais: cp. چاخته, هیچ, etc.

[2] Page 356, Note 3.

[3] ستر = لوي. This adjective is very commonly used among Afridis.

[4] دګیدل, = Yusuf. درګیدل.

[5] = هلته. Colloquially it is frequently pronounced as though there were an ا, ā in the first syllable.

[6] Contracted, = وُ لیدلهٔ or وُ لیدهٔ.

[7] A word in use among Afridis and Orakzais, = a plank, beam.

[8] اِسار, = هسار, the initial ه being occasionally dropped.

[9] In the Afridi and Orakzai dialects, the transitive verb, past tense, in cases where the object is impersonal or understood, frequently takes the 3rd pers. sing. form in preference to the more grammatical 3rd pers. plural.

[10] وِ, contracted from وُوِ

[11] In certain cases, the verb خوړل changes its ړ into ر as above.

[12] An essentially Afridi expression, = Yusufzai بیرته, back.

ما ته ډيرى ژړى وُکړى چه تا دَ ما بچي ناروار کړو - بيا ئي هغه کوهي ته روان کم - چه هالته وُرا ډلم[1] نو ما پقير ته ووِ چه وُکوره په دى کوهي کښ مزرى دى - پقير کوهي په طرف وُليدل چه رښتيا مزري دي - ما ورسته نه تيل وهلي - هغه پقير دغو منګرو وُ خوړه - زه تِر نه خلاص شوم - بادشاه وُوِ چه اي کم بخت ! که زه آخپل حال تا ته وُوايم نو ته به مړ شيَ - وزير وُوِ چه تُه هُم آخپل حال وايه - بادشاه وُوِ چه دَ عربو ملك نه ما ته چا سوداګرو دوي آسونه را وستلي وُو چه ښوکالي[2] او رنګدار وُو - هغه آسونه ما خپلو نوکرو ته ور کو چه دا آسونه ښه خوشحالَ ساتو - هغو کوششت[3] کولهُ - او يوي ورځي زه آسيانو[4] ليدو دَ پاره لاړم چه آغه آسونه څه رنګه دِي - ما چه هغه آسونه وُليدلو چه ډير منده دِي نو ما پښتنه وُکه چه دا خو ولي داسي خوار شوي دِي - هغو اول حال نه ويلهُ ليکن ما وُوِ اُوس به وايئ - نوکرو وُوِ چه تا مشري ښځه په هري شپي سوريږي بل ځائي له ځِي - په دي سبب تاسو آسونه منده شوي دي - بيا په زړه کښ ما وُوِ چه نن زه به دا حال معلوم کم. چه شپه شوه نو آخپلي ښځي سره ځلاستم او ځان مِ خوبيدوالي کهُ - چه ښځي اچ شك نه راتلهُ چه ګُندِ دا ويښ دي ښځه فورته شولَه روانه شوهَ او زه ور پسي په پټي پټي روان شوم - او چه ښځه يو ډر پله لاړه زه هغي پسي وم - چه کوم وخت دا ښځه ډر ته وُ رسيدلَه نو په هغه ځائي کښ يو سَمَت[5] وه چه په آغه سَمت کښ ښځه نوتلَه[6] او زه ور پسي نوتم - ځان ما پټ که - چه وُ مِ کتل نو په هغه سَمَت کښ يو زينګي وهُ - چه ښځه ور څخه کښيناستلَه - بيا زينګي په قهر سره فورته شُه - هغه ښځه ئي ښه وُ دربولَه - چه ته نِن ولي ناوخت راغلي - ښځي وُوِ چه ما ميړه ته بيګا خوب نه راتلهُ زينګي وُوِ چه په لات منات مِ قسم دي چه صبا دَ بادشاه سر را نه وړي چه زه تا سره خبري بيا وُ نه کَم بلکه نقصان به شِي ما دَ لاسَ - بادشاه ښځي وُوِ چه تا په سر مِ قسم وِي چه صبا شپي زه دَ بادشاه صاحب سر به را وړم - زينګي دا خبره وُ آوريدَه او رضا شُهُ - ما هُم دا تولي خبري وُ آوريدي او چه کوم وخت دا نور تنَ آردوه[7] اوده شوو نو زه فورته شوم زينګي سر ما پريکه - آخپل محلَ ته روان شوم بيا دغه ښځه چه فورته شوهَ نو زينګي سر پري وُهَ - دغه ښځه ډيره وُ ژاړيدلَه[8] - مګر آخير وخت آخپل

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[1] See page 356, Note 4.

[2] Another Afridi word, = ښائسته .

[3] A corruption : = کوشش .

[4] ,, ,, : = آسونو .

[5] An Afridi word: = cave, pronounced like the English 'smut.'

[6] See Note 7, page 371.

[7] = هر دوه .

[8] A form of the verb met with only in the Afridi and Orakzai dialects; where this verb may be treated as an ordinary intransitive verb, instead of as a quasi-transitive verb, as required by the more grammatical Yusufzai dialect.

محل ته روانه شوه - بادشاه ئي ښه وُ ليدل چه هسي نه وِي چه دا کار بادشاه کړي وِي - مګر اِچ شك ئي نه راغله - کوم وخت چه صبائي شهٔ نو ما ښځي ته وُوِ چه هندوانه را وړه - ښځي خواب را کهٔ چه په دي ورځو څه هندوانه دِي؟ ما وُوِ چه دَ ما دَ آس خورجي کښ شته - ښځه چه فورته شوه نو په کښ دَ زينګي سر ئي وُ ليدل * ما باندِ ئي جادو وُکهٔ چه ما نه يو تور سپيَ جوړ شهٔ - ښځي له محل نه ورچني دا سپي وُ شړل - همسا ټګانو وته ئي غږ وُ کړ چه اى خلقو! ډير سخا[1] سپى دىَ! که دا سپيَ مړ کهٔ نو هغه سړى ته به ډير انعام ور کم - ټول خلق ما فسي وتلو - هر چا به وِچه که ما لاس سره دا انعام راغيَ - مګر زه وُتښتم[2] اِچا لاس لړه وُ نه راغلم په يو غره لړه وُرسيدلم - آخپل زړه سره مصلحت مِ وُ کړ چه پلاني ښهر کښ يوه بوډئي دى چه هغه هُم ډيره جادوګره دىَ - که زه ور شم نو ما به جوړ کِي - په هغي بوډئي له روان شوم - چه ور راغلم نو بوډئي په پښو کښ پريوتم - بوډئي چه دى سپي ته وُکتل نو پوهه شوه چه کُنِد دا سړىَ دىَ مګر جادو سبب سره داسي شوى دىَ - هغي بوډئي جادو وُکه - سپي بيا سړىَ شهٔ - او بوډئي ته ما وُوِ چه ما ته اسي جادو وُ کړ چه هغي ښځي نه زه څناور جوړ کم - بوډئي خاوره دم کُه چه دا خاوره و آخله - کوم څناور چه جوړوىَ هغه به جوړ شي - کوم وخت چه خاوره بيا آچوىَ هغه څناور نامَ و آخله * زه روان شوم - ټولو خلقو به سلامونه کولو - چه کور ته راغلم نو آخپلي ښځي باندِ خاورى و آحولي - قچرى نامَ ما و آخسته هغي ښځي نه چه قچره جوړه شوه نو کلال ته ما ورکه او وُوِچه دا قچره و آخله - آخپل کار پرِ باندِ کوه - او هغه ښه تنګ کړ - کلال همداسي ګذاره کوله *

VII. A MODERN STORY OF TIRAH,—AND WHAT BEFELL ON THE WAY THITHER.

په رعيت مُلك کښ يو سړيَ په لياري باندِ تلهٔ نو زړه سره ئي فکر دا وهٔ چه زه به کله آخپل ټپو په تيرا وُوينم! او به ديَ وخت دِي سړِي څخه يو پقير مرګري[3] شه - دي پقير ويلهٔ چه که ما ته څه ټکاله را کيَ نو زه به تا ته دَ عقل خبري وُښايم - سړِي څخه پنځه ناغنَ[4] وُو او پقير ته ئي ور کو چه ما ته پنځه عقل خبري و کړه - هغه پقير وُوِ چه اول خبره دا ديَ چه هر چا سره مرګري شيَ نو اول ئي

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[1] Afridi, = bad, dangerous, vile.

[2] See page 372, Note 7. = وُتښتيدلم.

[3] = ملګري.

[4] A word peculiar to Afridis and Orakazis. Translated as 'loaves,' the 'nāghan' being considerably more substantial a form of bread than the 'chupatti': generally its dimensions are some 18 inches in diameter and an inch or couple of inches in thickness.

نامه زده کوَهَ - دویمه دا چه کوم کلي ته چه لاړ شيَ نو په زمکي کښينه څو پوري چه تا ته ئي نه وِيي ويلي چه اسك شهَ په کرسيئ بانډِ کښينه - دريمه دا چه تا څخه څه شيَ وِيي نو هغه مه بښايه څو پوري چه تا نه پښتنه نه وِيي کړيي چه پلاني شيَ ما ته وُبښايه - څلورمه دا چه اِڅا سره شرط مه تړه ولي چه شرط ډير خراف[1] شيَ دي - پنځمه دا چه ښځي وته حال مه وايه ولي چه ښځه ډير خراف شيَ ديَ - کومه خبره چه له تا نه آوري نو په هغه ساعت آخپل يار ته کوبي څنګه چه يو سړيَ وُه - خداى نه ئي دنيا غوښته - داسي سوال ئي کوله چه يا خداى ! ما ته روپي راکړ خو نغري نه پاسَ - نو يوي ورځي ورځنيَ لاړ ديَ چه لرِه پښه ئي خورِه شوه - خاوري ئي زمکي نه و آخستي چه يو ديګ ئي دَ روپيو وُليدل نو دي سړِي وُوِ چه اى خدايا ! ما خو نغري باسَ غوښتي ويَ نو ته ورځنيَ را کيَ زه دا نه آخلم ولي چه که ما ته را کوَيَ نو نغري پاسَ به را کيَ - هغه ټولي روپي ئي هوه ځائي بانډِ پريښلي[2] چه کور ته راغي نو دا خبره ئي آخپلي ښځي تهَ وُکړه - ښځه يو دم لاړهَ اخپل يار تهَ ئي وُوِ چه ما ميړه څو پلاني ځائي کښ روپي منډلي ويَ مګر هغه داوُس نه دِيي را وړيي - لاړ شه - آخپل ځان دَ پاره ئي را وړه - دا خبره دي ښځي يار هُم خوښه کړه - په هغو روپيو پسي روان شهُ چه لاړ هغه ځائي کښ ئي روپيو ديګ وُليدل مګر چه کوم وخت سر ئي له ديګ نه پورته کړ نو ټول ديګ ئي له لتکو منګرو ډك وُليدل - دِيي سړِي فکر وُکړ چه دا ښځه دَ ما هُم دښمنه[3] ديَ .. هغه ديګ سر ئي بيا کښږه[4] - ټول ديګ ئي را و آخستهُ او کوم سړِي اول ليدلي وُه په دغي کوټي کښ نغري نه پاسَ يوه دروځه وَهَ - په هغي دروځي کښ ئي وروُل - چه کوم وخت صبائي شهُ نو دا سړيَ نمونز دَ پاره پورته شهُ - څه وينيي چه نغري ئي روپيو نه ډك ديَ - نو شکُر ئي وُکه دَ خداى په درګاه چه اُوس دَ نغري دَ پاسَ را کړيي

.... اي مساپر ! تهُ هُم پوهه شهَ چه که تا څه خبره آخپلي ښځي تهَ وُکړه نو هغه خبره به پټه نه شِي.

سړِي کوم چه دَ تيرا په طرف تلهُ وُوِ چه ډيره ښه ديَ - اسي زه به وُکَم - نو دي سړِي څخه يو بار وُه او دا پقير کوم چه پنځه ناڼن ئي آخستي وُو هغه ځائي کښ بيل شهُ - لرِ څه مزل ئي وُکړه نو واريَ ور څخه وُلويدهُ - نو ورستنه ئي پقير ته وِ چه اي سړِيا ! وا سړِيا ! دغه پقير اِڅ څواب نه ور کوه - چه دي ډيري سوري وُکړيي نو هغه پقير وُوِ چه اي کم عقلا سړِيا ! تا له خو ما ويلي دِيي چه اول چه تا سره چوک مرکړيي شِيي نو هغه چوک نامه زده کوَهَ - نو تا ولي دَ ما ذامَ نه زده کولهُ - خير ؟ هغه واريَ ئي

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[1] Page 356, Note 2.

[2] The Afridi dialect makes the past participle of پريښودل preferably as above, and not پريښودي as in Yusufzai.

[3] Fem. A corruption of دښمن .

[4] Contracted, = کيښوده .

پرِ بانِدِ کَړَه .... څو ورځو پس دغه سړيَ کوم چه عقل بانِدِ ناځن ور کړي وُو سر حد
وته راغي او يوه کلي وته لاړ - نو هغه کلي کښ يو ډير ښه ځائي جوړ کړي وُه - هر
قسم کُرسيئ پهٔ کښ پرتي وې او دغه سړيَ هم لاړه چه کومه کُرسيئ ئي په زړه خوښه
وَه هغي کُرسيئ بانِدِ کښيناسته - يو ساعت پسِ يو سړيَ راغي يوه ښه چپيړ[1] ئي په دا
مخ وُ وهل چه تُه ولي په کُرسيئ بانِدِ ناست ئي؟ دغه سړي څه عذر کوُله ليکن هغه يوه
بله چپيړ ور که - نو اَچت له کُرسيئ نه قورته شُه او په زړه ئي کښ هغي خبري کومي
چه پقير کړي وې راغلي او خان ته ئي وُوِ چه اي کم بخت! تا ته ناځن بانِدِ څنګه ښه
خبره کړي وَه - که تُه دَ کرسيئ بانِدِ نه ويَ ناست نو تُه به ئي ولي وهليَ؟ لږ ساعت
پس چه په ديَ کلي کښ خلق جمع شُوو نو ټولو خلقو به ويلهٔ چه پلاني سړيِ ښه ټوپک
ديَ - چا به ويلهٔ چه پلاني ښه تماچه دَه - دغه سړي چه دا خبره و آوريدَه نو زر
اَخپله تماچه ئي را و آخستَه چه تاسو وايو چه پلاني تماچه ښه دَه نو ما تماچه خو هُم وُګورو
چه دا څنګه دَه - چه خلقو وُ ليدَله نو کوم چه مشر سړيَ وُه هغه وُ ويلهٔ چه دا تماچه خو
ما دَه - پلاني کال کښ دَ ما[2] کوټه چا ماته کړي وَه - نور اسباب ئي هُم ډير وړي وُو
يوه دا تماچه وَه - دا سړيَ تِنګ کُو! دا غل ديَ! دا سړيَ حيريان پاتي شُه او په
دي وخت هغه پقير کوم چه دغه ته عقل ښيلي وُه په کلي کښ راغي - دغه سړي وته
حال زر وُوِ - پقير ځواب ور کهٔ چه ما خو تا ته وختي ويلي وُو چه چا ته اَخپل حال
مه وايه ليکن تا دَ ما خبره بانِدِ عمل وُ نه که - اُوس تِنګ شَه! ليکن دغه کم عقل سړي
وُوِ چه زهٔ خو خدای وُ شرمولم - اُوس م دغه بُلا نه خلاص کړ - پقير وُوِ چه ډيره ښه دَه -
تُه داسي وُوايه چه په پلاني صحرآ کښ دَ ما پلار ديَ تماچي سره چا مړ کړي وُه نو ما دا
تماچه څکه کلي په کلي ګرزولهٔ چه دَغي تماچي موداي[3] معلوم شِي چه زهٔ هغه سړي نه دَ
پلار ګټه وُ کمَ - اُوس چه تا ويلهُ چه دا تماچه دَما دي نو معلوميږي چه تا دَ ما پلار مړ
کړي ديَ - دغه سړيَ چه دَ پقير دا خبره و آوريدَه نو پقير ته ډير شُکر ئي وُ کړ او
لاړهٔ او هغه مشر کلي والا څخه په دغه شان سره دا خبره وُ کړه - هغه مشر کلي والا

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[1] = Yusufzai, څپيړه.

[2] Page 364, Note 3.

[3] = Owner, possessor. A word in fairly general use among Pathans of all tribes.

وُوِچه خداي دَ پاره رپوټ وُنه کړَي - ما نه اوه سَو روپي و آخله - دغه کم عقل سړي
اوه سَو روپي و آخستي - ډير خوشحالَ شُه - او سر حد نه روان شُه .... چه هغه
آخپل ټپو ته په تيرا کښې راغي نو څو ورځو پس دا کم عقل سړيَ غره ته لاړ - غره کښې ئې
يوه هندوانړه وُليدلهَ نو کور ته راغي - ښځي ته ئې وُ ويلهُ چه ما خو پلاني غر او پلاني خائي
کښې هندوانړه ليدلي دَه - اُوس زه ورځني ځم چه شرط وُتړم چه په دي ساعت يا بل چوك
اول هندوانړه يا زه هندوانړه را وړم - ښځي وُوِ چه داسي شرط وُتړه چه هر چا اول لاس
چه کوم شَی باندِ وُ لګول[1] نو هغه شيَ به ور کولي شِي - دغه سړِي دَ ښځي خبره وُ منلهَ -
اَجري[2] ته راغي نو دا شرط وُ کړه چه که چا اُوس هندوانړه را وړَه نو هغه سړيَ کوم شيَ
باندِ چه ئې اول لاس وُ لګول نو هغه شيَ به ور کولي شِي - دغه سړِي[3] ښځه آخپل يار
تَه خبر وُ ليږه چه تُه شرط دَ ما ميړي سره وُ تړه او هندوانړه په پلاني خائي کښې ديَ -
نو کوم وخت چه خپل شرط کښي او لاس لګوي نو بيا ما باندِ وُ لګوه - يار ئې دا خبره و
آوريدلهَ نو آچت فورته شُه آغه غره تَه لاړ هندوانړه ئې اَجري تَه را وړَه - دِي سړِي ته
ئې وُو چه زه تا سره شرط تړم - کم عقل سړي ځواب ور کړ چه وُ باسه چه وُ وينو -
يار بيا په بيړي سره آخپله هندوانړه را و آخسته کم عقل سړيَ چه وُ ليده نو وُ پيژندهُ
چه دا هغه هندوانړه دَه کومه چه ما په غره کښې ليدلي وَه - ډير آفسوس په زړه کښې
وُ که او ځان ته وُوِ چه تا ته ځنګه په پښه ناځنَ باندِ خبره کړي وَه چه ښځي تَه حال
مه وايه ! که چري ما دا حال آخپلي ښځی وته نه ويَ ويلي نو دِي سړِی تَه څه
معلومه وَه - اُوس که زه هغه پقير څخه بيا لاړ نه شم نو دا سړيَ ما په ښځي باندِ لاس
لګوي ! په دي فکر کښې کم عقل سړيَ زر روان شُه او هغه پقير تَه کوم چه دي تَه ئې عقل
ښيلي وُه نو هغه پقير تَه ئې آخپل حال وُ ويل - پقير وُوِ . تا دَ ما خبره بيا ماته کړي
دَه - دغه کم عقل سړِي وُوِ چه بيا به اِچري داسي وُنه کمَ - چه ډيري ژړي ئې وُ کړي
نو آخير پقير رضا شُه او وُوِ چه يوه انډرپايه را وړه - هغې انډرپائي ارکي[4] باندِ ور يښو

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[1] = وُ لګوه or وُلګوله, the final ه being dropped.

[2] = حجره.

[3] Page 356, Note 3.

[4] ارکي = rung (of ladder), a word peculiar to Afridi and Orakzai dialects.

ټوکي[1] و آچوه - نو چه تا دَ ښځي يار لاس و آچوي نو هغو وريښمو باندِ به اول لاس وُ لګوي نو تهُ ور ته وُ وايه چه تا خداي و آخله ! چه تهُ يوه ارکي وريښمو نه تير شويَ! بل نه تير شويَ! تهول خو به نه آخلي! دغه کم عقل سړيَ کور ته روان شهُ - ډير وريښم ئي و آخستهُ - په اندرپائي ارکو باندِ ئي و آچولهُ - او دا ښځه آخپل يار ته خرګنده کښيناستهَ په تپو کښي - نو دِي بل سړِي کوم چه شرط ګټلي وُه - دَ هغه هُم دا اراده وَه چه زه په دغي ښځي باندِ به اول لاس وُ لګوم - چه اندرپايه باندِ راغي نو لاسونه ئي ختو[2] دَ پاره و لګولو[3]- چه دويَ ارکيو نه تير شهُ نو کم عقل سړِي ور ته وُوِ چه اي داوُسا! تهُ اُوس به تهول وريښم آخپل کور ته وړيَ - او پښي نه يار ئي تِنګ که - کوز ئي را وُ تغول[4] - آخپله ښځه ئي خلاصه کړه دَ دِي پقير په عقل سره .... خنکه چه امير حمزه صاحب ويلي دِي چه :—

يا مرد شهَ يا دَ مردو شاګرد شهَ ❋

VIII. THE KING'S SON—AN ALLEGORY.

يو بادشاه وُه چه هغه ځوي نه کيدهُ - په يوي ورځي يو پقير راغي - بادشاه ته ئي پښتنه وُ کړه چه تهُ ولي خپه ئي ؟ بادشاه هغه پقير ته آخپل حال تير کړهُ - پقير وُوِ چه تا به ځوي وُ شِي مګر په اِچ وجي سره هغه ورځني مه پريږده .... دَ بادشاه ځوي وُ شهُ او حکم ئي ور کړهُ چه دا وړکي په تخاني[5] کښي ساتُو - ورځني ئي مه وُ باسو - او دا وړکي غټ شهُ - يوي ورځي په دروځي نه ميرا سترګي[6] رڼړا نوتلي[7] ديَ چه دِي وړکي هغه رڼړا وُ ليدلَه نو په زړه کښي ئي وُوِ چه دا ګُل ديَ - هغه ئي تِنګول[8] مګر هغه په لاسو سره نه تِنګيدل[8] - په دي وخت دَ بادشاه وينځه راغلهَ - وړکي ته ئي وُوِ چه ځوانَ! که ورځني وُ وزيَ نو ډير ګلونه به وُ وينيَ - دا څه ګل ديَ چه تهُ حرمان کويَ! و وړکي

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[1] Corruption of ټکري, used colloquially among Afridis.

[2] = ختلو.

[3] = وُ لګول.

[4] = وُ تغوله.

[5] Literally, a cellar, inner apartment.

[6] A picturesque expression peculiar to the Afridis and Orakzais.

[7] Colloquially an Afridi drops the initial ن of the Yusufzai, ننوتل = to enter.

[8] In both these verbs the final ه of the 3rd pers. sing. has been omitted: this clipping is exceedingly common in the Afridi and Orakzai dialects.

پلار ته غږ وُکړهٔ چه ما ورچني وُ باسه که نه وِي نو زه به خان ويژنم[1] - پلار ئي رضا نه وُه مګر ناکامَ نه تخاني نه ئي هغه وړکي وُ کښلهٔ - چه دا وړکي ورچني وُوتل[2] نو سم بازار تَه لاړ شهٔ - او په هغه وخت بازار کښې يو سړيَ مړ شوي وُه - دي وړکي پښتنه وُ کړهَ چه دا سړيَ ولي مړ شوي ديَ - هغو سړيو وُ ويلهٔ چه دا سړي ناجوړه وُه - وړکي وُوِ چه دا چا ناجوړه کړي وُه؟ ټولو خلقو خنديدو[3] چه خداي ناجوړه کړي وُه - نور چوك داسي سړيَ نشته چه چوك ناجوړه کي - وړکيَ وُوِ چه ما به هُم خداي ناجوړه کوي - خلقو وُوِ چه تهٔ هُم بنده ئي او تهٔ به خداي ناجوړه کي - دي وړکي چه دا خبره وآوريدلهَ نو په هغه ساعت ځنګل تَه روان شهٔ او هُم مزل کوي او هُم ژاړي - او په هغه ځنګل کښې پقيران وُو - هغو پقيرانو دي وړکي نه پښتنه وُکړه چه ولي ژاړيَ؟ وړکي آخپل حال ور تَه وُوِ - پقيرانو نه يو پقير وُوِ چه تهٔ کښينه - تا تَه خبره وُ کم - وړکي په هغه ځائي کښې کښيناسته - پقير وُوِ چه اي وړکيا! يو سړي ښکار دَ پاره لاړ وُه او دَ ښکار ځائي تَه وُ راغي[4] چه نوم ئي دنيا وُه - چه وُ راغي نو په هغه ځائي کښې يو خوني هاتي وُه - هغه چه دا سړيَ وُ ليدل[5] نو دي سړي فسي[6] روان شهٔ - دا سړيَ هغه هاتي نه وُ تښل[7] او په هغه ځائي کښې يو کوهي وُه هغه تَه دا سړيَ کوز شهٔ او! دا هاتي چه مرګ ناميده هغه کوهي بانډِ اودريدل - دِي سړِي په زړه کښې وُوِ که زه دي کوهي تَه کوز شم نو دي هاتي نه به خلاص شم - چه کوز کوهي تهٔ ئي وُ ليدل نو په هغه کوهي کښې يو ستر اجدها وُه او کوهي په منځ کښې يو بوټي وُه چه نومَ ئي ژوندن وُه - هغه ئي ټنګي کړي او په هغه ځائي کښې يوه ايکبنه وُه چه خلق ور ته دَ دي دنيا تکاله او اوبه وائي ګوم چه مو[8] پرِ ګذران کوُ - نو چه هغه ايکبنه دي سړي وُ ليدل نو په هغه حال کښې دير

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[1] A colloquial form, = وژنم.

[2] The clipping of the ږ again. See above.

[3] Yusuf. وُ خندل. The Afridi dialect makes the infinitive of this verb خنديدل. Cp. Note 8, page 366.

[4] See page 356, Note 4.

[5] = وُ ليدهٔ or وُ ليدلهٔ.

[6] = پسي.

[7] A contraction, = وُ تښتيدلهٔ or وُ تښتيدهٔ. The Afridi dialect has a curious method of pronunciation in regard to the past tenses of this verb, the prefixed و being pronounced in very close association with the following ت, upon which latter letter a 'sukun' (to borrow an expression from Arabic grammar) is placed. The pronunciation in the present instance thus becomes 'woot-khal'.

[8] مونږ = مو

خوشحال شهٔ - په زړه نه ئي ټوله ويره ورکه شوه - ايګبنه ئي خوړه - کوم چه دِي سړي بوټي نيولي وَه هغه بوټي ولي[1] سره يو طرف تور مرګ وُه چه هغه خوري[2] او بل طرف سپين مرګ وُه چه هغه بوټي ولي يوه يوه ئي ځوسوله - او دِي مرګان شپه او ورځ ناميدو چه دَ هغو ځوسولو سره دَ بوټي ولي کميږي - او اجدها کوم چه کوز وُه دَ هغه نوم قبر وُه - خو سړيَ اِچ فروا[3] نه کوله - په ښه شان سره ايګبنه ئي خوړله .... ځنګه چه عبد الرحمان ويلي دِي چه :—

بيا را تلل په دې دنيا بالوار نشته * چه هر چا باندِ وار تير شي په دې دنيا

IX. THE LABOURS OF A HERCULES.

ورځو نه يوه ورځ وَه چه يو بادشاه وُه - دَ هغه اوه ځامن وُو - او ځامن ئي لوي شول - يوه ورځ خپل وزير سره جرګه ئي وُ کړه چه که ستا خوښه وي نو زه غواړم چه خپلو ځامنو له کوژدنه وُکړم - او داسي ځائي کښي کويدن[4] کول غواړم چه دَ کوم بادشاه اوه لونړه وي او ځما اوه ځامنو دَ پاره په يو کور کښي کويدني وُ شي - نو زه به ډير خوشحال يم - وزير وُوِ چه ځنګه تا حکم را کړه زه به دا حکم منم .... وزير روان شهٔ - څه مده سفر ئي وُکړ چه دَ لاري په مينځ يو سيند ور ته په مخ کښي راغي - دَ هغه سيند په غاړه باندِ يو فقير ناست وُه - وُئي و چه چرته ځي؟ وزير وُ ويل چه سفر کوم بلي بادشاهي ته - فقير وُوِ چه ډيره ښه دَه - سفر وُکړ - خو ځما يو نصيحت و آوره چه په دې لاري ته سفر کويَ له دي طرف نو شپه مه کوه دَ دي سيند په غاړي باندِ او چه له هغي ډډي نه سفر کويَ نو هُم دلته شپه مه کوه - دا ځما نصيحت دي - بيَ لار وزير روان شهٔ - څه ورځي سفر ئي وُ کړه په بلي بادشاهي کښي وُ رسيد - هغه بادشاه فرمان چه ځنګه ور ته کړي وُه هغه شان دَ دي بل بادشاه په مخ کښي ئي وُ کړه - نو دَ هغه بادشاه اوه لونړه ويَ او چه دَ وزير خبري ئي و آوريدي ډير خوشحال شهٔ - څه مده وزير ئي ځان ځخه هسار کړ دَ پاره دَ دي چه دَ خپلي بادشاهي سيل ئي کاوُه ښه سيلونه ئي پِر وُ کړه او

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[1] ولی = root.

[2] See page 365, Note 11.

[3] = پروا.

[4] The common Yusufzai corruption of کوژدن or کوژدنه.

ډير لحاظ ئې وُ کړه - يوه ورځ دَ بادشاه په مخ کښ وزير دا عرض وُ کړه چه که ستاسو اجازت وي نو زه به خپل بادشاه څخه لاړشم - ځکه چه ډيره مده ځما په دي سفر تيره شوله - زه غواړم چه دا خوش خبره خپل بادشاه تَه وُ رسوم - بيا هغه بادشاه چه کوم دَ لوڼو پلار وُه - دَه دا اِقرار وَ ليکه چه دغي ورځي نه چه ستاسو پيغم را رسولي وُه له هغه ورځ نه ما اوه واړه لوڼه ستاسو ځامنو تَه کويدني کړيَ او زه ډير خوشحالَ يم - اُوس دا وزير ستاسو په طرف در ليږم چه څه ستاسو دَ مُلک دَستور وي دَ وادونو په هغه دستور سره تُه راشه او خپلي اوه واړه ناوي بوزه - هغه وزير له دي ځائي نه رخصت شُه او نيغ خپل بادشاهي تَه لاړ - ډير سفر ئې وُ کړه - څه مده پس خپل بادشاه تَه په تعظيم او تسليم ئې عرض وُ کړ او دا کاغذ چه کوم دي بادشاه ور کړي وُه هغه کاغذ ئې په خپل بادشاه خدمت کښ حاضر کړ - بادشاه چه هغه وُ لوست نو ډيري خوشحالئ دَ هغه کاغذ په ليدو سره وُ ئې کړَه - او ډيره تماشي ئې وُ کړَه - پس له خوشحالئ نه دا حکم ئې ور کړه خپلو وزيرانو تَه چه تاسو دَ وادونو بند و بست وُ کړئ چه يو دم روان شُوله دي ځائي نه او سفر وُ کړو چه دولئ را وړو *

دَ روانيدو په مخ کښ وزيرانو سره جرګه ئې وُ کړَه دَ پاره دَ دي چه کوم بادشاه زاده مونږ پريږدو خپلي بادشاهي کولو دَ پاره - مشر وزير ور تَه وُوِ چه کشري بادشاه زاده ډير اوښيار ديَ لائق ديَ - بادشاه وُوِ چه ډيره ښه دَه - او خپل کشري ځوي تَه ئې وُوِ چه تُه ځما بادشاهي تَه پاتي شهَ - او دَه روان شهُ - شپږ واړه ځامن ئې ځان سره بوتلل - سفر ئې وُ کړ دَ هغي بادشاهي په طرف چه کوم بادشاه ئې دوست شوي وُه - څه مده پس وُ رسيدل *

دَ هغه مُلک بادشاه دَ دي شپږ ځامنو پلار اِستقبال تَه را وُ وتهُ او ډير په خوشحالئ سره دَ لښکر او دَ هر څيز بند و بست ئې وُ کړ - دري ځلور ورځي دي هلته ميلمانه شول او پس له ديَ نه دولئ ئې را و آخستلي او را روان شول خپلي بادشاهي په طرف واپس - چه هغه سيند په منځ کښ وُ رسيدل چه کوم ځائي فقير وزير تَه نصيحت کړي وُه هغه نصيحت له وزيرَ هيره شوَه له ډيري خوشحالئ نه - هر څيز ډير وُه - بادشاه حکم ور کړهُ چه دَ دي سيند په غاړي شپه کُوو - شپه ئې وُ کړَه - څوک نه څوک (چه وختي سحار پاڅيدلي ديَ) چه ګوري څه

ګوري ! يو لوي اجدها قلاتي چاپيره وُه - بيا هغه خبري ئي بادشاه ته بيان وُ کړي - چه
بادشاه راغي حال ئي وُ خوت - بالکل دَ وتلو لار ئي نه مندلُه - بيا حيران اودريدُه دَ دغو
بادشاه زادګانو مور شور کاوُه او ژړا ئي کولهَ - اجدها ور ته وُوِ چه دا خو قلا نه دهَ چه کوم تهُ
ويني - زه خامار يم چه کوم له سيند نه وتلَي يم - هيچړي به تاسو پري نه ږدم ژوندي
چه څو پوري چه کشري بادشاه زاده هُم نه وي حاضر کړي ما تهَ - دا خبره د هلکانو پلار ته مور
و کړهَ - دَ هلکانو پلار خامار تهَ روان شُه - بيا له خامار نه ئي دا تپوښ وُ کړه چه مونږ به
څنګه خبر ور کړي شُو - څکه چه تا ټول بند کړي يُو - خامار ور ته وُوِ چه يو قاصد ستاسو
پريښودي شم چه خبر يوسي - هغه قاصد لاړ او بادشاه چټئي ور کړهَ چه په هغه کښ داسي
ليکلي وُو چه *

که ناست ئي نو را ولاړ شَه * او که ولاړ ئي نو را روان شه

چه دا قاصد ور وُ رسيد بادشاه زاده تهَ - نو بادشاه زاده په هغه آن[1] کښ را روان شُه - او
د خپل پلار په خدمت کښ را وُ رسيد - بيا ئي پښتنه تر وُ کړلهَ چه ما دَ پاره څه
فرمان دَي ؟ نو بيا پلار ئي وُو خامار تهَ چه دغه څوي مِ حاضر دَيَ - خامار وُوِ چه ډيره
ښه دهَ - تاسو ټول لاړشئِ - رخصت شوئِ - خو کشري څوي ئي څان څخه هسار کړه *

بيا کشري څوي وُوِ چه زه تا څه دَ پاره هسار کړي يم ؟ اُوس حکم را تهَ کوه - خامار
ور تهَ وُوِ چه تهُ څکه مِ هسار کړي ئي چه څما په سپيږمو کښ بوراګان دِي - او دغو بوراګانو
زه ډير تنګ کړي يم - که تهُ چري دَ ښاپيريُ ګلِ خندان مُلک تهَ لاړشيَ او هغه ګلِ
خندان په يو وزن سره خندولي شيَ نو دَ هغي خولي نه به ګلونه تويِ شِي او دا بوراګان
څما سپيږمو نه به را وزي - بوي پسي به لاړشي - نو زه به خلاص يم - دا څما دَ پاره
خدمت دَي په تا باند - ده وُو چه ډيره ښه دهَ - خامار ور تهَ وُوِ چه څومره سرهُ زر ستا
په کارِ وِي له دي سيند نه اُچت کړ او څان سره و آخله په سفر باندِ - ده و آخستل او
روان شُه دَ سيند په غاړي باندِ - دَ سيند په غاړي چه څه ورځي ئي سفر وُ کړ دَ
ميږو په ښهر باندِ پيښ شُه - چه ګوري څه ګوري ! چه دا درياب موج کول او دا ميږي
به وړهُ - دَ دي بادشاه زاده ترس راغي - ميږو تهَ ئي وُوِ چه تاسو کم عقل ئيُ - ولي

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[1] وقت

دا ځائي نه پريږدي چه دا درياب هميشه تاسو خرابوي - ميږو ور تهَ وُوِ چه ډير تهرژن عالم
بُو چه دي درياب څمونږ ډير خپلوان وړلي دي څكه مونږ خپل ځان وركُوو - دي
بادشاه زاده يو ديوال ور ته جوړ كړ - دا ميږي پهَ امان كړل - دَ ميږو چه كوم مشر
ميږي وُه هغه خپل وزر بادشاه زاده ته ور كُړه - چه كه چري څه خدمت دِ په مونږ
باندِ پيښيږي نو دا وزر په اور آچوه - بيا اُميد دي چه مونږ ستا په خدمت كښې به
حاضر يُو - بادشاه زاده ور باندِ سلام عليكم وُوِ له دي ځائي نه روان شُه - مخ كښې لاړ
تهُ تُه ته[1] څه موده سفر ئي وُكړ او دَ منږكانو[2] په كلي كښې ور وُ رسيد - نو چه ګوري
څه ګوري ! هغه مشر منږك دا نور منږكان ټكول او زغلول - دي بادشاه تِرِ تپوښ وُ كړه چه
دا ولي ټكويَ زغلويَ؟ ده ور ته وُ ويل چه دا ډير غريب خلق دِي - ما تهَ ماليه نه شِي
را كولي - په دي سبب ټكوم - بادشاه زاده ور تهَ وُوِ چه كه دي ځائي زه ماليه در كوم
نو تهُ به دي پريږديَ؟ مشر مږك ډير خوشحال شُه او قبول ئي وُ كړ - مشر مږك دَ
نورو په صلاح سره خپل بريت ور كړ - بادشاه زاده له هغه ځائي نه رخصت شُه - څه
ورځي سفر ئي وُ كړ او په يو بيابان ځنګل كښې ور وُ رسيد - يوه زمركټئي[3] ئي په نظر
راغلَه او ډيره ژړا وُ كړه - دَ دي بادشاه زاده ډير ترس او رحم راغي په زړه كښې تپوښ
ئي تِرِ وُ كړ چه تهُ ولي ژاړيَ؟ را تهَ وُوايه كه څه له ما نه غواړي - دي ور تهَ وُوِ چه
اي بادشاه زاده ! هيڅ نور نه غواړم - څما په دي ښپي يوه دړه ماته شوي دَه - زه دا يستل
غواړم كه تُه مهرباني وُ كړي - بادشاه ور ته وُ ويل چه زه به دا وُ باسم خو تُه به ما
وُ خوري - اسي نه چه ټكي ما سره وُ كړيَ - دي وُ ويل چه هيڅري به تا نه وُ خورم
چه دا ازغي وُ باسي - او كه ما تهَ غصه راشي نو زه به په دي لړكي چك وُ لګوم
او تا به نه خورم - دي سره ئي وُ كړه او دي ازغي ور له بادشاه زاده وُ باسته - دي
زمركټئي يو خپل بچه بخشيش ور كړه - هغه به دي بادشاه زاده لويولهٌ - هغه ټكره شُه -
دغه ځائي نه ئي سفر وُ كړ - چه ګلِ خندان كلي تهَ وُ رسيد يوي بوډئي كره ئي شپه

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[1] An abbreviated form, = تلَه.

[2] In the mouth of a Yusufzai villager,—especially among the Utman Khel and Utmanzai,—مږك acquires the pronunciation given above.

[3] زمركدئ = lioness (vulg.).

وُ کړَه - څه اشرافي ئي ور کړي چه ځما دَ آس بندوبست وُ کړ - بوډۍ وُو چه مونږ
پخپله په کور کښې تنګ يُو او تُه آسونه ځان سره را ولي ؟ زه دِ نه پرېږدم ! څه! وُ وزه !
بيا بادشاه زاده نوري څه اشرافي ور کړي - دي ور تَه وُوِ چه زار به شم - دَ تا قربان
به شم - ولې به تا شرم ! شپږ نه يوه شپه راغلهَ چه خيالات ئي کړي دي چه دا دَ ګلِ
خندان کلي دېَ - او مرکانو ما سره اِقرار کړي وُه - او راشهَ ازميښت وُ کړه چه مرکان
به خپل اقرار برابروي که نه - دَ مرګ بريت ئي په اور په تيلي وُ سوزاوه - او څه موده
پس مرکان دَ سيلمي[1] راغلل - بيا ئي وُو چه بادشاه زاده ! څه خدمت مونږ حاضر کُوو ؟
بادشاه زاده دا حکم ور کړه چه ځما دَ کټ دَ لاندِ نه سورنګ و آخلئ او دَ ګلِ خندان
کټ دَ لاندِ وُ باسئ - دا ستاسو خدمت دي په دي شرط چه خاوري هر طرح نه و باسئ
په ځمکي کښې - دننه ئي پټوئ ... دي دننه سي چل وُ کړه - بيا بلې شپې ته بادشاه
زاده روان شه - په سورنګ کښې دَ ګلِ خندان کور په طرف لاړ نو دَ ګلِ خندان ځوړکي
پخپله را و آغست - خپل څادر په هغي باندِ و آچوه - چه صبائي ګلِ خندان پاڅېدَه او
وُ کتل نو ډير آفسوس ئې وُ کړ چه دومره ښاپيرۍ او څوکداران ولاړ او دا دَ بل سړي
ځوړکي دي - نو خپلو نورو پيرېدارانو تَه وُوِ چه داسي څوکداري بيا مه کوئ او نن شپي تَه
زه پخپله څوکداري کوم - هغوئ ټول لاړل او دي پخپله څوکداري وُ کړه - چه شپه پخه
شوَه نو ګلِ خندان اوده شوَه - په دي کښې بادشاه زاده راغي - خپله کورته ور سره ئي
بدله کړه - بيا صبائي چه شوَه شاه زادګۍ پاڅېدله - خيال ئي وُ کړ چه هېڅ څوک ما
وُ نه ليدله - خو بيا اسي چل وُ شه - بيا دريمي شپي څوکداري او خبرداري په خپل ځان
ئي وُ کړه - او کچه ګوته ئي پريکوله او مالګه په کښې دوروله چه هيڅ خوب نن را نه شي
چه شپه پخه شوَه نو چه وُ ئي کتل شاه زاده دَ کټ دَ لاندِ نه را وُ وتَه او چه دَ دي
دواړو سترګي برابر شوي نو دواړه بي هوش پريوتل - چه بيا دَ شاه زادګۍ هوش راغي نو
زر راغي او دا وُ لګيدلَه چه شاه زاده اُچت وُ کړي او خپل کټ باندِ و آچوي - دَ هغه
سر او تلي وُ ئي مښل - شاه زاده با هوش شهُ - بيا دي سره په خپلو کښې مجلس ساز
کړ - او ډير خوشحاَل شو په دي مجلس باندِ - شاه زادګۍ تر تپوس وُ کړ چه تُه څنګه

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[1] دَ سيلمي = united, in hosts.

راغلي ئي؟ داسي بيان شاه زاده وُکړ چه زه تا پسي راغلي يم او په لاري کښ تکليفونه
ليدلي دِي - دې ور ته وُوِ چه خما بوتلل ډيره ګرانه خبره دَه - خو تا ته به خداي
آسانه کِي - ځکه چه زه ستا ملګري يم - او خما دَ پلار دا شرطونه دِي چه اوړمبئ سپي
جنګوي - يو سپيَ به ستا وِي او يو خما دَ پلار دَيَ چه هغه ډير زورآور دَيَ - که ستا
تقدير سم وِي نو ستا سپيَ به زورآور شِي - او شرط به وُګټي - دويم شرط دا دَيَ چه دَ
اوسپنه يوه ګرګه کيږدي په ميدان کښ او هغه ګرګه هيڅ څوك نه شِي ماتولي بغير خما دَ
ځلپو ويښتو نه - دا ويښته که زه در کوم نو دَ تبر دَ لاستي ګير چاپير وُ تړه او بيا په
ګرګه ګذار وُکړ او اُميد دَيَ چه مات به شِي - دريم شرط دا دَيَ چه ډير شرشم په زمکي
به وُ کري - او زمکه به يوي کوي - او هغه شرشم به تُه ټول انړوي - چه مجلس ئي
اسي وُ شُه - شاه زاده رخصت شُه - دَ سورنګ په لاري خپل ځائي تَه لاړ - چه صبائي
شُه نو خبر ئي وُ ليږهِ دَ ښاپيرو بادشاه تَه چه زه دَ فلانکي مُلك بادشاه زاده يم او ستا
لورِ پسي راغلي يم - دَ ښاپيرو بادشاه ور تَه ځواب وُ ليږهِ چه ډيره ښه دَه - تُه خما شرطونه
پوره کړ او بيشك زه به خپله لور در کوم - بيا ور تَه دَ شرطونه حال ئي بيان کړ چه په
فلانکي ورځ مونږ دَ سپو جنګ به وُ کړو - نو دغه شاه زاده چه وُه دَ زمرکۍ بچي نه
ئي سپيَ جوړ کړي وُه - او د جنګ مياد ئي ايښي وُه - بيا چه هغه ورځ راغلهَ او
اوړمبئ ګذار دَ ښاپيرو بادشاه سپي اُ کړ خو آخير چه ډير جنګ ئي وَ کړ نو نتيجه ئي
دا وُ ختَه چه دَ بادشاه زاده ځناور دَ ښاپيرو بادشاه سپي مړ کړ - اسي دا اول شرط ئي
وُ ګټه - چه بله ورځ شوه نو هغه شرط راغي چه کوم دَ اوسپني ګرګه وُه - بادشاه زاده چه
ميدان ته لاړ تبر ئي په لاس کښ و آخست - هغه خبره له هغه نه هيره شولهَ چه شاه
زادکئ ويښته ور کړي وُو - کُل دري ګذارَ په دي شرط مقرر وُو - اول ګذار چه بادشاه
زاده وُ کړ نو هيڅ نه شُه - دويم ګذار ئي وُ کړ هُم هيڅ نه شُه - چه دريم ګذار تَه
طيار شُه نو دَ هغو ويښتو چه ور کړي وُو دَ ده په ياد کښ راغلل او دَ تبر دَ لاستي نه
ئي چاپير کړ او ګذار ئي وُ کړ - ګرګه ماته شوَه - دَ ښاپيرو بادشاه ډير حيران شُه چه
ګوري دا جادوګر دَيِ - چه دَ ورستني شرط ورځ راغلهَ نو دَ ښاپيرو بادشاه خپلو نوکرانو تَه

حکم ور کړ چه ښرشم وُ کړيږِ - او هل دَ ول[1] ئې يوې وُ کړيږ - هغه ښرشم چه وُه په تله ئې تللي وُو - او بادشاه زاده تَه ئې وُوِ چه دا به اسي آنړوئ چه څو پوري چه دا ښرشم بيا په تله پوره تول ښي او که يوه دانه کم وي نو سر به دِ پريکوم - بادشاه زاده ئې ميدان تَه بوتله او دَ ښهر ټول خلق را جمع ښول - بادشاه زاده مينځ کښې خپل چلم اوبه کول - يو څو کَس ور ته وُوِ چه تُه څنګه کم عقل سړئ ئې چه ستا په سر دومره دروند پيټئ پروت دئ چه نور پر نه کيږي او تُه هغه شان ري سوکئ سوکئ[2]! بادشاه زاده ور تَه څواب ور کړ چه دا څه کار دئ چه زه ئې په بېړه وُ کړم - ما تَه چلم را وړه - چه چلم ئې را وړ او دک کړ نو دَ دبئ تيلئ لګوي او هغه وزر چه کوم ميږئ ور کړي وُه پر وا ئې چوي[3] - څه ساعت پس ميږي راغلل او بادشاه زاده نه ئې تپوس وُ کړ چه څه خدمت دئ؟ بيا ئې ور تَه وُ ويل چه په دئ پټي کښې يوه دانه ښرشم پاتي نه ښي - ټول آنړول پکار دي - ميږو ور تَه وُوِ چه بالکل مه پريږده - او شروع ئې وُ کړ په ښرشم آنړولو باندِ - هغه ښرشم دَ ميږو يوه يوه دانه وُ رسيده او په تلي کښې ئې و آچوله - تر څو پوري چه له تول نه خالي يوه دانه فرخ[4] وُه - بيا بادشاه زاده ميږو تَه حکم ور کړ چه يوه دانه فرخ دئ - بيا دَ ميږو مالک چه وُه څواب ور کړ چه څومره يو ميږئ ګډ دئ او په دئ سبب نه دئ رسيدلي - يو څو ميږي ئې ور پسي وُ ليږل - هغه ميږي چه ګډ وُه ئې ډير وُ ټکول - او دانه ئې له هغه نه را وُ آخستله او بادشاه تَه ئې حاضر کړله - نو ښرشم برابر ښوُ - بادشاه زاده ښرط وُ ګټه - ډير خوښحال ښه - او ميږي ئې رخصت کړل - دَ ښاپيرو بادشاه چه بادشاه زاده له ميدان نه را وست نو يو دم خپل محل تَه ئې بوتله او ګلِ خندان سره ئې نکاح وُ تړه - دئ سره ښامل ښوُ - عيش عِشرت ئې کوله - چه څه موده تيره ښوه نو خپل سخر تَه عرض ئې وُ کړ چه زه خپل وطن له تلل غواړم - بادشاه اِجازت ور کړه او دَ هغه دَ تلو ټول بند و بست چه څه دَ بادشاهانو بند و بست وي ئې وُ کړ - او پس له هغې خپل وطن تَه روان ښه - اوړمبئ په خامار باندِ ملاقات ئې وُ کړ - او هلته ګلِ خندان ئې وُ خندوله او دَ هغې دَ خولي نه ګلونه

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[1] Literally, criss-cross.

[2] A colloquialism.—'Fiddling about.'

[3] Page 358, Note 1.

[4] = فرق. Like وقت, local pronunciation generally turns the ق into خ.

توي شول او دَ خامار سپيړمو نه بوراګان را کوز شول - خامار له سختيِ نه خلاص شُه - بادشاه زاده بيا روان شُه او خپل پلار بادشاهي تَه ور وُ رسيد - پَه پلار ئي ډيره لوي خوشحاليِ راغله - حکم ئي ور کړ چه نوبتونه غږويِ *

قصي لاړه پورته * زه راغلم کور ته

X. THE STORY OF BROTHER NIM KUNI.

يو بادشاه وُه - دَ هغه اوه ښځي ويَ - ځوي لور ئي يو نه وُه - هر وخت به ډيره خپه وُه - يوه ورځ له ډير خپګان نه پَه کټ کښ پريوت - يو فقير راغي خير دَ پاره او ده ور تَه خير را وړه - دي فقير له بادشاه نه تپوش وُ کړه چه بادشاهَ! قربان دِ شم - تَه ولي داسي خپه ئي؟ ده ور تَه وُوِ چه زه ځکه خپه يم چه اوه ښځي م دِيي او ځوي مِ نشته - ده فقير ور تَه وُوِ چه ما سره راځه - بهر له ښهر نه وُ وتل - يوه بېره وَه - هغي بيري نه دي فقير پَه خپله ډنګريِ باندِ اوه پانړي را غورزولي - او بادشاه تَه ئي وُوِ چه دَا پانړي يوسه - او خپلو ښځو تَه ور کړ يو يو پانړي - ده چه کور تَه راغي نو دي تَه يو يو پانړي ور ئي کړلي - منږك راغي او دَ يوي پانړي نيمه ئي وُ خوړلَه - چه څه موده تيره شوه نو دي بادشاه تَه اوه واړه ښځو نه ځامن وُ شول - يو پَه کښ نيم کُني وُه دَ دي ښځي چه کوم پانړي نيمه خوړلَه - چه څه کال تير شول نو دي لکوټي ټکړه شُه - نو دِيي شپږو ځامنو تَه پلار آسونه ور کولَه - نيم کُني له ئي پيشو و آخستله سورليِ دَ پاره - نورو شپږو ته ئي نيزي ور کړلي برچه بازي دَ پاره - نيم کُني تَه يو دوك ئي ور کړه - ده برچه بازي به کولَه - هيڅا دَ دي شپږو واړو موريَ نه شُه - خو نيم کُني چه پر راغي نو دَ هغو آسونو دَ لاندِ خپل پيشو پَه تاخت زغلوه اُچت ئي و آخست - دي شپږ واړه چه دِيي - پَه نيم کُني خپه شول. ده به ور تَه وُوِ چه مونږ سره مه ګرځه - خو دي به دَ آس دَ لاندِ پټ تلُه - يوه ورځ ښکار ته لاړل - دي وُوِ چه مه راځه مونږ پسي - خو دي ور پسي بيا تلي دي - دا نيم کُني چه وُه ډير اوښيار وُه - او ډير ټکړه وُه - دي چه داسي څه منځ لاړل نو دي شپږ وږي شول - او آفسوس ئي وُ کړ چه که اُوس نيم کُني ورور څمونږ ويَ نو مونږ ته دي باغ نه څټکي کښلي وُو - نيم کُني چه دَ

خبره ئې و آوريدَه وُو چه هائم ! لاړ خټکي ئې را وُ کښل - دې شپږو چه ميوه ئې
وُ خوړه ماړه شول. نو دَه ته بيا ئې وُوِ چه بيا لاړشه بيرته مونږ پسې مه راځه - دَه ور
پسې بيا پټ پټ راځي او چه يوې خشکي ميري تَه راغلل نو په هغې کښې دَ يوې
بوډۍ کور وُه چه هغه بوډۍ سړيَ خوړه وَه - دې بوډۍ دَ دِې شپه شوَه[1] - ماښام چه
شُه دې شپږ ډوډۍ وُ خوړه نو دِې سړي خوړې ور تَه وُوِ چه تاسو اوده شئِ - دې
وُ يريدل چه اُوس به دې سړي خوړه مونږ وُ خوري - وُ ئې ويل چه کَه اُوس نيم کُني
ورور وې نو هغه به څه چل جوړ کړي وُه ! بيا نيم کُني ور تَه وُوِ چه وار مه خطا کوئِ
هائم ! نيم کُني دې بوډۍ تَه وُوِ چه مونږ به هاله اوده کيدلي يُو چه مونږ لَه به مور
پړاتۍ پخې کړې - پړاتۍ چه دې شپږو وُ خوړې نو دې بوډۍ وُ ويل چه اوده شئِ -
دې نيم کُني وُوِ چه مونږ تَه به مور لَه سيند نه اوبه په غلبيل کښې را وړې نو مونږ به
اوده شو - بوډۍ لاړه سيند تَه - دې نيم کُني خپلو ورونړو تَه وُوِ چه ځئِ ! اُوس تښتئِ !
دَه لاړل وُ تښتيدل - بوډۍ اوبه را نه وړې - ډيرې غصې نه بيرته راغلَه خپل کور تَه - چه
هلته وُ رسيدَه نو ميلمانه تښتيدلي وُو - هغې وُوِ چه ډيره ټګي وُ کړه ! نو دا په منډې
ور پسې ځِي - هغه شپږ واړه لاړل کلي تَه [رسيدل] - نيم کُني تَه بوډۍ په لارې وُ رسيدَه -
چه وُ رسيدَه نو نيم کُني په يو سوړي کښې ننوت - دا بوډۍِ دَ سوړي دَ پَاس کښيناستَه -
نيم کُني به خپل دوك ئې وُ وهلَه چه تر کيڼې پوري ننوت او دا سړي خوړه مړه شوَه -
نيم کُني په پيشو بادِ سوړ شُه - راغې کلي تَه - چه کلي کښې راغې نو دَه وُوِ چه ما
خپل ورونړه لَه مرګ نه خلاص کړل - بادشاه ډير خوشحالَ شُه چه دا نيم کُني ډير اوښيار
دَې - نو بيا به په هغه خپلو ورونړو سره ګرزيدَه ●

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[1] A vulgar idiom. Liter. 'Their night was [with] the old hag.'

I. STORY OF THE TIRAH FAQIR.

The story goes that an impostor, garbed as a faqir, went into Tirah, right amongst the Afridis, and there took his seat in a mosque. People at first commenced to bring him food (in welcome), but the fellow called out to them, "I am a Saint. Of food I have no need."

Thereupon the people started to bring him money (saying),

"Oh lord faqir! If thou wilt accept these alms, then thy kindness will be great."

The fellow replied, "I have no mind for taking money."

Then all the folk said, "This is indeed a great Saint! It is befitting that he should show us a miracle, and cause a spring to gush forth from such-and-such a mountain."

The idea pleased them, so they said to the faqir, "Show us then (a proof of) your holiness. Cause a spring to break forth on such-and-such a mountain."

The faqir replied, "It is well. All of ye be present on Friday. Moreover show me the mountain on which ye want a spring."

All the folk there were pleased, and showed him the site where the spring was to be........

Now on the appointed day, all the people assembled in that place. The faqir, aware beforehand that this was the place where they wanted a spring, had buried in the ground a 'mussack' full of water. So when he arrived on the spot, he called out to the crowd.

"O ye people! In this place will I cause a spring to break forth. Only when your eyes behold the water, then straightway go ye hence, and return not again for five days! Then on this mountain will be much water."

So saying, the faqir seized a lance, and struck at the place where the buried 'mussack' was. The water spouted out. All the folk there were fully persuaded that the faqir had called forth a spring. Every man among them gave *backshish* to the faqir, and when night fell the faqir returned to his house, and thence set out upon a journey........ Five days later when the people of the neighbourhood gathered together, there was lying, in the place whence the spring had sprung forth, an empty 'mussack.'

II. THE STORY OF THE GAY WIFE, HER STEP-SON, AND A LABOURER.

It is thus related that (once upon a time) there was a man, who had one son. He had no wife (living), but he had saved up a few rupees wherewith to buy one.

He then got married again, but the woman turned out badly. One day the husband had gone out, when four swains of the lady arrived and commenced telling her, "To-morrow we shall be ploughing in such-and-such a field. So you come, too."

The lady replied, "Set to work in this fashion,—get some cooked grain from so-and-so the baker, and scatter it along the road · then I will go straight to the field, because I shall see the grain upon the ground (and follow it up, ".......... The husband's son overheard these words, and when next morning came, the youngster got up, and all the grain which had been sprinkled, he gathered together, and re-sprinkled in the direction of his own fields. Now, when it was light, the woman cooked some food, and set off with it, following up the grain upon the ground. She continued along that road, and came upon her husband. Her husband enquired,

"What have you come for?"

She replied, "I have brought you some food."

"All right, then. Only don't do so again," observed the husband.

On her way back from that place there was a shrine ahead. The lady cried. "Oh shrine! I have a request to make, if so be that thou wilt grant it".... The youngster had hidden himself in a tomb (close by), and (from there) called out. "Thy request is granted. What is thy wish?"

The woman replied, "There is a brat in my house, who to-day has tricked me finely. I wish that he may now become blind."

The youngster, from out of the tomb, cried to the woman, "At thy home is such-and-such a cow. Kill the cow, and when the brat eats of its flesh, he will lose his sight."

The woman was exceedingly pleased, and when she reached her husband's house, she remarked, "There is the boy here, who is not well. It is advisable that we kill the cow."*

The man replied, "We will get some other cow."

The woman did not agree in the matter, so the man said, "Very well," and killed the cow. Some of the flesh he gave to the boy to eat.

When the youngster had finished it, the woman asked, "How are you feeling?"

He replied, "I feel very fit, only that my sight has grown very dim. I can't see anything."

The woman was exceedingly well pleased, and sent word to her swains (saying), "Come. My stepson has become blind. He sees nothing."

The lady assembled her four admirers, and setting the cauldron on the fire, said to her stepson, "Light the fire underneath. I am just going out"........

In the stable outside was a pit, and in this the lady seated her swains. So soon as she had gone away, the youngster made the water boiling hot (then taking it out), he capsized the cauldron upon the four swains in the pit where they were sitting (hidden). All four of them perished.

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* *i.e.* in accordance with the common custom of 'Khairāt,' propitiatory alms or food given to secure the recovery of a sick person.

When the woman came back, she saw that her admirers were dead. She implored the youngster, " Do not tell your father."

"Very well," said he, "I won't ever tell him."

He set off for the bazaar, and got hold of a loutish labourer, to whom he said, "In our house there's a dead man. If you will throw him into the river, I will give you a rupee."

The man was very willing, and when dusk came, he said to the youngster, " Let's have out the dead man ! "

The boy replied, "Very good. Only look to it that the corpse does not come back"........

The labourer dropped the (first) dead man into the river, and rejoined the boy to ask for his rupee. The youngster said, " He's returned. Come and drop him into the stream again ! "

So the labourer received another of the corpses and threw it into the river.

As soon as the workman reappeared where the boy was, the youngster shouted out, " Ho, *mazdur*! what tricks are you up to ? Here's the fellow strolled back again ! "

The labourer threw a third corpse into the river, but on his return, the youngster cried out, " But you mock me ! The dead man has arrived (here) ahead of you."

The labourer flew into a great rage, and swore, " I'll not let the fellow off again."

He flung the fourth corpse well out into the river, so that it should not come back again. At this moment arrived a Hindu, intent on a swim, and repeating his ' Ram, Ram, Guru, Guru!'

The labourer jumped to the conclusion that the corpse had come back out of the river, so laying hold of the Hindu, he hurled him in too........

Then the labourer set off for the youngster's house. As he approached he saw a mullah who had come out to say his prayers. The labourer's attention was attracted to him. He said to himself, " Hullo, corpse ! Devil take you ! You've forestalled me again ! Sometimes you're in the guise of a Hindu, and sometimes of a mullah."

So he seized the mullah also, and the holy man went into the river after the others. (As he fell) the mullah made a grab, caught the labourer by the foot, and both fell into the river and were drowned.

So the woman and the youngster were quit of the whole affair.

III. THE STORY OF HAZRAT KHIZR, THE WOMAN, AND THE TWO HEADS.

There was a certain man and his wife, and another man who was their companion. All three were going along the road. Suddenly robbers appeared on the spot. They killed both of the men. They collected their booty and made off. The woman was left in the company of her two dead companions.

As dusk drew on, the Saint Hazrat Khizr came to that place. He said to the woman, "Put the (severed) heads of these men close (to their bodies), that I may pray God that he restore them to life."

The woman arose quickly, and put the heads in their places. And when Hazrat Khizr had offered up his supplication, then by the Lord's command the two men were again endowed with life. But their heads had become transposed. The head belonging to the woman's husband, had been changed with that of the other man. One of the men said, "This is my wife." The other man asserted, "You lie, she is mine"......

Whose should the woman be ? Reader, decide.

IV. The Story of the Three Brothers, and the Ruby.

Folk relate that there was once a man who had three sons. In his house he had buried three jars full of rupees, and upon the mouth of each jar had put a ruby. When at length the father died, the youngest son was aware of these jars,—three, with a precious stone on each. So one of the rubies he purloined.

Now when it came to the time for dividing up the inheritance, on the mouth of one of the jars there was no ruby. The eldest brother said, "It would seem that one amongst us brothers has stolen the ruby. But this I cannot say, whether it is the middle one of us, or the youngest."

The middle brother replied, "I also am of opinion that there is a thief among us, inasmuch as no one else was aware of the existence of the jars."

The youngest brother expressed himself after the same fashion.

They tried thoroughly, but could not clear up the matter, nor could anyone in the neighbouring villages bring it to an issue.

Now there was a certain king, and he had TWO daughters. Folk advised the brothers (saying), "These maids are exceedingly clever. If you will go to them, they will decide this affair for you."

So the three brothers set out. They had gone some distance, when they reached a tree, underneath which it was fine and shady. So they sat themselves down there.

The eldest brother observed, "Under this tree a woman has been sitting."

"Likewise," said the next brother, "the woman in question was *enceinte*."

"Also," remarked the third, "she was a runaway."

Thus exercising their intelligence they conversed, and presently when they had quitted the place, one of the brothers observed on the way, "Along this road has passed a camel who is blind in one eye."

"One of its teeth, too," said the second brother, "is missing."

And the youngest added, "On one side of it *ghee* was (loaded), and on the other side was some dung."

On leaving this place, the brothers were pushing forward, when from behind them came a shout of "Wait!"

The three brothers stopped, and a man came up and asked, "Young men, have you not seen a woman upon this road?"

The eldest brother said, "Was she not *enceinte*?"

"Yes," said the woman's husband.

"And was she not a runaway?" enquired the second brother.

"Yes," said the husband, "she was."

Then all three of the brothers said together. "Go. Make enquiry after your wife. For our part we have not seen her."

"Eh!" said the husband, "what nonsense is this? First you describe her correctly, and now you say you know nothing about her! Either you shall have the case tried with me according to the Sheriʻat, or shall give me one of your own wives (in exchange)."

"Come then," said the brothers, "it is for (a decision according to) the Sheriʻat that we have set out."

So the husband joined their party. They had all gone some distance further on, when another shout reached them from behind, "Hi, you young fellows! stop!"

When they had halted, up came another man, and asked, "Have you not seen a camel hereabouts?"

"Was it blind of one eye?" they enquired.

"It was," said the owner of the camel.

"Had it not a tooth broken?" said the second brother.

"That is indeed so," said the camel-owner.

"And was there not some dung upon one side of it," queried the third brother, "and *ghee* loaded upon the other?"

"Yes—yes. There was," said the camel-owner.

Then all three brothers said together, "Go, then, and search for your camel. Ourselves, we know nothing of it."

"You are robbing me!" screamed the camel-owner. "Either you give me a camel of your own, or I will have the law,—the law of the Sheriʻat,—upon you!"

"Come along," said the brothers, "it is for the Sheriʻat we are going"........

Now when the party of men reached the king's presence, they explained to him their situation.

The king replied, "First of all, deal with the affair of the woman,—how did you identify her?"

"Ordinarily," said the first brother, "(the impression) left where a woman has sat is of such-and-such a fashion. Hence I recognised that there had been a woman."

"Also," joined in the second brother, "when the woman arose, she placed her hand on the ground (to assist her): hence I recognised that this is a woman who is *enceinte*."

"Likewise," finished the third brother, "when the woman stood up, her first foot-print pointed backward. Common sense then told me that the woman was a runaway.''

So the king said, ''Oh you the woman's husband! These men are clever, and what they have learnt, they have learnt by their own intelligence. Depart, then, and seek your wife.''

And the woman's husband went forth.

The king next said, ''Now tell me of the camel. By what means did you identify it?''

The first of them replied, ''Upon the road were the tracks of a camel, so I said to myself 'Here is a camel'—and on one hand the grass had been cropped by the roadside, and on the other hand had been left standing. Thus I learnt that the camel was blind in one eye.''

''And I,'' said the second brother, ''observed that among the grass where the camel had grazed, here and there a blade had been left (standing). So I knew from this the animal had a tooth missing.''

''On one side (of the road),'' concluded the third brother, ''were flies, and upon the other side were dung-beetles—Consequently I inferred that, where the flies were, upon that side (of the animal) was the *ghee*; and that, where the dung-beetles were, upon that side (of the animal) was dung.''

The king said, ''O *Sarwan!* It is by their intelligence that these men have gained their information.''

So the camel-owner, too, went off about his business.

The king then addressed the brothers again (saying), ''You are astute indeed—what is it you now wish?''

The brothers replied, ''(We wish) for a settlement in the affair of the ruby. Whoever is the thief, pick him out (from among us).''

The king said, ''I have three daughters; to them I will refer the matter. I myself cannot decide.''

So the king said to his daughters, ''O my daughters, three men have come for a decision according to the Sheri'at; but they are very cunning. What, then, shall I do?''

One of his daughters replied, ''I will undertake the affair. But first I wish to test their cleverness.''

The king said, ''It is well. You may try their mettle a hundred times.''

''I will write a letter to the eldest,'' said the princess, and to him she wrote, ''O young man, you are my guest.—What food do you fancy?''

He sent a reply, ''I should like a *pillau*.''

The princess procured a fine goat and the *pillau* was prepared.

When the man had eaten of it, the princess asked, ''Well, O youth, was the food appetising?''

The man replied (dubiously), ''It was good, certainly''....

''What was there amiss with it?'' questioned the princess.

''It was rather like eating human flesh,'' said the man.

The princess said, " Sit outside for a while. I will make enquiries from the goatherd."

She went off, and questioned the goatherd concerning the animal. The goatherd said, " On the same day that this goat first saw the light, its dam died. Now, at the time, my wife had recently lost her own child within a few days of birth; so she nursed the young goat, which in truth was thus reared on human milk."

The princess was astonished, and reflected within herself, "I cannot settle affairs for such men. They are too astute."

Now the king had another daughter, and she made an offer to her father, saying, " O kind (one), I, then, will undertake to give a decision for these men; only do you make pretence that I am a man."

The king fell in with her idea, and arranged she should be called by a man's name.

The princess summoned her handmaiden (and said), " Go—take food to these men, and say, 'There are seven heavens.—The sky is overcast—(Yet) the stars are many.' "

Then the princess entrusted to a slave girl seven loaves, and also meat and *ghee*.

The girl (on the way) consumed two of the loaves herself, and also the meat and the *ghee* that was with them. The remainder of the food she handed to the three brothers, saying, "The princess gives you greeting: and after the greeting, says, 'There are seven heavens.—The sky is overcast.—(Yet) the stars are many.' "

They, when they had eaten the food, replied to the girl, " Give the princess our greeting: and thereafter tell her, 'The heavens are five.—The skies are clear.—Of stars, there are none.' "

So the handmaid went back, and gave to the princess the men's reply. The princess exclaimed, " Why did you eat two of the loaves and the meat and the *ghee* ? "

The slave girl commenced to offer excuses, but her mistress caused her to be belaboured soundly.

Now when morning came the three brothers repaired to the durbar where sat (*liter.* of) the king and his daughter. The princess, who had taken upon herself a man's name, said,

" Ye men, listen to me. I will tell you a story. There was a wazir's daughter, who went for a walk in her garden. Now when she reached there, the gardener arose, and gathered for her flowers. The wazir's daughter said to him, 'O gardener, what wish you ?' "

" Indeed I have not reflected," he answered, " yet I have a petition."

" Your request is granted," said she, " Speak ! "

The gardener replied, " This is my wish, that on the day when you are married, that very evening your condescension may move you to visit me."

" It is well," she said, " let doubt not trouble you."

Now upon the day when the wazir's daughter was married, she said to her husband, "There is a promise that I have made with the gardener. If you grant me permission, I will go to him, that my promise may be fulfilled."

Her husband replied, "Very well. Go, and fulfil your promise."

So the wazir's daughter set out, but scarcely was she upon her way (*liter.* outside), when a lion confronted her, saying,

"I am famished. God himself has given you into my hand."

"O lion," cried she, "for God's sake leave me, that I may go on my way to the gardener. When I return from him, then you may devour me."

"It is well," said the lion, "haste you."

As the wazir's daughter continued her way, a robber met her.

"Thanks be to Heaven," he said, "that you have fallen into my power. Over (selling) you I shall make many rupees."

"If you will show kindness," begged the wazir's daughter, "give me an hour's grace, that I may even reach to the gardener. Then, when I come back from him, you may carry me away."

The robber assented. "Hurry away," he said.

When the wazir's daughter at length arrived to where the gardener was, she exclaimed, "Arise. In fulfilment of your request, I have come."

The gardener arose, and made obeisance. He had with him twenty-five ashrafis, which were his savings, and these he now presented to the wazir's daughter, saying, "You keep good faith indeed,—that thus you visit me."

The wazir's daughter, when she departed thence, came again upon the robber, who had fallen asleep. She cried, "Rise up! It grows late, if (your intention is to) abduct me."

The robber, rousing up, made obeisance, saying, "I am at your service, for truly you have fulfilled your promise to me." He had with him some ashrafis, and these he gave to her.

The wazir's daughter, proceeding thence, came upon the lion—he, too, was slumbering.

"Lion!" she cried, "rise up and devour me!"

The lion arose; and he gave her greeting.

"Well done!" he exclaimed, "You are indeed a woman of your word."

Then the princess who had been relating the above story to the three brothers (she who had taken upon herself a man's name), said to them, "O men, I myself consider that the act of the gardener was praiseworthy; but who, in your own opinion, behaved well towards the wazir's daughter?"

"The gardener," replied the eldest brother, "was not so much the one who acted well; it was the husband."

"The good action," followed the middle brother, "belonged to the lion, that an animal (such as he), knew how to appreciate her keeping faith."

"The best conduct," declared the youngest brother, "was that of the robber; for he let her go."

The princess when she had received their replies, turned and bowed to her father, saying:

"O king! The first of these brothers is uxorious, for his sympathies are with the husband; and the second brother is a glutton, for he praises the lion; and the third is a thief, for he says, that the conduct of a robber is good."

"Which is the youngest of you brothers?" asked the king.

"This," said the other two brothers, "is he."

Then said the king to the youngest, "Give back the ruby to thy brothers. And now go ye hence. Your dispute is settled."

V. The Story of the Man who went to find his Luck.

In this world, firstly, there is luck,—that a man may obtain an opportunity; and secondly, intelligence,—that he may turn his opportunity to account. Without these conditions are both fulfilled, nothing ever will go right.

Now there were two brothers. One of them enjoyed excellent good fortune: and as for the other, he had neither intelligence nor luck.

So he questioned the fortune of his brother, saying, "Where, then, is my fortune?"

And his brother's fortune answered, "It is asleep in such-and-such a wood."

So the man set out to find it. Now upon the road there was a lion, who questioned the man, saying, "Whither are you going?"

"My fortune," said the man, "lies in such-and-such a wood. I go thither."

"Ask on my behalf, then," begged the lion, "what is the reason that I am thus ill, and why nothing seems to relieve me."

"Very well," said the man; and when he had gone a little further on, he found a horse lying, who asked, "In what direction go you?"

The man explained to him.

Then some distance beyond, he met with a tree, which addressed him, saying, "O man! pray, what is your destination?"

When the man had spoken of his intention, the tree said, "Enquire on my behalf also,—why am I thus leafless." (*liter.* dry.)

The man agreed.

Now when he reached to where his fortune was he seized upon it, and ejaculated angrily, "Here am I dying of hunger, and you asleep in a wood!"

"You have," replied his fortune, "no cleverness."

Then the man continued, saying, "My fortune! why is the lion ill; and what will effect his cure?"

"Tell the lion," replied his fortune, "that he should devour a fool: then will his recovery be complete. And tell the horse, that he should take a master who will ride him; then will he grow strong. And tell the tree that under its roots lies the treasure of seven kings, and if this treasure be taken forth, then will the tree flourish."

The man returned upon the same road, and upon his repeating what he had been told, the tree said, " If you will take out from among my roots this treasure, your kindness will be great; and you will be king (with the riches) of seven kings."

The man replied, " What good to me are riches ? Here is my fortune who now has roused up, and she will work for me."

Then he came to the horse, which asked, " What reply do you bring me ? "

"That you should take for yourself a master, who will ride you: then will you grow strong."

" You are my master," said the horse, " take me!"

" Look out for someone else instead," said the man. " My fortune has roused up now, and she will bring me many horses."

And then he came upon the lion who in turn questioned him, "What is my answer ? "

" That you should devour a fool," said the man, " then you will be restored to your former health."

" Did you also obtain replies for anyone else ?" asked the lion.

" Yes," said the man, " there was a horse and also a tree, for both of whom I obtained advice."

And then he set to, and related the whole story.

The lion, when he had heard him through, said, " You yourself are a superlative fool!" and, rising up, he killed and devoured him. * * *

He was a man of no astuteness, who could not recognise his opportunities, so his fortune profited him nothing.

VI. The King's Tale and the Wazir's,—A Fairy Story.

There was a king, and it so chanced one day that one of his wazirs shuddered.

" Why ? " said the king, " What is the matter? You are quivering ? "

"A great fear swept over me," replied the wazir. "Only this minute it recurred to my mind; and therefore I trembled."

" Tell me about it," said the king.

" In such-and-such a year," began the wazir, " I went to a far-off country. There I was wandering alone in a market when I saw a Faqir. 'O boy,' said he to me, 'whither are you going ? ' I told him my case, and he then said, 'Come with me.' We set off, and came to a well, and into that well the Faqir cast me. But in the midst of the well was a ledge, and this broke my fall, and (clinging there), I looked below, and there the bottom of the well was filled with vipers and scorpions, whose jaws were gaping up at me.

'If I fall,' I said to myself, 'they will eat me.'

Now the next day came a caravan, and some of the people belonging to it let down a bucket to draw water. I seized the bucket and cried out to the caravan folk, 'I am a human being ! Draw me forth ! '

So they drew me forth, and I told them of all that had happened to me. And when we again arrived back in the market, I once more perceived that Faqir; and he fell to wailing and lamenting, saying, 'You have left my children hungry!'

He prevailed on me to set out for the well a second time, but when we arrived there, I exclaimed to the Faqir, 'There is a lion in the well! Look!'

The Faqir leant over the well to see if there was in truth a lion; and then from behind I gave a push, and the Faqir became the food of the vipers below. And so, for my part, I was rid of him."

The king responded, saying: "O ill-fated one! Yet, if I relate my own adventures to you, you will sink (under the recital)."

The Wazir begged, "Do you also relate your story!"

"From the country of the Arabs," commenced the king, "some merchants brought me two horses which were beautiful to look upon, and of a fine colour. I gave them to my own servants to be tended, and they kept them well.

Now one day I went forth to see how the horses were. And when I saw them, behold! they were weak. I asked, 'Why are they in this wretched condition?'

At first, the servants hesitated to answer, but I commanded, 'Speak ye this instant!'

They said, 'Every night the chief wife of the king rides abroad on horseback. Therefore have the horses become weak.'

'To-day,' I said to myself, 'I will find out.'

When night came, I laid myself down by my wife's side, and feigned sleep. So soon as the woman had no longer any fear of my being awake, she rose, and started forth, I following her covertly.

Now as the woman headed (her steed) towards a mountain, I kept pace with her, and when she reached the mountain, there was a cave in it.

The woman entered the cave, and I entered after her, and hid myself.

Now when I looked around, I perceived in the cave a negro; and the woman had seated herself beside him. But the negro sprang to his feet, and commenced to beat the woman unmercifully, saying, 'Why is it that to-day you have arrived so late?'

'Overnight,' expostulated the woman, 'my husband was wakeful.'

'By Lât Manât I vow,' exclaimed the negro, 'that if to-morrow you bring not the head of the king your husband, I will never more hold converse with you, and will even do you hurt.'

'By your own head I swear,' the woman returned, 'to-morrow night I bring the head of my lord the King!'

On this the negro was pacified. And I,—I heard all this that passed; and by-and-by when those two others were asleep, I arose, and I severed the head of the negro from his body, and took the road back to my palace.

Now when the woman awoke, the negro lay there with his head missing! And the woman wept bitterly, but after some while she set off for her home; and (on arriving there), watched me the king narrowly, that perchance she might discover whether it was I who had done the deed. But there was nothing to arouse her suspicions.

Dawn came, and I the king, said to the woman, ‘ Bring me a water-melon ! ’

The woman replied, ‘ In this season, whence can one fetch water-melons ? ’

I answered, ‘ There are some in my horse’s saddle-bags.’

The woman arose (and looked), and therein was the head of the negro.

Then did the woman cast a spell upon me, so that my form became that of a black dog, and she drove me forth from the palace, crying to the retainers—‘ O ye men ! ’Tis a vile dog ! Whoso kills it, shall be handsomely rewarded ! ’

The whole of the crowd turned out in pursuit, everyone hoping that the reward might be his. But I fled, and nobody could catch me.

So I made my way to a mountain, and I took counsel with myself, saying, ‘ In such and such a city there is an old woman : who, moreover, is a noted witch. If I go to her, she will relieve me.’

I set off to find the old woman, and when I found her I fell at her feet. Now when the old woman’s glance fell on the dog, it occurred to her that perhaps this might be a man, changed by magic into this form. Thereupon the old woman performed an incantation, and the dog once more became a man !

And to the old woman I said, ‘ Teach me a spell such that I may turn that woman into an animal ! ’

The old woman blew upon some dust, saying, ‘ Take this dust, she will turn into whatever animal you wish, if you will pronounce the name of that animal, when casting again this dust upon the ground.’

I set out. All the people made obeisance to me. And when I came into my palace, I cast the dust upon the woman, pronouncing the word ‘ mule.’

When she had turned into a mule, I gave her to a potter. And I said to him, ‘ Take this mule, and employ her in your work, and ill-treat her thoroughly.’

And even so did he.”

VII. A Modern Story of Tirah,—and What Befell on the way Thither.

In British territory, a man was going upon his way ; and as he went, he was saying to himself, “ When shall I see my own tower in Tirah again ? ”

Now at this very moment, the man fell in with a faqir, who said to him, “ If you will provide me with food, then I will give you some sound advice.”

The man chanced to have with him five loaves, and he gave them to the faqir, (saying), “ Give me five words of good counsel.”

“ My first advice, then,” said the faqir, “ is this,—with whomsoever you may find yourself in company on the road, first of all learn that man’s name.”

“ Secondly,” (continued the faqir), “ this,—that into whatsoever village you enter, sit you down upon the ground until such time as they shall bid you rise and be seated upon a chair.”

“ Thirdly, this,—whatsoever property you have with you, do not produce it until they shall directly require of you (saying), ‘ Show such and such a thing.’ ”

"Fourthly, lay wagers with no one, for a wager is an evil thing."

"Fifthly, do not disclose your own affairs to your wife,—for women, too, are evil, and whatsoever they hear from you, that very hour they will repeat it to their lovers. As, for example, there was once a man who prayed God for riches, and his prayer was after this fashion, 'O God, give me riches, even upon my hearth!' One day he had gone forth, when he hurt his foot slightly. He took up a handful of soil (i.e. to rub it with), and as he did so, he perceived a jar of rupees (buried). But the man said, 'O God, I begged for them even upon my hearth, but thou givest them to me outdoors; and therefore I take them not, for if it were Thy will to bestow them on me, then wouldst Thou give them even upon my hearth.' So the man left all those rupees where they were; and when he reached home, he told his wife of the occurrence. The woman immediately slipped off, and told her lover, saying, 'My husband found rupees in such and such a place, but the blockhead did not bring them. Go, then, and get them for yourself.' The suggestion quickly commended itself to the lover, and off he went after the rupees. When he arrived at the place, he found the rupee-jar, but when he lifted the lid, lo! the whole jar was full of adders and vipers. Then into the man's mind came the thought, 'That woman must be my enemy!' So he replaced the lid, and raised the jar. Now, above the fireplace of the man who had seen the rupees first, was a skylight; and through this skylight the lover emptied (the contents of) his jar. When dawn came, the other man got up to perform his prayers, and what does he see but that his hearth is full of rupees. So he gave thanks to God, that, 'Now thou hast given them to me even upon my hearth.'" * * *

"So, fellow-wayfarer," (continued the faqir), "you, too, may be sure of this, that whatsoever you tell to your wife, that matter will not remain a secret."

"Very good," said the man who was on his way back to Tirah, "I will act accordingly."

Now it happened that this same man had with him a load; and at this point of their journey the faqir,—the same who had received the five loaves,—separated from him.

The man had gone on only a short distance further, when his bundle slipped, and he called out to the faqir from where he was in rear, "Hi man! Ho man!"

The faqir, however, returned no answer; but when the man fell to screaming he at length replied, saying, "O you foolish fellow! Indeed I warned you, that with whomsoever you find yourself in company on the road, first of all learn that man's name. Why did you not take my advice?"

And with that he re-adjusted the man's load. * * * * *

A few days later, our man,—he who had given the five loaves in exchange for counsel,—arrived on the Frontier, and directed his steps towards a village. Now in this village had been constructed a very pleasant (resting) place, with all manner of chairs there. So in the man went, and seated himself upon a chair that took his fancy. A moment later another man entered, and gave him a sound cuff over the head (demanding), "What do you mean by sitting yourself on a chair?"

The man in reply began to make apologies, but on receiving another cuff, he got up off the chair; and the counsels of the faqir recurred to his mind, and he said to himself, "Ah you unfortunate creature! In exchange for the loaves, what was the advice you received? Had you not appropriated a chair, there would have been no reason for the other man to strike you."

A little while later, when some of the folk of the village gathered together, they fell to chatting, and saying, "So and so, and so and so has a fine rifle," and another would add, "So and so has a fine revolver."

When the man overheard these words, he quickly pulled out his own revolver, and exclaimed, "Say now, if you consider such and such a revolver a good one, then just look at mine. Tell me what you think of *this*?"

The people there having inspected it, the leader amongst them suddenly cried out, "But this is *my* revolver! In such and such a year my house was burgled, and many things were carried off,—among them this revolver. Seize this man! He's a thief!"

The wretched simpleton stood there thunderstruck. Just at this juncture who shou'd arrive in the village, but that very faqir who had before given him counsel. Hurriedly the man confided to him his predicament.

"Long ago I advised you against disclosing your affairs to anyone," was the faqir's reply, "and you have not acted upon my recommendation. Now, then, let them seize you!"

But the man implored him, and said, "God himself has put me to shame. Help me out of this trouble!"

"Very well," conceded the faqir, "then your best course is to reply to your accuser and say to him, 'In such and such a deserted spot someone murdered my father with this very pistol. Therefore have I been taking it from village to village that I might learn who is the owner of it and exact from him the blood money; and now,—since you say yourself that the pistol is yours,—it seems that I have found in you the man who killed my father.'"

The man, as he listened to the faqir's words, thanked him sincerely; then off he went to the leader amongst the villagers, and made this same reply to him.

"For God's sake do not report me to the authorities," exclaimed the village-leader. "Accept a present of seven hundred rupees from me!"

So the simpleton took the seven hundred rupees: and, very well pleased, crossed the Frontier. * * * * *

A few days after arriving back at the town where he lived, in Tirah, he went out in the direction of a mountain. There he found a water-melon.

He returned home and said to his wife, "In such and such a place, on such and such a hill, I have seen some water-melons. Now I am going out to lay a wager as to who shall first produce a melon within an hour,—myself or some other man."

"Lay your wager on these conditions," said the woman, "that on whatsoever object (the winner) shall first lay his hand, that thing shall be his."

The man adopted this suggestion. He went off to the village meeting-house, and made the bet (saying), "If anyone can produce a water-melon, then whatever object his hand first shall fall on, shall be his."

Meanwhile the man's wife sent word to her lover, saying, "Accept the wager with my husband. In such and such a place will you find water-melons. When you have won your wager, and may lay your hand on what you will, lay it on me."

Her lover received the message; and thereupon he rose, and going off to the mountain, fetched the water-melons back to the *hujrah*.

"I accept your wager," he said to the husband.

"Out with the water-melons, then: let us see them," said the simpleton.

The lover produced the water-melons with alacrity: the simpleton of a husband when he saw them, recognized them as the melons he had seen upon the mountain. In his heart he was exceedingly vexed, and he said to himself, "In exchange for those loaves, what was the advice you received?—that one should not disclose one's affairs to a woman! In the present circumstances, had I mentioned nothing to my wife, how could that man have known (the whereabouts of the water-melons). As it is,—unless I can manage to see the faqir about it,—it will be upon my wife that this man will lay his hand!"

With this idea in his mind, the simpleton of the husband set out in search of the very same faqir who had counselled him already.

He poured forth his story; the faqir replied, "Again, then, you have abandoned my advice."

"Never again," protested the simpleton, "will I act so," and at length, on his making many entreaties, the faqir was appeased.

The faqir said, "Get a ladder, and upon its rungs, tie pieces of silk. Then, when your wife's lover comes to set his hand upon something), it will be upon the silk that his hand will first fall. Thereupon say to him, 'Devil fly away with you! Already you have passed over the silk on one rung! And over yet another! You are not going to take it all!'"

The simpleton set off back to his home. He took a generous amount of silk, and fastened it on the rungs of the ladder. The woman was seated in full view in the (first story of the) tower, against (the coming of) her lover.

Now the intention of the gallant, after his winning the wager, was that the first object he set his hand upon, should be the woman.

When he reached the ladder, he grasped it, in order to ascend. Directly he had mounted a couple of rungs, the simpleton shouted out to him, "Hi, you grab-all! So it's the whole of my silk you would be carrying off home, is it?"

And without more ado, he seized the lover by the heels and hauled him down. So,—thanks to the cleverness of the faqir,—he kept his wife for himself. * * * * *

Even as the Amir Hamzeh says,—'Either be a man, or be a disciple of men.'

VIII. THE KING'S SON,—AN ALLEGORY.

There was once a King, who had no son, and upon a certain day there came to him a Faqir.

"Wherefor grieve you?" he asked the King.

The monarch unfolded to him his sorrow; then said the Faqir, "A son shall even be born to you: yet on no account suffer him to go from out (your doors)."

Now, it so came to pass that a son was born to the King; and the king commanded that he should be kept close in the women's apartments, and should not be allowed forth. And the child grew up.

One day, through the skylight, shone the rays of the Princely Eye (i.e. the sun) and when the child beheld them, he said in his heart. "These are flowers." He tried to seize them, but they eluded his grasp; and at this moment approached a slave-girl of the King, and she said to him, "Little one! Were you to fare forth you would see many flowers. What are these that you should fret for them!"

On this the child cried out to his father, saying, "Take me forth; for if you refuse me, then will I kill myself!"

His father was very unwilling, yet (at length) from very helplessness he brought the child out from the women's apartments.

Now when the child came forth, he straightway went towards the market; and it chanced that at that very time a man had just died there.

"Why has this man died?" questioned the child.

"He was ill," said the men who were there.

"Who made him ill?" continued the child.

Folk began to laugh, "God made him ill; there is none other who has power thus to make people ill," said they.

"Will God make me ill, too?" queried the child.

"You, also, are one of mankind: so you, too, will God make ill," replied they.

When the child heard this, he turned his steps from that instant towards the jungle; and he continued on his way (thither), weeping bitterly.

Now in that jungle lived Faqirs. "Wherefore are you crying?" they asked the child.

The child recounted what had happened to him; then from amongst the Faqirs, one of them spoke, saying, "Sit you down: for there is something I would say unto you."

So the child sat down there, and the Faqir said, "O child! There was a certain man who went out to hunt, and he came to a place where there was game, and the name of that place was the World. And when he arrived in that spot, a bloodthirsty rogue-elephant was there, who, as soon as he set eyes upon the man, commenced to pursue him. The man fled from the elephant; and hard by was a well. Down this the man took refuge. And the elephant whose name was Death, took its stand over the brink of the well.

The man said to himself, "If I descend to the bottom of this well, then shall I escape from the elephant." But when he peered below him, he perceived an immense python: and half way down the well, was a little plant, whose name was Life.

Then the man laid hold of the plant, and within reach was a honey-comb,—which folk call 'This World's Food and Drink'—on which our existence depends.

When the man saw this honey-comb, he became exceedingly happy, notwithstanding the predicament he was in. All fear departed from his heart. He fell to eating the honey.

On one side of the root of the plant whereon the man had laid hold, was a black mouse,—who kept gnawing the root,—and on the other side was a white mouse,—who kept gnawing likewise. These mice were called Night and Day; by whose (constant) gnawing the plant (of Life) grows less. And the name of the python below was Tomb.

But the man heeded none of them. He was merrily eating his honey. * * * * *

For, as says Abdu-r-Rahman:—

He whose course in this world is run,
Comes not back to his own again!"

IX. The Labours of a Hercules.

Once upon a time, there was a King who had seven sons. These sons grew up. One day the King took counsel with his Vizier, saying, "If you agree, then I wish that arrangements be made for my sons' betrothal; and I desire that the betrothals be made wheresoever there be a King with seven daughters, so that the betrothals of all my seven sons may be within one family. Then will great happiness be mine."

The Vizier answered, "I will obey your commands, even as you have given them." * * * * *

So the Vizier set out. He had journeyed on for some time, when he came to where a river lay in his road. On the bank was seated a Faqir. "Whither go you?" said he.

"I am on my way to another kingdom," said the Vizier.

"Good, good," replied the Faqir. "Keep on your way; only listen to a word of warning,—when you are journeying upon this road from your present direction, do not pass the night upon the bank of this river; and should you be journeying from the opposite direction, even then do not spend the night here. This is my warning to you."

The Vizier pursued his road. He had pushed forward for some days, when (at length) he arrived in another kingdom whereof the King had seven daughters; and in the presence of this other King did he speak (*liter.*, do) according to the command which his own sovereign had laid upon him.

This other King was well pleased. For some time he detained the Vizier in his own company; forasmuch as he was then making a tour of his kingdom. He entertained the Vizier well and showed him marked attention. Then one day the Vizier made a petition in the monarch's presence, saying, "If thou wilt grant me permission, then will I return to my own King; for it is now long since I set out on my travels, and I desire to convey these good news to my sovereign."

Then did the King,—he who was father of the seven daughters,—write and deliver a deed, saying,

"From the day when your message was delivered to me, have I considered all seven of my daughters as betrothed to your sons. And I am well pleased. Now do I send this your Vizier back to you: and whatsoever be the marriage customs of your country, according to those customs, come,—that you may conduct back with you the brides."

The Vizier took his leave thence, and returned straight to his own kingdom. He journeyed long. Then, after some time, with deference and respect he laid his representations before his King, and rendered to him the letter which the other King had given him.

When the monarch read it, he evinced the greatest pleasure at its contents; and long he looked at it. Then, mastering his joy, he gave orders to his ministers, saying, "Make all the arrangements for the marriages, that we may go hence forthwith, and proceed on our journey to bring back the bridal palanquins."

Before setting out, he consulted with his ministers as to which of the young princes he should leave to hold the regency. The chief minister, said, "The youngest of the princes is very clever: he is fitted (for the task)."

"It is well," replied the monarch: and to his youngest son he said, "Remain behind to (administer) my kingdom."

The King started, taking with him the remaining six sons, and journeyed towards the kingdom of the sovereign who had become his friend. After some time he arrived.

The ruler of the country himself came forth to meet the father of the seven sons; and with great pleasure made arrangements for escort and everything (needful). For three or four days the party remained as guests. And after this, they took charge of the bridal palanquins and set out again for their own kingdom.

When they reached to the river where the Faqir had given the Vizier his counsel, the Vizier, from excess of happiness, forgot the warning. Everything was there in abundance. The King gave the order that on the bank of the river they should halt for the night. And so they spent the night there.

In the morning, someone or other rose early; when, lo and behold! a gigantic python, like a fortress, was (coiled) around them.

The person who had risen (roused the King), and informed him. The King, when he came to ascertain for himself how the matter stood, found that indeed there was no way of escape. Then the mother of the princes began to make cries and lamentation.

"This which you see is no fortress. I am a serpent," said the reptile to her, "who have emerged from the river. Never shall you escape me alive, unless the youngest prince also be put into my power."

This speech the mother repeated to the boys' father. The latter again approached the serpent and asked him, "But how can we send him the news? You have encircled all of us!"

The serpent replied, "I will allow a messenger from among you to carry the news."

So the messenger started, and the King entrusted him with a letter in which he wrote thus:—

If you are seated, arise!
And if risen, set out!

When the messenger reached the young prince, the latter obeyed upon the instant; and within a short time he arrived in his father's presence, and asked, "What are the commands laid upon me?"

Then said his father to the serpent, "My son is before you."

"It is well," answered the python, "All of you may go,—you are freed." But the youngest prince he detained with him.

Then said the young prince, "Wherefore do you detain me? Tell me your will."

"For this reason have I kept you back," answered the serpent, "that in my nostrils are insects, and on account of them I suffer greatly. Could you but go to the country of the Fairy Laughing-Flower, and by some means or other cause her to laugh, then will flowers fall from her lips, and after these flowers will the insects come forth from my nostrils, being attracted by the perfume. Then shall I be relieved. This is the service I require of you."

"Very well," answered the prince. "Whatsoever gold you need," continued the serpent, "take it from this river, and carry it with you upon your journey."

The prince took what he wished, and fared forth, following the river's bank. When he had journeyed thus for several days, he came upon a city of ants, and lo! the river was agitated by waves, which were sweeping away the ants. The prince's compassion was roused. He said to the ants, "How foolish you are! Why do you not leave this place where the river constantly does you harm?"

"We are a perverse people," answered the ants. "This river has carried away many of our friends, and therefore we (are resolved to) sacrifice even our own lives."

The prince then built them a wall: so that the ants were in safety. Then did the queen-ant give the prince her wings, saying, "Should it ever happen that you have need of us, cast these wings upon the fire. Then, if all be well, will we be present in your service."

The prince wished them good-bye, and resumed his journey. He went straight ahead,—on, on, on—thus he journeyed for some time, till at length he arrived at the village of the mice. When behold!—the chieftain of the mice was beating his people and putting them to flight.

The prince asked him, "Why are you acting thus?"

"These are such poor folk," replied the chieftain, "that they cannot pay me my taxes. Therefore am I beating them."

"If I, instead, pay you their taxes, will you let them alone?" asked the prince.

The chieftain of the mice was well pleased, and agreed. Then, having conferred with the other mice, he gave the prince (some hairs from) his whiskers, (together with sundry instructions).

The prince took his leave thence, and continued on his way for some days. He came to a desolate jungle, and there a lioness appeared, weeping. The prince was very sorry for her, and pitied her.

"Why do you cry?" he asked. "Tell me if there is anything you wish of me?"

"O prince!" exclaimed the animal, "there is nothing else I want, only that in my foot a thorn has broken off; if you would show kindness, then I should wish this splinter withdrawn."

"I would take it out," said the prince, "only you would devour me! It may be that you are playing a trick on me."

"Never will I devour you," protested the lioness. "Pray, take out this thorn. And if (from the pain), anger should get the better of me, then will I bite upon this (block of) wood, and not harm you."

So they arranged matters thus, and the prince drew out the thorn. The lioness, in return, gave him one of her cubs. The prince resolved to rear him, and the cub grew strong.

So once more the prince pursued his way, and when (at length) he arrived at the village (where lived) Laughing-Flower, he put up for the night at the house of an old crone. He gave her some ashrafis, saying, "Arrange for my horse."

"We are already without enough room in the house, and you bring horses with you?" haggled the old woman, "I won't allow you in! Go! Out you go!"

But the prince gave her some more ashrafis, and she said, "May I be your atonement and your sacrifice! Wherefore should I drive you forth!"

Now, one night, he reflected to himself, "This is the village of Laughing-Flower; and the mice made a certain promise to me. So come and let us see whether they will fulfil their promise or not."

So he set fire to the whiskers of the mouse-chieftain, and a little while after the mice came in hosts.

"Prince," said they, "what service do you wish of us?"

The prince gave his command, saying, "From beneath my bed drive a mine that shall emerge beneath the bed of Laughing-Flower. That is the service I require of you,—provided that you leave not the soil on my floor (to betray the mine). Hide it somewhere within doors."

Thus did they. Then, the next night, the prince set out. Through the mine he reached the dwelling of Laughing-Flower, and there he dressed himself in her clothes. His own cloak he cast over her.

In the morning when Laughing-Flower awoke, she was very vexed, that, with so many fairies and watchmen on guard, here should be the clothes of some other person.

To her sentinels she said, "Keep not such watch again: to-night I will even keep watch myself."

So they all went, and she remained keeping watch herself. When the night was advanced, Laughing-Flower fell asleep At this time came the prince. He exchanged his robe for hers. Then, when morning came, the Princess Laughing-Flower arose.

"I have seen no one!" she marvelled, "yet again this has happened!"

The third night she again continued, herself, to keep watch and ward; and she made a cut in her little finger, and rubbed salt into it, so that sleep that evening should not come to her. When the night had drawn on, she beheld the prince emerging from the ground beneath her bed; and when the eyes of the two met, they were robbed of consciousness. The princess was the first to recover; she strove to lift him on to her own couch. She chafed his face and temples.

The prince recovered himself, and then they fell to talking. And they found their conversation a pleasure. The princess asked him, "How is it that you have come?"

"In search of you I came," declared the prince; and then he told her of his adventures on the way.

The princess said, "To carry me off is very difficult. Yet will God make it easy to you, for that I am your helper. These are the conditions my father has made,—first, there shall be a fight between dogs: one will be yours, and one will be my father's, which latter is very powerful. If your fortune hold good your dog will win, and you will gain the day. The second trial is this,—in an open plain they will erect a bar of iron which no one can break unless a lock from my hair (be with him). Such a lock, if I give it you, bind round the handle of your axe, and strike at the bar: which will then break. The third trial is this,— they will sow a large quantity of mustard-seed on the ground, and they will then plough the soil; all this mustard must you collect."

After they had thus spoken together, the prince took his leave, and returned by way of the mine, to his own house.

When morning came, he sent word to the King of the Fairies, saying, "I am prince of such-and-such a country: and I am come for the hand of your daughter."

The king sent a reply, "It is well. Fulfil the conditions I set; then certainly will I bestow on you my daughter."

Then he gave him details of the conditions,—that upon a certain day should be the fight between dogs.

Thereupon the prince in question made his lioness's cub to resemble a dog as far as possible: and awaited the time fixed for the battle. When the day came, the Fairy-King's dog dealt the first wound; but finally, after a long struggle, it befell that the prince's animal killed the hound of the Fairy-King.

So did the prince gain the first of his successes. Next day came the test of the bar of iron. The prince went forth into the plain, grasping his axe in his hand. But he forgot that the princess had given him a lock of her hair.

Altogether, three blows were allowed him. To the first blow that he delivered, there was no result. He struck yet again,—still nothing happened. He was ready for the third blow, when he recollected the lock of hair that had been given him. Winding it about the axe-handle, he struck. The iron bar was cloven.

The King of the Fairies marvelled greatly, thinking that mayhap this was a sorcerer.

When the day of the last test came, the King of the Fairies commanded his servants to sow mustard-seed. They ploughed in criss-cross fashion, and (first of all) weighed the mustard-seed in scales.

"This will you gather together again," they said to the prince, "until the weight of the mustard-seed in the scales is once more correct. And if there be but one grain short, then will your head be the penalty."

Then they led the prince out to the plain: and all the people of the city were there gathered together. The prince,—in their midst,—proceeded to prepare the water for his 'hookah.'

"What a foolish man you are!" remonstrated some of the bystanders. "With the most difficult task possible hanging over your head, here you are fidgetting about in this fashion!"

"What kind of a task is this, that I need set to in haste!" replied the prince; "Bring me my 'hookah.'"

When they had brought the 'hookah,' and filled it, he set a match to it, and placed therein the wings which the queen-ant had given him. Soon after came the ants.

"What is our work?" they asked the prince.

"That in this field not a single grain of mustard-seed remain," replied he. "All of it must be collected."

"Have no fear whatever," said the ants, and they commenced to gather in the mustard-seed. The ants' mustard-seed came in grain by grain; and they replaced it in the scales, until only one grain remained to complete the full weight.

Then the prince gave orders to the ants, telling them that a grain was missing. the leader of the ants said, "One of our number is lame: therefore has he not yet arrived,"—and sent one or two ants after him. They belaboured the lame one thoroughly, and taking the grain of mustard-seed from him, carried it to the prince.

The mustard-seed was complete; the prince had gained his hazard!

He was delighted, and gave the ants leave to depart.

The King of the Fairies conducted him from the plain, and carried him straight to his palace: and there he celebrated his marriage with Laughing-Flower.

So they were united, and passed their days in happiness and joy.

When some time had elapsed, the prince requested permission of his father-in-law to revisit his own country.

The Fairy King granted his request: and for his going, made all such arrangements as are befitting to royalty. So the prince set out for his own kingdom. First of all, he visited the python: and there he moved Laughing-Flower to laugh, and from her mouth fell flowers, so that the insects quitted the great serpent's nostrils, and thus relieved him.

Then the prince again took the road, till he arrived in the kingdom of his father. His father was overjoyed, and gave orders for the clarions to be sounded.

* . My story is done, *
* So off home I run. *

X. The Story of Brother Nim Kuni.

There was once a King who had seven wives, but neither a son nor a daughter. He was always unhappy. One day, from excess of grief, he was lying upon his couch. A Faqir came begging for alms, and the King gave to him.

"O King," said the Faqir, "may I be your sacrifice! What is it that grieves you?"

"I am sad," replied the monarch, "because, although I have seven wives, I have no son."

"Follow me," said the Faqir, and he went forth from the city. A great tree was there, and with his staff the Faqir brought down seven leaves. These he gave to the King, and said, "Take these, and give to each of your wives a leaf."

So when the King again reached his home, he did so. A mouse came, however, and ate half of one of the leaves.

Some time after each of the King's seven wives bore to him a son. But one of these was 'Nim Kuni.'—Of the double members of the body he had but half his proper allowance. He was the son of the woman of whose leaf the mouse had eaten half.

As years passed, the sons gradually grew up............and the King procured a cat for Nim Kuni, for him to ride upon. To the six other sons, the monarch gave lances for tent-pegging,—to Nim Kuni he gave a clothes-prop. Then they used to tilt. Not one of the others could transfix the peg, but Nim Kuni coming along at it, galloped underneath their horses, and carried it off.

Now the six in question began to dislike Nim Kuni. They used to say to him: "Do not come about with us,"—but he used to accompany them by stealth, riding underneath their horses.

One day they went out to hunt, telling him not to follow them; but Nim Kuni did so.

Now Nim Kuni was very clever, and exceedingly strong in body. The six others, as they went along, became hungry; and commenced to be sorry, saying, "If Brother Nim Kuni were here, from this garden hard by he would obtain us some melons."

"Here I am! Here I am!" exclaimed Nim Kuni as he heard these words, and fetched them the melons.

When they had eaten the fruit, and were satisfied, they said to Nim Kuni, "Now you may go back again. Do not follow us."

But he again followed on their tracks by stealth.

They came to an arid plain, in which was the house of an old hag, who fed upon the flesh of men. They put up for the night at her abode. When dusk fell, the six of them ate their meal, and the hag said, "Now you may go to sleep." But they were afraid, thinking, "Now will this old man-eating hag devour us."

They said among themselves, "If only Brother Nim Kuni were here, he would devise some way of escape."

"Be not dismayed!" cried Nim Kuni (coming forward).

He said to the old hag, "We will go to sleep after you shall have prepared for us a tasty fry."

When the six had eaten of the fry, the hag said, "Now sleep."

Nim Kuni replied, "We will sleep when you shall have brought us, in a sieve, water from the river, Mother."

The hag went off to the river.

"Off you go! Flee!" exclaimed Nim Kuni to his brothers. And they did.

The hag found she could not bring the water, and in a fury she came back to her dwelling. When she arrived, her guests had flown!

"What a trick to have played me!" she exclaimed, and started running in pursuit of them.

Six of the brothers made good their escape and arrived in their own village. But the old hag overtook Nim Kuni on the road. As she came up, Nim Kuni took refuge in a hole. The hag seated herself on the brink.

Then Nim Kuni thrust at her with his clothes-prop, so that it impaled her, and she died.

Nim Kuni mounted his cat, and made his entrance into his own village. And on his entrance, he admitted that he had saved his brothers from death. The King his father was overjoyed, saying, "How clever Nim Kuni is!"—and thereafter he was admitted to the companionship of his brothers.

FINIS.

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The Chank Bangle Industry; its Antiquity and present Condition.

By James Hornell, F.L.S.,
Superintendent of Pearl and Chank Fisheries to the Government of Madras.

INTRODUCTORY.

At the present day the general use of bangles made from sections sawn from the shell of the sacred Indian chank or conch (*Turbinella pyrum*, Linn.) is confined to the people of Bengal and of certain of the adjacent provinces. In India proper the custom does not appear to range further west than Behar, nor further south than Orissa. On the north and east the limits are less determinate as there the peoples are wilder and the means of obtaining articles of ornament difficult and uncertain. We may say, however, that throughout Thibet from Ladakh in Kashmiri Thibet to the Kham country in the east, the women, whenever their means and opportunities permit, wear heavy and coarsely-made bangles manufactured from this shell. In Assam and Bhutan the same custom is observable, but owing to the diversity in origin and to the differences in the manners of the tribes in this region, the custom is sporadic; in one valley all the women may wear these ornaments; in the next valley or in the adjacent hill villages none may be seen.

The women of Bengali race are the main observers of this practice, and were the fashion of wearing chank bangles to become obsolete among them, the industry would languish and probably soon die out. It is they alone who provide a market for richly carved and highly polished chank bangles; their humble sisters among the Santáls, Kochhi, Thibetans, and Maghs are satisfied with plain or rudely carved bangles without polish—they prefer strength and quantity to ornamental designs and fine finish.

The industry of bangle-cutting, as will be detailed in the following paper, is located at the present day almost entirely in Bengal. Dacca is the chief centre of the manufacturing trade, Calcutta the emporium where the raw material is gathered from the different chank fisheries in the south of India and in Ceylon and whence the shells are distributed to Dacca and numerous local centres scattered throughout the length and breadth of Bengal.

The following notes are intended in part to show that in ancient days the custom of wearing these peculiar ornaments was widely spread throughout the greater part of India and that bangle-workshops were equally widely scattered, from Tinnevelly in the extreme south to Kathiawar and Gujarat in the north-west, through a long chain of factories located in the Deccan. The general condition of the industry as it exists at the present day in Bengal will be described with such notes as I have been able to gather with regard to the various tribes and castes whose women now wear bangles made from the chank shell.

I. The Antiquity of the Industry.

(*a*) *Its existence in Tinnevelly at the beginning of the Christian era.*

Reference to ancient Tamil classics furnishes evidence scanty but indubitable of the existence of an important chank-cutting industry in the ancient Pandyan kingdom in the early centuries of the Christian era. Similar evidence is also extant of a widespread use of carved and ornamented chank bangles in former days by the women of the Pandyan country which may be considered as roughly coextensive with the modern districts of Tinnevelly, Madura and Ramnad, forming the eastern section of the extreme south of the Madras Presidency.

Among the more important references which prove the ancient importance of this industry on the Indian shore of the Gulf of Mannar, is one contained in the "*Maduraikkanchi*," a Tamil poem which incidentally describes the ancient city of Korkai, once the sub-capital of the Pandyan kingdom and the great emporium familiar to Greek and Egyptian sailors and traders and described by the geographers of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. under the name of Kolkhoi. From the purity of the Tamil employed in this poem and the similarity of the names of the towns, ports and goods mentioned incidentally with those employed by Ptolemy and the author of the "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," we may date it as approximately contemporaneous with the writings of these authors and certainly not later than the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D.

In one passage (LL. 140—144) the Parawas are described as men who dived for pearl oysters and for chank shells and knew charms to keep sharks away from that part of the sea where diving was being carried on. Another passage depicts the city of Korkai, then a seaport at the mouth of the Tambraparni, as the chief town in the country of the Parawas and the seat of the pearl fishery, with a population consisting chiefly of pearl-divers and chank-cutters. The great epic, the *Silappathikāram* or "Lay of the Anklet," written about the same period by a Jain poet, gives further information about Korkai from which we gather that on account of the great value of the revenue derived from the pearl fishery, this city was a sub-capital of the Pandyan realm and the usual residence of the heir-apparent, boasting great magnificence and adorned with temples and palaces befitting its wealth and importance.

Another valuable reference to the chank trade is contained in two Tamil stanzas which chronicle a passage at arms between a Brahman and Nakkirar, the celebrated poet-president of the Madura Sangam in the reign of the Pandyan king, Nedunj Cheliyan II, who flourished probably about the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

The Brahman, named Dharmi, presented to the Sangam a poem purporting to be composed with the aid of Siva. Nakkirar, the President, in spite of its alleged divine origin, criticized the poem mercilessly, and rejected it as unworthy of literary recognition. The Brahman took revenge by presenting another poem also purporting to be inspired by Siva; in it he held the President up to ridicule on account of his caste trade in the following pungent lines :—

" அங்கங் குலையரிவாளினெய் பூசிப் . . . .
பங்கம்பட விரண்டுகால் பரப்பிச் — . . . . சங்கதனைக்
கீர்கீ ரெனவறுக்கு நக்கீரனோ வென்கவியை
பாராயு முள்ளத்தவன். "

which may be literally translated as follows :—

" Is Kiran fit to criticize my poem ? Spreading his knees wide, his joints loosened (by the labour), does he not saw chanks into sections, his ghee-smeared saw murmuring the while kir-kir ?"

Besides the insult intended to be given, the verse contains a play on the President's name and the sound given out during the sawing of chank shells.

The reply of Nakkirar was, "Chank-cutting is indeed the calling of my caste ; of that I am not ashamed. But of what caste is Sankara ?" (one of the many names of Siva). "We earn our livelihood by cutting chanks ; we do not live by begging as he did"—an allusion to the fable popularized by the Brahmans wherein Siva is represented as a mendicant seeking alms with a skull in his hand as begging bowl.

சங்கறுப்ப தெங்கள் குலஞ் சங்கரனார்க் கேது குலம்
பங்கமுறச் சொன்னாற் பழுதாமே — . . . . சங்கை
யரிந்துண்டு வாழ்வோ மரனே நின் போல
விரந்துண்டு வாழ்வதில்லை.

Dharmi's description of a chank-cutter's trade is wonderfully vivid in the original Tamil; in a dozen words he paints a realistic word-picture of a cutter's workshop—the men seated on the floor with knees widely spread and depressed outwards almost to the ground to give free play to the great crescentic two-handled saw monotonously droning a single note as it cuts its way laboriously through the hard substance of the shell.

Tradition has it that Nakkirar, the chank-cutter President of the Sangam, was a Parawa by caste. It would be most appropriate if this be correct as we have already seen that at the beginning of the Christian era chank-fishing and chank-cutting were among the important trades carried on in Korkai, the chief settlement of the Parawas in early days and the emporium then known to Greek sailors and traders as Kolkhoi.

No Parawas to-day are engaged in chank-cutting, although they still largely monopolize the shore industries of Tinnevelly, where they continue as from time immemorial to provide a large contingent of the divers required for the exploitation of both the Pearl and the Chank Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar.

It is noteworthy that though their women do not now wear chank bangles their children under two years old are often given roughly-made chank bracelets to wear in the belief that such will protect them against the baneful influence of the evil eye, from vomiting and from a wasting disease called *chedi* which appears to be rickets. The disease is reputed to be caused by the child being touched or approached by a woman during her menses! This custom has now been abandoned or is perfunctorily performed by some of the better class Parawas, but the great majority, including naturally the whole of the poorer and the more ignorant sections of the community, continue to adhere strongly to the custom. These bangles are roughly finished and with the crudest of ornamentation; they are made by Muhammadans at Kilakarai, their chief settlement on the coast of the Gulf of Mannar.

The evidence furnished by the Tamil classics of the existence of an extensive chank bangle industry in the extreme south of India during the height of ancient Tamil civilization, 1200 to 2000 years ago, has received unexpectedly conclusive corroboration within the present year (1912) through discoveries which I have made on the sites of the once-famous Tamil cities of Korkai and Kayal (now Palayakayal). These cities are now represented by mounds of rubbish adjacent to villages still bearing the appellations of their celebrated predecessors. At Korkai which, as already noted, flourished from a date well antecedent to the Christian era down to some indeterminate time prior to 1000 A.D. when the accretion of silt at the mouth of the Tambraparni drove the inhabitants to build another city (Kayal) at the new mouth of the river, I made the greatest find. There, on the landward outskirts of the village, I unearthed a fine series of chank workshop waste—17 fragments in all. The whole number were found lying on the surface of the ground in a place where old Pandyan coins have from time to time been discovered according to information gathered in the village. The fragments unearthed all bear distinct evidence of having been sawn by the same form of instrument, a thin-bladed iron saw, and in the same manner as that employed in Bengal at the present day. Eight fragments represent the obliquely cut "shoulder-piece," six consist of the columella and part of the oral extremity of the shell, and the remaining three are fragments of the lip—all show a sawn surface, the positive sign of treatment by skilled artisans.

At Kayal or Palayakayal (*i.e.* Old Kayal) as it is now termed, the daughter city of Korkai, which flourished in the days of Marco Polo and which appears to have grown rich as Korkai gradually passed away as a seaport owing to physical changes in the delta of the Tambraparni, I found an excellently preserved sawn shoulder-piece, with marks of the apex having been hammered in after the present-day habit in Dacca workshops. This was found on the surface in an open space within the present village. Time did not allow me to prosecute a detailed search, but in my own mind the single fragment found is conclusive evidence of the industry having once been located here. No shell-cutting of any description is now carried on anywhere in this neighbourhood.

Again, at Tuticorin, I have found a sawn and hammered shoulder-piece of typical form, hence as the three discoveries were all made at places which *in turn* have been the head-quarters of the chank-fishery, I am fully convinced that at all three, chank-bangle workshops formerly existed, to treat on the spot this product of the neighbouring sea. Why the seat of the bangle-cutting trade became transferred or limited to Bengal is obscure and may never be satisfactorily elucidated ; I am, however, inclined to suggest the hypothesis that the decay of the industry in Tinnevelly may have been consequent upon the Muhammadan invasion. The date of the passing away of the chank-cutting industry I am inclined to put tentatively at about the fourteenth century, a time which marks the close of unchallenged Hindu supremacy in the south, the spoliation of the vast riches of the Pandyan cities by the Moslem and the heyday of Arab sea-power on this part of the Indian coast. With the depression and decay entailed by the loot and ruin of their enormously wealthy temples and long prosperous cities by the invaders under Malik Kafur, it is far from improbable that the particular trade here referred to became disorganized within the Pandyan realm and forced into a different channel, the whole of the shells being exported to Bengal to be cut there instead of being treated, at least in part, locally at the seat of the fishery.

(*b*) *The Former Existence of Bangle Factories in the Deccan and in Gujarat and Kathiawar.*

I have been unable to obtain any evidence from ancient Indian writings of the existence elsewhere than in the extreme south of the country of any ancient custom of wearing bangles cut from chank shells. Probably such references do exist, and if this be so, I trust the present notes may elicit their quotation by scholars who are familiar with the ancient Sanscrit and Gujarati classics, the most probable sources of information.

Fortunately, in this absence of written records, archæology has important evidence to offer, and although it is difficult to date the greater portion of this testimony with any exactitude, it offers irrefutable proof that the industry of chank-cutting and the custom of wearing chank bangles had once much less restricted geographical range than at the present day. The largest collection of remains demonstrating this fact is the Foote collection of Indian prehistoric and protohistoric antiquities in the Madras Government Museum. This valuable series comprises several thousands of palaeolithic and neolithic implements and weapons, together with multitudinous fragments of pottery and other artifacts assigned to the neolithic and succeeding prehistoric periods. For us the main interest centres in the numerous fragments of chank bangles and chank workshop cuttings and waste represented in the collection. Many of these were found associated with undoubted neolithic stone implements, while others were mingled with potsherds of less readily determinable age. The collection includes worked specimens of bangles in a fragmentary condition from the following districts and provinces in India :—

Mysore.
Bellary.
Anantapur.
Kurnul.
Hyderabad (Raichur Doab).
Kistna.
Gujarat.
Kathiawar.

The localities in Mysore, Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnul and Hyderabad adjoin one another and form a solid block or district in the southern Deccan, some 250 miles from north to south and 150 miles from east to west. The find in Kistna District is of separate importance as it consists of two fragments of finished bangles associated with Buddhist objects (lead coins, head of figurine, etc.) which cannot of course be considered prehistoric.

The localities in Gujarat and Kathiawar form a second well-marked geographical area, being situated around the Gulf of Cambay and adjacent to a coast where chanks are fished at the present day.

Omitting Kistna District, Mr. Bruce Foote's collections and explorations indicate only these two localities as centres of ancient chank-working in an examined area which extends from Tinnevelly on the south to Rajputana in the north, an area inclusive of the whole of Central and Southern India.

In order to be in a position to decide the age of these chank fragments it will be most satisfactory if I tabulate in the following pages the various sets and give such details as Mr. Bruce Foote supplies in his descriptive catalogue of the collection, with such commentary on each as may be pertinent to the subject at issue.

MYSORE.

Srinivaspur in Kolar Taluq. No. 202.[1] Six fragments of chank bangles associated with iron slag, No. 202 (158), the half of a weathered basalt celt and large quantities of fragments of pottery. The particular place where the above were found was to the east of the big tank at Srinivaspur, "where several acres of ground are "covered with much comminuted earthenware lying in a thin layer,....... With "the pottery I found half a celt of basalt minus its butt but weathered and trimmed "at its cutting edge. Half a dozen pieces of broken bangles of chank shell occurred "scattered about in the layer of potsherds. Noteworthy among the broken sherds "are the vase bases Nos. 202/83—91 of highly polished brown, or red and brown "colours." A flat sherd, No. 202—99, is described as "black half polished with an "impressed pattern like many small tents; a similar fragment was found by Mr. R. "Sewell at Gudivada in the Kistna district." The age of these potsherds, etc., is stated by Bruce Foote both on page 11 and on page 23, volume 2, as apparently neolithic. In my opinion, however, the presence of chank bangle fragments found among the pottery indicates the age to be considerably later than neolithic days and at a time when iron was freely employed as I cannot admit that chank shells can be sawn and bangles made therefrom without the use of a metal saw; the association of a fragment of iron slag is significant. Apart from this, the presence of No. 202/99, described as decorated with a similar pattern to that upon some fragments of a fine vessel found at Gudivada in the Kistna District, is evidence in favour of the comparatively late date of these Kolar specimens. The Kistna ones belong certainly to historic times as they comprise lead coins, a terra cotta head of a figurine, very classic in appearence, apparently belonging to early Buddhist times. With the Kistna specimens fragments of chank bangles are also associated.

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[1] The numbers noted are those given in Mr. Bruce Foote's "Catalogue Raisonné," Madras Government Museum, 1911.

BELLARY.

(*a*) Manakurti Hill, 1353. "Columella of a chank shell, upper end ground." Found at the same place were a small flake scraper of chert and a small quartz flake. [*Note.*—Similar fragments of chank columellas are used by some hill tribes in N.-E. India as ear or hair ornaments.]

(*b*) Nagaldinni, Adoni Taluq, 1442/77—79. Three fragments of chank bangles came from made ground, east of Nagaldinni, Adoni Taluq, 40 miles north-east of Bellary, associated with a large number of neolithic flakes and cores of chert and agate.

(*c*) Nagaldinni, Adoni Taluq, 1456/16—57. A large number (42) of chank bangles were also turned up by the plough in fields at an old site near the Tower Rock, Peté, 3 miles west of Nagaldinni, associated with shell beads (Cowry, *Natica* and *Nerita*) and pottery which Bruce Foote says is "*probably of Iron Age*" (all these bangle fragments lack ornamentation; they are of the simplest and most primitive form and bespeak either lack of skill on the part of the workers or primitive taste on that of the wearers). Santal and low-caste Hindu women in Bengal at the present day wear somewhat similar bangles in the form of gauntlets consisting of from 8 to 12 separate rings.

(*d*) Mugati, Adoni Taluq, 1457/38 & 39. Two fragments of chank bangles were associated with numerous flakes, cores, strikers, etc., of chert and agate obtained from a site on a low hill, west of Mugati, Adoni Taluq.

(*e*) Sandurvallam, 1516, B, C & D. At a site west of Sandurvallam, 15½ miles north-east of Bellary, two fragments of worked chank bangles and a working fragment of chank shell were found. The only objects associated with these were a portion of the lid of an earthenware vessel and a piece of reddle or earthy haematite ground upon one side. [The discovery of a single working fragment is insufficient evidence that this was once the site of a bangle factory; in Bengal to-day the working sections cut in the Dacca workshops are largely distributed to other towns to be carved and polished.]

(*f*) Hampasagra, on the Tungabhadra, 1518/5—23. The discovery of eighteen fragments of chank bangles and a shoulder portion of shell sawn off as in the cutting up of shells for bangles, from made ground on the right bank of the Tungabhadra, east of Hampasagra, 53 miles west of Bellary, furnishes evidence of the extensive use of chank bangles in ancient days in this neighbourhood. With them were beads made of entire *Paludina* shells, and fragments of *Cypraea moneta* and of a *Nerita*. The fragments show considerable skill in engraving patterns upon the outer surface—Mr. Bruce Foote places the age as late neolithic or early Iron Age (p. 75, Vol. II). It is quite probable that this was the site of a bangle factory for while the presence of a working section is not sufficient evidence, that of a waste fragment such as is cut off the shell when sawing it into working sections, is almost conclusive, because there is no object in transporting waste to a distance from the factory. Usually such wastage is burned to make lime, shell lime being highly valued in India for white-washing and fine stucco work.

(*g*) Hadagalli, 1518/ a, b & c. From made ground in the north bank of a nullah, at Huvina, near Hadagalli, 65 miles west of Bellary, came a single bangle fragment with 2 cowries (*Cypraea moneta*).

(*h*) Raidrug, 1552/1. A fragment of a bangle found on a village site south-east of the Tope, Raidrug.

(*i*) Malyam, 1565/156—158. The mounds south of Malyam, Raidrug Taluq, yielded three fragments of chank bangles. From the same mounds came three fragments of scrapers made of Unio shell, together with a flake of specular iron, and an oval disc of earthy haematite having two faces and a side ground. Also much pottery which Mr. Foote says is "*probably neolithic*," and a small neolithic celt and diorite corncrusher; however, on p. 24, Vol. I, he refers to the Malyam pottery as of "typical Iron Age." Half of a hone (1557) of slatey lime-stone, deeply worn by use, is a notable find at this site. With the bangle fragments, etc., was a marginal scute of the carapace of a species of Turtle.

(*k*) Bellaguppa, 1574/4—11. From an old site north of Bellaguppa, came a fragment of a working section of chank shell, an entire *Cypraea moneta*, four fragments of scraper made of *Unio* shell, and three fragments of chank bangles; associated with these were a neolithic celt, a fragment of a corncrusher, some pottery and two metal fragments, one being possibly part of a bronze ring.

ANANTAPUR DISTRICT.

(*a*) Havaligi Hill, Gooty Taluq, 2088/2—9. Eight fragments of chank bangles without incised ornamentation were found on an old site on Havaligi Hill, an isolated granite hill in Gooty Taluq, 40 miles north-west of Anantapur.

These were associated with a granite-mealing stone and several celts, hammers, flakers and corncrushers chiefly of basalt and diorite and all of neolithic facies, together with a large number of chert and agate flake artifacts, many of which were serrated and biserrated. Mr. Bruce Foote (*loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81) says, "Exactly for what purpose they" (these highly worked flakes) "were made is problematic *unless indeed they were used for working the patterns on chank shell bangles*. Some are really delicate objects the preparation of which must have required much time and great care." Numerous cores of both chert and agate were found here. [*Note.*—In connection with the above suggestion as to the probable use of the flakes it must be noted that from the same site came 2085, a fragment of iron slag, which indicates a knowledge of iron, a much more suitable material for chank working tools than chert or agate flakes, however carefully worked. Besides, the remains give no indication of this site having been the scene of a bangle factory, as all the fragments are worked and just the fragments which we see when bangles being broken accidentally or purposely are thrown aside by the wearers.]

Bruce Foote says (*loc. cit.*), "There are many signs of continued habitation on the middle and eastern parts of the hill, especially the latter, in the shape of mealing places, mostly small and deepish ovals; the shallower hollows are of much larger size superficially."

(*b*) Tadpatri Railway Station, 2106—a. The only other find of chank bangle remains was one of a plain unornamented bangle washed out of made ground, north of Tadpatri Railway Station; at the same place were found cores of red jasper and of chert and a fragment of steatite vessel showing signs of having been turned on a lathe. All these remains are classed as neolithic by Mr. Bruce Foote.

CUDDAPAH.

(*a*) Mundlavaripalli on the Papaghni River. No. 2203. A large number (29) of fragments of chank bangles from left bank of Papaghni River, at Mundlavaripalli, Kadiri Taluq. Three exhibit carved patterns such as may be made by a saw or a file, the others without incised carving.

With them were associated a large and remarkable series of fragments of old pottery to which Mr. Bruce Foote assigns a neolithic origin (*loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 23). No particulars are given as to the depth below the surface at which these remains were found, or whether they were found loose on the surface.

KURNUL DISTRICT.

(*a*) Bastipad on the Hindri River. No. 2258. A most important find was made by Mr. Bruce Foote in 1888, on the left bank of the Hindri, opposite the village of Bastipad, of large numbers of interesting potsherds, fragments of finished and unfinished chank bangles, and over a score of pieces of chank shells of exactly the same character as those now produced in the cutting up of chanks in Dacca bangle workshops. A piece of iron slag and another of specular iron were also produced by the same site, together with a broken celt and an oblong hone both made of diorite, and some neolithic chert flakes.

These remains appear to have been collected from the surface of ploughed fields as Mr. Bruce Foote says the pottery was mostly much broken up by the ploughing of the fields which had come to occupy the old site in which they had been buried. This site must have been a populous village in olden times to judge from the quantities of potsherds found, and there can be no doubt that one of the industries of this ancient village was that of chank bangle manufacture. The waste pieces and the ring sections cut from the shell are precisely what we meet with in Bengal workshops at the present day. The striations made by the slicing saw are still clearly to be discerned, and their regularity and the straightness of the cut are the same as those produced by the big semilunar fine-toothed saw now in use in Dacca factories for this purpose. The presence of the hone and the two pieces of iron have a direct bearing on this matter. The evidence taken altogether disproves completely to my mind, the possibility that the bangle fragments found here and in other localities by Mr. Bruce Foote were produced by neolithic people using finely serrated chert or agate flakes as suggested by him (*loc. cit.*, p. 81, Vol. I). Had such been the case the shell sections and the waste fragments cut off in the course of sectioning—the shoulder of the shell and the lip portion of the mouth whorl—would not exhibit the perfect regularity and evenness of sawn surface which they do. It is quite possible to cut a ring section from a chank-shell by means of a flint "saw" but the task is one involving prodigious difficulty and the waste pieces must necessarily be broken and chipped off in the process in consequence of the impossibility of cutting cleanly through the shell owing to the smallness of the tool and the thickness of its back. Only a thin blade, such as the employment of iron or steel permits, will perform the task of sawing off the shoulder or the lip portion in one continuous operation and without breaking off the waste parts piecemeal as the sawing progresses, as must necessarily be the case if a small thick-backed stone tool be employed.

The hone found may conceivably have been used for rubbing down the thickness of the edge of the iron saw employed, as at Dacca to-day, or in sharpening the edge of the chisel-edged implement used in sharpening the teeth of the saw itself.

Raichur Doab (S.-W. Hyderabad).

The country lying between the Tungabhadra and the Kistna, the Raichur Doab, appears to have been thickly populated in prehistoric times by the same race as has left great numbers of implements scattered through the present districts of Kurnul, Cuddapah and Bellary. Three sites have yielded remains of bangles and of these one has undoubtedly been a manufacturing centre where the raw material has been cut up and worked into bangles for sale to the people of the district. This ancient factory was located near Maski, on the right bank of a tributary of the Tungabhadra. Exhibits 2783—63 to 2783—85 are typical chank workshop waste exactly similar to what I have seen in Dacca factories. There are examples of obliquely cut "shoulder pieces" with the apex purposely smashed in as in modern rejects from a Dacca factory, of fragments of the columella and of cut-off "beaks." Fifty-three fragments of worked bangles are also shown and a considerable proportion, 2783—25 to 2783—35, exhibit traces of ornamentation in the form usually of cross grooves. Associated with these chank artifacts are numerous neolithic chert flakes, scrapers, and cores, also a fair quantity of old pottery which Mr. Foote regards as of iron age (p. 23, Vol. I), though I am personally inclined to place the age considerably more recent for reasons to be stated later. The find of a broken iron blade, 2783*a*, at this site is of the utmost importance; it may well be the remnant of a small hand-saw such as is used to-day by Bengal workmen for roughing out much of the line decoration so characteristic of bangle ornamentation.

Fragments of chank-bangles have also been found at two other places in Raichur Doab—at Kotegallu, Ling Sugur Taluq and at Rawalkonda. In both cases they were associated with neolithic implements, basalt celts and very numerous chert and agate flakes; a considerable number of the Rawalkonda flakes have biserrate edges. At Kotegallu, the objects had been turned up during ploughing and at Rawalkonda they appear also to have been surface-finds; hence in my opinion the significance and value of the association of the bangle fragments with undoubted neolithic artifacts are largely impaired.

It may be remarked in passing that the Kotegallu and Rawalkonda bangle fragments are of the crudest patterns and show no signs of incised carving.

KISTNA DISTRICT.

In Southern India, apart from the southern region of the Deccan, the only find of chank bangle remains has been at Gudivada in Kistna District. The two fragments there found are without decoration, and their approximate age is more easily assignable than that of any specimens from other localities; the associated objects are undoubtedly early Buddhist in their origin, consisting as they do of four lead coins, a terracotta figurine head modelled on classic lines, earthen spindle whorls, and several polished black potsherds, one piece having distinctive decoration similar to a fragment found near Srinivaspur in Mysore associated with several fragments of chank bangles.

GUJARAT AND KATHIAWAR.

Mr. Bruce Foote's labours prove that the custom of using chank bangles was widely spread and that chank-bangle factories were numerous in these two provinces in ancient times.

The finds which he records are as follows :—

In Kathiawar :—

(*a*) Damnagar, Amreli Prant.—In the fields (presumably upon the surface) north of the camping tope at this town a great number of chank bangles in a fragmentary condition were found, and of these 41 pieces are represented in the Museum collection. Three working fragments were also found at the same place, together with a couple of cowries and a Trochus shell ground upon three sides. Associated were such neoliths as a basalt corncrusher, a bloodstone hammer, and chert and agate cores.

(*b*) Babapur.—At this village, situated 13 miles westward of Amreli, the alluvium of the left bank of the Shitranji river yielded a large and important series of neolithic chert flakes, scrapers, slingstones, and cores in association with 13 fragments of finished chank bangles, together with two working fragments and part of the columella of a chank. Several of the flint flakes are worked upon one or both edges, and one of the bangle fragments exhibits a chaste design executed with considerable delicacy (pl. xvi, fig. 3615-1). The other bangles are of plain and crude design.

(*c*) Ambavalli.—Seventy-one fragments of broken bangles from an old site at this place are represented in the Museum collection (Nos. 3622-1 to 65 and 81-89). Of these the greater number are ornamented by pattern grooving and many show an elaboration of design as great as those now manufactured in Bengal. The designs in many instances are precisely the same as those in vogue to-day. Seventeen of the finest examples are shown on pl. xvi, borrowed from the Foote catalogue.

Associated with these bangle fragments were numerous portions of sawn sections of chank shells, constituting the rough working material required by the bangle carver (pl. xvi, fig. 3622-64); 33 fragments are shown (Nos. 3622-63 to 65 and 90 to 119).

With the exception of a few unimportant potsherds the only other object of importance found at this site was a small iron knife with tang. No stone implements were discovered, and no information is given as to the precise conditions under which any of the exhibits were found ; presumably they lay on the surface of the ground examined.

(*d*) Sonnaria.—Fragments of two chank bangles of simple pattern apparently found on the ground surface. Fig. 3623, pl. xvi, shows the simple semi-cylindrical pattern of one fragment. A chert scraper comes from the same locality.

(*e*) Kodinar.—On the surface of Mr. Foote's camping ground were found several sawn portions of chank shell, two being shoulder slices such as are found in the wastage from a bangle workshop.

(*f*) Válábhipur (the modern Walah).—From the ruins of the ancient city Mr. Foote obtained a large and most interesting series of chank-bangle fragments, 62 in number, whereof ten of the most noteworthy are reproduced on pl. xvi under No. 3493. With them were a smaller number (seven) of sawn working sections. A few marine shells (*Nerita*, *Nassa*, *Ostrea*, and *Conus*) were also found among the ruins.

In Gujarat :—

(*a*) Sigam, on north bank of the Heran River.—Five weathered sawn working sections of chanks are represented in the collection from this site. No finished remains of bangles were seen. The site yielded a variety of neolithic flakes and cores and two sandstone hammers or pestles. No indication is given of the precise mode of occurrence, but I conclude they were all surface finds.

(*b*) Kamrej, 12 miles north-east of Surat.—The summit of a small islet in the Tapti river at this place yielded three sawn shoulder slices (workshop waste) of chank shells and a single fragment of finished bangle. The latter is remarkable for the peculiarity and elegance of its pattern, a broad and closely worked zig-zag groove such as I have never seen either among ancient bangle fragments or on any of the present-day productions of Bengal. It is figured as No. 3066-*b* on pl. xvi.

With these chank remains were two fragments of sandstone hammers.

This site is notable as being on an islet in the Tapti river protected against assault by steep and almost inaccessible sides—a place very defensible and therefore an ideal place for the settlement of craftsmen.

(*c*) Mahuri, in Vijapur Taluq.—From "an old site at the head of the gully system which cuts deep into the alluvium of the Saberamati" at this place, a series of working sections and waste pieces of chank shell were found sufficiently numerous and varied to convince me, after examination of the fragments, that a bangle workshop undoubtedly existed here at a remote period. The presence of sawn waste associated with sawn working sections is conclusive.

Of completed bangles the remains found were few (eight are shown in the collection), but of these, three are of special interest on account of the elaboration of ornament exhibited. Two of these fragments are of broad bangles richly carved in patterns (fig. 3310–6–7, pl. xvi) very closely approximate, if indeed not identical, with forms in use at the present day. The third fine example is a tiny fragment (3310–8), of the narrow form of bangle known as *churi* in Bengal, usually worn in sets of three on each wrist. The other fragments found are of simpler patterns.

An interesting associated find was that of a small "finial" carved out of shell, probably mother-of-pearl (fig. 3310—5, pl. xvi). It is identical in form with a mother-of-pearl nose-pendant now in use among the poorer castes in some country districts in Bengal. An example which I purchased in Eastern Bengal is carved from the shell of a river mussel (*Unio* sp.). From the alluvium at Mahuri whence the bangle fragments came, a few neolithic implements, chert flakes and scrapers principally, were unearthed, together with several noticeable pieces of pottery. Of the latter, one is of special importance as it affords some evidence better than the neoliths touching the age of the bangle factory once situated at this place. It is a small headless figure of a sacred bull, of polished earthenware, red externally and black within. Two garlands are indicated around the hump by means of rows of tiny impressed punctures, and there can be little doubt that it is of early Brahmanical age.

(*d*) Kheralu.—A single fragment of a sawn working section of chank shell was found on the surface of the loess at this place.

Eight sites can clearly be indicated as probable centres of this industry, namely, (*a*) Sigam, Hiran Valley, Baroda Prant, (*b*) Kamrej, on the Tapti, (*c*) Mahuri, on the left bank of the Sabarmati, Baroda State, with (*d*) Ambavalli, (*e*) Damnagar, (*f*) Kodinar, and (*g*) in and on the alluvium of the Shitranji river above Babapur, all four in Amreli Prant, Kathiawar, also (*h*) Válábhipur in Vala State, Kathiawar. At all these places working fragments of chank shells have been found. The most important sites appear to have been those at Mahuri in Gujarat and Ambavalli and Válábhipur in Kathiawar. The unworked sections and waste pieces of shells found at these three places are so numerous and so characteristic in their form of stages in shell-bangle manufacture that we are perforce compelled to admit these sites as having been in old times locations of important factories, a conclusion to which further weight is given by the discovery at each of these places of fragments of completed bangles, in many instances of highly decorated patterns. At Ambavalli and Válábhipur fragments of finished bangles are especially plentiful, and as may be seen by reference to pl. xvi where two bangle fragments from Mahuri (No. 3310), one from Babapur (No. 3615), ten from Válábhipur (No. 3493), one from Kamrej (No. 3066) and seventeen fragments from Ambavalli are figured, ornamentation is well executed and exhibits considerable taste, a high degree of skill, and undoubtedly the employment of effective tools of several sorts—saws, drills and files. Iron is the only metal suitable for making tools fit for carving the extremely hard substance of chank shells, and it is of the greatest interest and significance that at the Ambavalli site, associated with the many fragments of worked and unworked chank circlets found there, an iron knife with a tang was discovered which from personal examination I am satisfied may well represent such a chank-saw as is to-day in common use in Bengal chank factories for cutting patterns upon the bangles.

From a consideration of the details given above a certain number of facts and conclusions of importance emerge, to wit :—

(*a*) In all cases the fragments of bangles and of chank shells appear to have been surface finds. In several cases this is definitely stated and in the remainder wherever no statement of horizon is given, the context points to a like provenance. From this it follows that association with neolithic artifacts in itself has little value or significance; both neoliths and chank fragments are practically indestructible by atmospheric weathering agencies, and their association may merely connote the fact that particular surface areas have suffered little or no denudation or change since neolithic times, whereby the broken implements and discarded ornaments of a later age have mingled with those of an earlier one. Or it may be the result of the artifacts of different ages having been weathered out of different alluvial strata in such way that they come eventually to lie together at a lower level of the original ground or else in some newer river deposit into which floods may have rolled them.

(*b*) The facts already noted that all sections of chank shells, working pieces as well as wastage scraps, show cleanly sawn surfaces as verified by examination of the originals now in the Madras Museum, and that these surfaces show series of striæ *often at two or more angles to one another*, are sufficient to negative the tentative suggestion made by Mr. Bruce Foote (*loc. cit.*, vol. I, p. 81, and vol. II, p. 132) assigning a neolithic origin to the workmanship. Neither serrate nor biserrate chert flake saws, however delicately made, could possibly produce such cleanly sawn sections as we see represented in the collection. The aid of thin metal saws must be invoked, and it is most significant that in two instances (Ambavalli in Kathiawar and Muski in the Raichur Doab) fragments of iron knives were found associated with the remnants of chank working-sections. In several other cases (Srinivaspur in Mysore, Havaligi Hill in Anantapur, and Bastipad in Kurnul) pieces of iron slag were found in association.

As the working sections of chank shell retain visible evidence of being sawn by means of a metal (iron) saw, and as iron fragments are frequently associated with them, the evidence is to me satisfactory that the age of the former cannot possibly be neolithic ; knowledge of the manufacture of iron into somewhat elaborate tools—saws, files and drills—must have been possessed by the bangle makers. This would appear therefore to rule out the early iron age, when iron weapons and tools were of primitive design.

Incidentally this conclusion is likely to affect the estimate of age accorded to the potsherds so frequently associated with fragments of chank bangles and to render doubtful their identification as neolithic or even of early iron age.

(*c*) Three sites alone give other than negative evidence in regard to age. These are Gudivada in Kistna District, Válábhipur in Kathiawar and Mahuri in Gujarat. The remains at the first named are indubitably Buddhistic while the occurrence of a figurine of a bull with a double garland round the hump points distinctly to an age when the adherents of Brahmanism were in the land, holding in especial reverence Siva's sacred bull. Most important find of all was that made in the ruins of Válábhipur, for the history of this old city is fairly well known ; the dates of many of the great events that happened there are known and the descriptions of two Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited the city are extant. The story of Válábhipur goes back some centuries before the Christian era and for long it was the seat of the Válábhis, a Rajput race, and the centre of their rule, till A.D. 766 when the last of the line was overthrown by Arab invaders from Sind. Válábhipur was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the course of his fifteen years' sojourn in India (A.D. 630–645) and by I. Tsing in the succeeding century. Both pilgrims describe it as a large and flourishing city and a great centre of Buddhist learning, its streets and schools crowded with students. The reigning dynasty, themselves of the Brahman faith, appear to have been tolerant of Buddhism like many of their contemporaries. In Hiuen Tsang's day the latter religion was still followed by great numbers of the populace, especially in Orissa and Southern India ; elsewhere Hinduism was rapidly becoming the popular religion and the mass of the people were of this faith when the last Valabhi dynasty ended in A.D. 766.

As the chank is a religious symbol both to Hindus and to Buddhists, we may reasonably conclude that the remains of chank bangles found in Válábhipur were made for the use of the women of the town and neighbourhood not later than the eighth century. The trade must have been long established at that time to judge by the excellence of the work turned out, which fully equals that of average Bengal workmanship of the present day.

Taking all facts into consideration I am inclined to date the majority of the bangle fragments found in the Kathiawar and Gujarat sites as roughly contemporary with the Válábhipur specimens, or at most not antedating them by more than 300 to 400 years.

To date the Deccan chank bangle factories is more difficult ; one outstanding fact is the simplicity of all the patterns. The great majority are devoid of ornament save for a boss roughly carved at one side. This plainness of design would seem to bespeak less skill on the part of the Deccan workman than on that of his fellow craftsman in Gujarat. If that be the explanation, and if it be not due to lack of taste or of the means to pay for good work on the part of the buyers, then we may reasonably date the majority of these fragments back to the first few centuries before or after the beginning of the Christian era. The presence among the pottery mixed with the bangle fragments found near Srinivaspur in Mysore of a flat sherd similar in pattern to one found with the Buddhist remains at Gudivada in Kistna District is noteworthy as lending further countenance to this conclusion.

(*d*) The finds made argue that apart from Tinnevelly in the South two other great centres of chank-bangle manufacture and usage existed, one in the Southern Deccan, the other adjacent to the coast of Kathiawar. It is most probable that other centres of the industry did exist, but at present there is little direct evidence to this effect. For instance it is not likely that an industry which was firmly established in Eastern Bengal at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in India[1] and of Tavernier's travels in the seventeenth century, and which continues to flourish at the present day, should be of modern growth.

With regard to the third known seat of the industry in ancient times, that which flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Tinnevelly District, its geographical location in the coastal section of the Pandyan Kingdom made it the natural centre and home of a great chank-cutting industry. The Pandyan sovereigns were from time immemorial overlords of the Pearl and Chank Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar and Palk Bay, the most important source of supply of the raw material then and now, and it is a curious vagary of trade that the present seat of the industry should be situated 1500 miles from the scene of the fishery.

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[1] " Garcia da Orta writing in the sixteenth century states that the chank was then an article of importance in the Bengal trade, *though less valuable than formerly.*

From the fact that among a few widely separated castes, sub-castes and tribes of the extreme south of India, including among others the Kotas of the Nilgiri Hills and certain sections of the Vellalans and Idaiyans in the inland Coimbatore District, the custom prevails of wearing chank bangles for ceremonial reasons, we may also reasonably infer the former wider prevalence of the custom. Indeed it is probable that the custom was at one time prevalent throughout a large section of Southern India.

Kathiawar and adjacent Gujarat are also both maritime provinces, and this geographical situation is the key to the location of a chank-bangle industry in those provinces in early times; the coast of Kathiawar is the only considerable source of chank shells apart from the Gulf of Mannar and Palk Bay. No chank cutting is done either in Kathiawar or Gujarat; the women there have abandoned their former habit of wearing chank bangles and all the shells fished on the Kathiawar coast are exported to Bengal where they are known in trade as "Surti" shells, as Surat was the mart for them prior to the rise of Bombay.

Why the Southern Deccan should once have been the home of a shell-cutting industry is not so easy of explanation, seeing that it is situated in the heart of the country and distant from 400 to 500 miles from the nearest sources of supply (Rameswaram and the Tanjore coast). Possibly the location of this trade in the Deccan was due to the superior skill as craftsmen of the people in these districts inherited from expert stone-using ancestors who found in the tough quartzite and trap rocks of the district more suitable material for their weapons and tools than the men to the southward where intractable gneiss constitutes all the rocky outcrops. Certainly in prehistoric times Bellary, Kurnul, and Cuddapah were more thickly populated than the country to the south if we may judge from the evidence of the number of stone implements found respectively in these two sections of India. The neolithic remains of these Deccan craftsmen show their makers to have been comparatively highly skilled workers and with the discovery of the use of iron, haematite ore being abundant in Bellary, the men of this district may reasonably be supposed to have developed special skill in the working of the new material into tools and in the manufacture of many articles, ornamental as well as useful, with the aid of these improved tools. Add to this the natural conservatism of tribes isolated from the coast by hill ranges—the customs and manners of the Deccan tribes have been less changed by contact and intermixture with surrounding races than the majority of the tribes or races living in the coastal plains. To these inland people the wonder of the great shell honoured by their gods would appeal vividly; the mystery, to them, of its origin would confer added importance and as we find the wild hill tribes of Assam and Bhutan do at the present day, they would end by endowing ornaments made from it with mysterious powers of ensuring well-being and good luck, even as the Buddhist cartmen of Ceylon and their Hindu brethren throughout the Southern Carnatic adorn their bulls with a chank shell as a charm against the evil eye.

The chank shells for the Deccan bangle workshops may have come from the Tanjore coast, this being the nearest source of supply. The Tanjore fishery appears to have been fairly lucrative down to the middle of the 19th century when economic changes caused a collapse of the industry. Tirumalavassal at the mouth of one of the northern branches of the Kaveri is the centre of the chank fishery on this part of the coast and is not far from the site of Kaveri-pattanam, once chief port of the Chola kingdom and in the height of its prosperity in the early centuries of the Christian era. From Kaveri-pattanam to the inland districts of Kurnul and Bellary the transit of goods would be comparatively easy and safe; coasters would be used to the mouth of the Kistna, 350 miles to the north, whence river craft would carry the goods direct to their destination, 200 miles inland. Or it may be that the shells required in the industry were fished further south, in the neighbourhood of Adam's Bridge, for we have the statement of Cosmas Indicopleustes, circa 545 A.D., of place called Marallo, on the continent opposite Ceylon, where a shell called by him Κοχλίους (Kochlious)[1] was produced in quantity. Again, a chank fishery, the most productive in the world, exists to-day off the N.W. coast of Ceylon and direct communication by means of large native craft has existed from time immemorial between the north of Ceylon and the port of Masulipatam, for centuries the Eastern sea-gate of the Deccan. The cause of the cessation of chank industry in the Deccan, Gujarat, and Kathiawar is probably to be looked for in the constant strife which kept India in a welter of blood through the six centuries of Muhammadan dominance in the land. From the days of Mahmoud of Ghazni, in particular the northern and central portions of India were harried by successive waves of fanatic invaders sweeping down through the North-west passes, and from the thirteenth century onwards to the end of the seventeenth the story of India is that of an unceasing contest between Muhammadan and Hindu for power on the part of the former and for existence and religion on that of the latter. Well may certain old Hindu customs have disappeared; during the worst periods when the intolerance of the conquerors was at its height their influence was often exerted towards the suppression of Hindu customs, and this, combined with the dislocation of trade consequent upon the general insecurity of the country and the frequent recurrence of raids and widespread warfare, may be considered the main reasons for the decay of the chank-bangle industry in the Deccan and Cambay provinces, as well as in Tinnevelly in the South. A striking confirmation of this conclusion is afforded by Garcia da Orta, a Portuguese writer of the sixteenth century, who says:—"This chanco is a ware for the Bengal trade, and formerly produced more profit than now . . . . and there was formerly a custom in Bengal that no virgin in honour and esteem could be corrupted unless it were by placing bracelets of chanco on her arms; but, since the Pathans came in, this usage has more or less ceased and so the chanco is rated lower now."

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[1] In the Norman-French dialect still spoken in Jersey and the other Channel Islands, the common whelk (*Buccinum*), which is the European representative of the Eastern chank, is known as *coqueluche*.

II. The Present Conditions and Methods of the Industry.

(*a*) Preliminary.
(*b*) Present centres of the trade.
(*c*) Volume and importance of the trade.
(*d*) The trade varieties of shells employed.
(*e*) Details of bangle manufacture.
(*f*) The economic position of the trade.
(*g*) The castes and tribes who use chank bangles.

(*a*) *Preliminary.*

At the present day, chank cutting, save for some insignificant work done in Kilakarai on the Ramnad coast near Pamban, has long been a forgotten art in the south of India, in Kathiawar and in Gujarat. It flourishes solely in Bengal and Assam, with its headquarters at Dacca. No fishery for chank shells exists off the Bengal coast; the industry depends entirely for an adequate supply of the raw material upon imports obtained by way of the wholesale market at Calcutta.

The best quality of shells used in the trade comes from the fishery carried on departmentally by the Government of Madras off the coast of the Tinnevelly District, a fact which makes an intimate knowledge of the methods and trade customs both of the wholesale merchants and the cutters who convert the shell into bracelets, a matter of considerable importance to the Government named. In consequence of this I received instructions in 1910 from the Madras Government to proceed to Bengal and there institute an enquiry into the present condition and course of the trade in chank shells.

A tour through the two Bengals in September, 1910, was accordingly made; the chief distributing centres were visited, wholesalers and retail buyers were interviewed, and all the processes and variations of manufacture were investigated at representative workshops in Dacca, Dinajpur, Rangpur and other principal working centres. In the following pages an endeavour will be made to present the salient features of the present condition of the trade—to give an account of the course of business from the time the shells are exported from their various districts of origin till they pass into the hands of the workpeople; an attempt will be made to trace the principal enhancements of price as the trade filters through the hands of the various middlemen and to estimate the final (total) wholesale value of the finished products in order that the great industrial importance of the industry may be adequately realized. The technical and artistic aspects of the industry will also receive due attention, these sections being illustrated by a series of photographs illustrative of the various stages in the manufacture and ornamentation of a chank bangle.

Prior to the enquiry upon which the present notice is based, our knowledge of the industry was most meagre. Scarcely any definite information has been recorded, save for a few generalizing sentences contained in a short article by Mr. Edgar Thurston in Bulletin No. 1 of the Madras Government Museum, 1894, and paragraph references of the same type and brevity in official and other works dealing with the commercial products of India. My first enquiries on reaching Calcutta were to verify this apparent lack of definite knowledge concerning the course and details of the industry. It was not difficult to do so, for from enquiries made at the Indian Museum (Economic Section) I found that this trade had never before formed the subject of Government inquiry, that the exhibits in the Museum are limited to examples of shells as fished at Tuticorin and elsewhere and to finished specimens of the commoner types of bracelets and armlets in use in N.E. India ; and that the longest published notice is one of a page in length in Sir George Watt's volume on " Indian Art at Delhi, 1903." This last is not of any importance ; it has apparently been compiled from notes made upon an exhibit by a Dacca manufacturer at Delhi. Save for giving an illustration of a Dacca shell-cutter at work, it does not throw any further light on the subject, and on several of the few details mentioned I have found the statements erroneous, *e.g.* that where it says " as a rule only one bracelet can be cut from each shell."

(*b*) *Present Centres of the Trade.*

Tavernier in his travels through India in the seventeenth century noted the existence of an extensive trade in cutting bracelets and charms from " sea-shells as large as an egg." According to V. Ball's translation of this work (London, 1899), Dacca and Patna were then the centres of this industry, Tavernier stating that it gave employment to more than 2,000 persons in these towns. Dacca to-day remains the chief working centre, but the mention of Patna was a mystery to me till I found that another busy and long-established working centre exists near the district town of Pabna. No industry of this nature exists at Patna, and I have no hesitation in concluding that the Patna of Tavernier's " Travels " is an editor's misrendering of the name of the less well-known town of Pabna.

At the present day almost all the shells of the common chank or conch used in the bracelet-making industry are imported into Calcutta in the first instance. A few go occasionally to Chittagong, where bracelet cutting is carried on by Muhammadan workmen for supply to the neighbouring hill tribes. With this exception Calcutta is the sole emporium for chank shells.

The importers and wholesale merchants in Calcutta are chiefly men closely identified with the Dacca shell-cutters ; they are either Dacca born or belong to Dacca families who have settled in Calcutta for trade reasons. Most of these chank importers are related to one another, their families for generations having followed a similar vocation. They are indeed the representatives of lines of hereditary middlemen. The majority have establishments in Dacca for the cutting of shells and the manufacture of bangles, but their chief profits arise from wholesale dealing. A few Muhammadans from the Tamil coast (Labbais) are also concerned in the wholesale trade, having been admitted thereto as their special local knowledge is of much value to their Calcutta partners or principals as the case may be ; these men act as local experts and buying agents at the fishery centres in Ceylon and South India.

Under ordinary conditions the chief Calcutta importers have a business agreement among themselves, a form of co-partnery or syndicate by which the purchases are pooled and divided on a definite agreed basis. By this means they are usually able to maintain a monopoly of the trade and to a large extent to dictate their own terms both to the owners of the various chank fisheries and to the trade buyers in the Bengal manufacturing towns.

The Bengal chank-cutters originally were all Hindus and belonged exclusively to a professional subdivision of the Vaisya caste ; at the present time the Dacca workers all belong to this subdivision, known throughout the Presidency as Sankhari Vaisyas or simply Sankharis, or, as the word is corrupted in Eastern Bengal, Shakharis. They in consequence claim to be entitled to wear the sacred thread and at Dinajpur actually do wear it.

The workers in Pabna District are also of the same caste, together with the descendants of a number of chank-cutting families which have emigrated from Dacca and Pabna from time to time to various other towns scattered throughout the two Bengals. Besides the Vaisya Sankharis who are occupational chank-cutters by caste, a large number of Muhammadans follow the same trade. In several centres, they even outnumber the Hindu workers, and at Dinajpur for example, whereas only four families of Vaisya Sankharis follow the calling of their ancestors, from 80 to 100 Muhammadans earn their living at this trade.

Dacca, as in Tavernier's day (seventeenth century), when it was the capital of Bengal, continues to be the headquarters of the chank-cutting trade and the chief mart for the purchase by dealers and hawkers of the finished article. From Dacca, also, are exported to other towns in Bengal large quantities of sawn shell sections in the rough to be carved and finished locally. In Dacca the shell-cutters' quarter, the Shakhari Bazaar, is located in the heart of the city ; it consists in the main of a long and narrow street, devoted exclusively to this one trade. Usually the preliminary processes and the work of shell-cutting are carried on in partly open sheds or verandahs at the rear, whereas the carving, lacquering, and finishing of the shell sections proceed in rooms and verandahs open to the street.

The workers appear to be very conservative and have the reputation of being exceedingly clannish. Educationally their condition is or was till quite recently distinctly backward. Their quarter was held in ill-odour by their fellow-townsmen as the reputed scene of frequent robbery and undetected crime. Of recent years trade has been very good, and with increased prosperity and greater municipal and police supervision the Shakhari Bazaar has shown marked material and moral improvement. When I visited this locality the streets and the houses appeared up to the average of working-class quarters of an Indian city. Personally I met with perfect courtesy, and I am glad to be now enabled to express my appreciation of the helpful attitude shown towards myself by everybody with whom I conversed, as well as the workpeople themselves and their employers. My enquiries necessitated many questions and much cross-examination upon details of work and of trade, and never once did I meet with discourtesy or impatience.

Dacca became the manufacturing centre of the chank-bangle trade in modern times chiefly owing to its geographical situation at the present-day centre of bangle-wearing. To-day the wearing of chank bangles is virtually confined to Bengal and to the hill-tribes to the north and east of Eastern Bengal. The custom ranges from the home of the Santâls in the West of Bengal, to Assam and Manipur on the East, from the Sunderbands in the South to Thibet and the Himalayas on the North. From Dacca, the Brahmaputra and its branches enable the peddlers of bangles to penetrate to the trading posts of the wild Naga, Bhutea, and Khasi tribes, while the river network of the Ganges delta gives cheap transit to the westward. The importance conferred upon Dacca by the Emperor Jehangir when he made it the capital of Bengal was a contributing factor, the importance whereof we can judge by the strength of the tendency, apparent at the present time, for the centre of the manufacturing section of the industry to shift to Calcutta in the wake of the import trade now concentrated wholly at the latter port.

As a consequence of the centralizing influence which from reasons of economy tends to create factories at or near the port of import, Calcutta now ranks next to Dacca as a manufacturing centre ; large numbers of bangles have been produced there of late years. So far, however, its trade is a low-grade one dealing chiefly with the poor quality sub-fossil shells shipped annually in great quantities from Jaffna in the north of Ceylon. These cheap shells are utilized in the production of the commonest grades of bangles. With a few exceptions the patterns followed are crude, the workmanship rough and without regard to finish, deficiencies matched by the bad taste and wretched execution characterizing the lacquered coloration when present.

Nadia is a third centre where chank shells are largely cut up both for conversion locally into bangles and for distribution to bangle-workers in other centres. Other bangle-factories are situated in the districts of Sylhet in Assam and Mymensingh, Chittagong, Pabna, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Murshedabad, Jessore, Kulna, Burdwan, Bankura and Balasore, showing a widespread distribution throughout Bengal. Many factory groups are however of small numerical importance, often consisting of no more than three or four families.

My experience generally has been that the chank-workers' hamlets are situated as a rule in outlying villages served by the worst possible of roads. Haragash in the Rangpur District is a typical instance. This large village, a long straggling collection of hamlets covering a considerable area, lies about eleven miles outside of the district town of Rangpur. The special hamlet inhabited by the bangle-workers is known in consequence as Shakharipara ; out of a total of about 90 workpeople, some 70 are Vaisya Sankharis, the remainder being Muhammadans. There are four principal employers of labour ; of these three have intimate business relations with Dacca houses importing therefrom all the bangle sections they require ; the fourth employer obtains his requirements from Murshedabad and Nadia where he has factories for the sawing of the shells into working circlets. No sectioning of shells is done in Haragash, where work is confined to rubbing down the rough sawn sections to the required degree and to incising standard patterns with the aid of files and small handsaws. Distribution of the finished products is made by the intermediary of itinerant vendors who resort to Haragash at periodical intervals to buy fresh supplies. These bangle peddlers buy parcels worth anything from Rs. 100 up to Rs. 1,000 at a time. Most of them have had business relations with the Haragash firms extending over many years, and so being well known, have no difficulty in obtaining credit till their return, three or even four months later.

The Rajbansi, Kochhi and Paliya castes of Hindus, inhabiting Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Jalpaiguri Districts and the terai of Darjeeling, are the chief buyers of Haragash bangles, which consist largely of compound gauntlets of from ten to twelve rings in each set. The best centres of sale are Dhubni, Goalpara, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar.

Dinajpur is another typical local centre. In the town itself the quarter where the chank-workers live is known as Shakhari Patti, and this, in view of the small number—four families only—now engaged in the industry, suggests its greater importance in former days. Indeed the men state that their numbers now are much reduced. They claim to be descendants of a colony from Chatmohr, in Pabna District, and are in consequence of the Vaisya caste, and wear the sacred thread (see pl. xiv, figs. 9 & 10).

Of recent years Muhammadan workers have entered into competition with the regular caste workers, and to-day the bulk of the local trade has passed into their hands. They form a separate settlement at Maljhar village near Rajapara Ferry Ghat, a short distance from Dinajpur. In all there are about 100 of these Muhammadan work-people engaged in bangle-making as against the four Vaisya Sankhari workshops, each employing five to six men. The piece-work system is in use.

The Dinajpur Sankharis do not produce their own working sections; all they require are obtained in the rough from four wholesale dealers (Hindus) belonging to Nadia who are located at Sahibganj, a small place a few miles east of Dinajpur. The shell sections sold at Sahibganj are said to be sawn at Nadia from shells brought from Calcutta. The Vaisya employers at Dinajpur usually purchase from Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 worth of sections at a time from the Sahibganj dealers on two to three months' credit. These working sections are tied up in strings of hundreds and packed in baskets at Nadia or Dacca, as the case may be, whence they are forwarded to their destination in charge of an employee; wherever possible preference is shown for transit by a country boat as the safest method in the case of brittle articles such as bangle sections.

The bulk of the Dinajpur trade consists in the production of bangles to meet the requirements of the lower castes—people who require broad, strong, serviceable bangles not readily broken in the course of their day's labour. Fully 75 per cent. of the production is thus accounted for, considerably less than 25 per cent. being medium and high grade work suitable for Hindu ladies of good caste. Further, while the latter only care at most to wear one or two pairs of narrow bangles, their poor sisters of humble position are keen to possess and wear as many as they can get upon their forearm—a set covering a length of 3 inches and sometimes even more is quite common among the Paliya and Santál women who form the bulk of the *clientèle* of the Dinajpur workshops.

In the other Bengal local centres work proceeds on similar lines, varied only in detail to meet the particular demand or fashion prevailing among the women of the surrounding district. Generally the bulk of the work is in the hands of the Sankhari caste except where Muhammadan competition has become keen, or where the town is outside of Bengal proper. Such an example is Chittagong, where the chank-bangle trade is monopolized by Muhammadan cutters. At this centre large shells only are in demand as they are required for the production of the very broad massive bangles or armlets favoured by the hill tribes served from Chittagong.

(c) *Volume and importance of the Trade.*

Commercially important as the trade in chank shells and bangles still is, it appears to have been considerably greater in former times. Thus in Simmonds' "Commercial Products of the Sea" it is stated that "frequently 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 of these shells are shipped in a year from the Gulf of Mannar. In some years the value of the rough shells, as imported into Madras and Calcutta, reaches a value of £10,000 or £15,000." I have been unable to check the accuracy of these figures—the present-day production averaging not more than 2,500,000—but from the considerably greater revenue derived by the Indian Government from the chank fisheries off the Tinnevelly and Tanjore coasts during the first half of last century, the estimate probably gives an accurate statement of the value of the fisheries 50 to 100 years ago.

Overfishing in certain localities, decrease in the numbers of the diving community, and lessened demand for chank bangles are the chief causes of a decline that dates back beyond the acquisition of the royal monopoly of chank fishing by the Madras Government in the early years of the nineteenth century. Garcia da Orta has already been cited (p. 15) for the statement that in the sixteenth century the chank trade with Bengal "formerly produced more profit than now," his explanation of the decline being the lower rates given in his day owing to the custom of wearing chank bangles in Bengal having declined "since the Pathans (Muhammadans) came in."

In the second half of the seventeenth century Tavernier visited Dacca and records that more than 2000 persons were engaged in the chank-bangle trade in Dacca and Pabna, "all that is produced by them being exported to the kingdoms of Bhutan, Assam, Siam, and other countries to the north and east of the territories of the Great Mogul" (p. 267, Vol. II, English translation, London, 1889). He further mentions the visits of Bhutan merchants to Dacca whence they took home for sale "bracelets of sea-shells, with numerous round and square pieces of the size of our 15 Sol coins. Elsewhere (*loc. cit.*, p. 285) he characterized this trade as "large."

Besides the trade in chank bracelets, Tavernier (*loc. cit.*, p. 267) states that "all the people of the north—men, women, girls and boys—suspend small pieces of the same shell both round and square from their hair and ears." He also refers to a custom which prescribed that when a man dies "all his relatives and friends should come to the interment, and when they place the body in the ground, they take off all the bracelets which are on their arms and legs and bury them with the defunct."

Coming to our own days we find that according to the Bengal Customs returns the following are the declared values of chank shells imported into Calcutta during the past five years :—

Table showing the Value of Imports of Chank Shells into Calcutta from 1905 *to* 1910.

	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
From Ceylon ..	1,44,772	1,89,280	86,515	1,81,223	1,66,060
From Madras :—					
Chief Port ..	1,583	14,435	324	2,842	1,648
Other ports ..	32,172	21,622	5,265	52,399	66,371
Travancore ..	114	Nil.	592	Nil.	500
Bombay ..	6,744	13,730	3,823	2,305	4,298
Total ..	1,85,385	2,39,067	96,519	2,38,769	2,38,877

Except in respect of the Ceylon imports the weight of the shells unfortunately is not available.

For Ceylon they are as follows :—

		Approximately.
1905-06 ..	10,941 cwt. ..	6,000 bags.
1906-07 ..	15,125 ,, ..	8,000 ,,
1907-08 ..	7,259 ,, ..	4,000 ,,
1908-09 ..	15,962 ,, ..	8,500 ,,
1909-10 ..	12,480 ,, ..	6,500 ,,

Approximate annual average .. 6,600 bags of 250 shells each.

For our purpose it is of importance to know the number of shells from each producing district ; after careful consideration of the comparative statistics given above taken in conjunction with information gleaned when in Ceylon and from men in the trade in Calcutta, and with the exact knowledge we have of the Madras production, I am able to state with comparative certainty that the imports into Bengal for all practical purposes may be estimated to average 21 lakhs per annum divided as to origin thus :—

Ceylon ..	1,650,000	shells.
Tuticorin ..	250,000	,,
Rameswaram ..	150,000	,,
Other sources ..	50,000	,,
Total ..	2,100,000	shells

The actual Ceylon production is larger, amounting in normal years to not less than 20 lakhs, but a considerable proportion is not exported, being too small in size or too inferior in quality to be of use for bracelet manufacture. In years when a pearl fishery is held in the Gulf of Mannar, the production of chank shells usually decreases considerably (from 25 to 33 per cent.), while in favourable seasons with no counter attraction of a pearl fishery to divert the attention of the diving population, the annual yield may go well beyond the average given.

The Tuticorin and Ramnad annual export of shells although together they amount to four to five lakhs only—roughly one-fifth to one-quarter of the total Bengal consumption—have an importance much beyond what we should infer from their numerical ratio. They are the elite of their kind on account of the purity of their colour and of the high vitreous polish they are susceptible of ; for these reasons they are necessary for all work of the best quality—all ornamental bracelets must be made from these shells. Jaffna or Ceylon shells on the average serve only for second and other yet inferior qualities of work. Hence while the cutters will give Rs. 160 per 1000 for Tuticorin and Ramnad shells, those from Ceylon range between the limits of Rs. 30 and Rs. 100 per 1000, the bulk inclining to the lower price rather than the higher.

The first circle in the distributing wholesale trade for many years past has been in the hands of a ring of merchant middlemen who have successfully maintained until now a strict monopoly of the Calcutta import trade. The principal men in this combine hail from Dacca, maintaining however offices and godowns in Calcutta where some members of each firm usually reside ; most of these merchants are related to one another, their families for generations back having followed a similar vocation. They are indeed the representatives of lines of hereditary middlemen. The majority have establishments in Dacca for the cutting of shells and the making of bracelets, but their chief profits arise from wholesale dealing. Calcutta being a far cry from the Gulf of Mannar, the combine, as I may term for brevity this association of exclusive wholesalers, has seen fit for business reasons to admit to their circle a Labbai trader of Kilakarai in order to have the advantage of special local knowledge in conducting their operations in South India and in maintaining intact their monopoly. He is in fact their local expert and managing agent in South India. It is in his name that the combine usually bids when the Tuticorin shells are offered for tender, and it is in his name that the combine rents from the Ramnad zamindari the chank fishery off the island of Rameswaram and the coast of Ramnad. Last year a Dacca speculator entered into competition with the chank combine for the Tuticorin shells with the consequence that to defeat his tactics, they increased their bid Rs. 22 per 1000 beyond that paid for the preceding season's catch (from Rs. 99-9-7 to Rs. 121-9-9 per 1000).

By having the Ramnad lease and the whole of the Tuticorin catch the members of the combine obtain complete control of the market for the quality necessary for ornamental bracelets. They also, I believe, in some degree control the Ceylon trade and are thus able to dictate, within certain limits, their own terms of sale. I believe that each member of the ring pays a fixed proportion of the cost of the working of the combine and receives a corresponding share of or in the shells imported. This combination of merchants sort the shells bought, in accordance with the established custom of the trade, into nine grades from No. 1 to No. 9 inclusive.

The relative sizes of the nine grades are as follow :—

Grade	1.—	Shells above 4 inches in diameter.						
,,	2.—	,,	between	$3\frac{3}{4}$	and	4	inches	in diameter.
,,	3.—	,,	,,	$3\frac{1}{2}$	,,	$3\frac{3}{4}$	,,	,,
,,	4.—	,,	,,	$3\frac{1}{4}$	,,	$3\frac{1}{2}$	,,	,,
,,	5.—	,,	,,	3	,,	$3\frac{1}{4}$	,,	,,
,,	6.—	,,	,,	$2\frac{3}{4}$	,,	3	,,	,,
,,	7.—	,,	,,	$2\frac{9}{16}$	,,	$2\frac{3}{4}$	,,	,,
,,	8.—	,,	,,	$2\frac{3}{8}$	,,	$2\frac{9}{16}$	,,	,,
,,	9.—	,,	,,	$2\frac{1}{4}$	,,	$2\frac{3}{8}$	,,	,,

A variable proportion of grade No. 9 (between $2\frac{3}{8}$ and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter) is added to the bags, as the cutters object to any large proportion of this grade, on account of the difficulty of utilizing any large number of bracelets of such small diameter. No shells under No. 9 ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter) are mixed with the assorted size ; these smallest size shells are kept separate and sold apart from the others.

Shells wormed on the larger whorls are also excluded from the bags, but if the apex only be slightly affected no objection is made to inclusion as this part is of no value, being smashed in prior to slicing up the shell.

The present tendency is towards enhanced prices partly because of competition, actual or threatened, and partly because of the increasing prosperity of the chank-bangle industry. The former cause is fortuitous and may be transitory, the latter substantial and giving promise of continuance owing to the increasing demand for chank bracelets by the better class Hindu ladies of Bengal. The Bengal Swadeshi movement has been the principal factor as the people were asked to discontinue the use of foreign-made glass bangles (almost all made in Austria) and to resume the wearing of chank bracelets according to the custom of their ancestors. A second factor of considerable and increasing force is the marked advance in the artistic quality of the bracelets turned out. Some firms produce beautiful and harmonious designs, infinitely more artistic and pleasing to the eye than any of the gaudy glassware imported from Europe. The higher caste Hindu ladies who a few years ago were rapidly discarding chank bracelets as regular adornments fit only for the use of low-caste people, are resuming the habit—a change due undoubtedly to the Swadeshi movement reinforced by an increase of skill and taste on the part of the more enterprising firms.

Transactions between wholesale dealers as well as the sale of shells and ring-sections are almost always for credit, usually for periods of two to three months. Losses occur but seldom, for the " combine " would at once refuse to deal with defaulters, and workers who cannot or will not pay, or who give trouble, find the sources of supply of the raw material required in their trade cut off ; they must make their peace with the middlemen or quit business—a drastic alternative which ensures the due performance of promises made to sellers.

The trade at the present time enjoys marked prosperity and the individual worker earns high wages according to Indian standards. It is a poor workman who cannot earn one rupee per day ; remuneration is by piecework, and as the workers are trained to this trade from the earliest age they can rub a shell-circle upon a grindstone, few are not expert workmen by the age of 20. Even boys of 7 and 8 years old are able to earn 4 annas a day at rough filing. Skilled hands earn from Re. 1 to Re. 1-8 per day, and those capable of carving elaborate patterns command considerably higher rates. The appearence and conduct of the men generally give the impression of superior intelligence ; I found them quick to catch my meaning when engaged in cross-examining them upon the details of their trade, and they showed the utmost courtesy and patience in their efforts to render matters plain to me.

(*d*) *The Trade Varieties of Shells Employed.*

Chanks from different localities have distinguishing characteristics well known to the Calcutta and Dacca dealers ; they constitute in fact a considerable number of local races differing little in appearance to the casual eye, but readily distinguished by these shell experts who are able to say at a glance whence any particular shell has come. As a consequence of these local varieties having differing physical characters, their price varies and the shells from each locality are kept and sold separate during the first series of wholesale transactions. Among the wholesalers at least eleven varieties and qualities are recognized. They may be summarized as under :—

1. *Tuttikutti.*—Shells obtained from the Madras Government fishery off the coast of Tinnevelly. These form the finest and most valued quality, from which the choicest bracelets are manufactured. They are marked by a well-balanced and elegant form, neither squat (as in the Negapatam or Tanjore type) nor greatly elongate (subfusiform) as in shells from the Andamans. The regular and gradual increase in the size of the whorls enables this form of shell to be cut to greatest advantage, and gives a maximum number of large sections. The shell is of a perfect opalescent whiteness and of great hardness and evenness of texture, qualities which render it susceptible of a high polish.

In seasons previous to 1909-10, when the Calcutta buying combine were able to buy these shells practically at their own price, they were disposed of wholesale by these men at from Rs. 35 to Rs. 38 per bag of 250 shells, or Rs. 140 to Rs. 152 per 1000, on credit terms.

2. *Ramessari.*—These are the shells fished off Kilakarai and the island of Rameswaram under licence from the Ramnad zamindari. The quality approaches that of Tuticorin very closely but is esteemed slightly inferior, and fetches about Re. 1 to Rs. 2 less per 100, not so much in respect of the quality of the individual shell as because of the larger number of smaller grade shells present, due to lack of fishery regulations designed to safeguard the immature. Good selections, however, will at times fetch prices equal to those of Tuticorin shells, and by one of the tricks of the trade, these shells appear to be lumped frequently with Tuticorin shells as of equal quality in sales made to the bracelet-cutters in outlying villages, as these men appear not to

know of the existence of this grade and of the slight difference in quality between it and that of Tuticorin.

3. *Jammaipatti.*—An inferior quality of Ramnad shell fished off the mainland to the north of Mandapam—thence to Tondi. An inferior shell, small and of poor quality, price about Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per 1000.

4-7. *Patti.*—This is the generic name for "live" shells fished off the north and north-western coasts of Ceylon. There are several recognized grades of patti, the principal being :—

4. *Nayakhad patti* or standard patti is the best grade.—The shells so distinguished are of good working size, thick in substance, and of good colour ; the best of them approach closely the Rameswaram quality and fetch wholesale from Rs. 70 to Rs. 100 per 1000 in the Calcutta market. The name is said to be the Bengal equivalent of Neduntivu, otherwise Delft, an island near Jaffna, where the majority are fished. Some shells of the same good quality also come from the waters immediately north of Mannar Island.

Other qualities are :—

5. *Small Patti*, of same quality as grade 4, but of inferior size and sometimes inferior colour. Worth Rs. 30 to 45 per 1000 in Calcutta.

6. *Thin Patti.*—Shells of inferior thickness obtained from certain Jaffna waters. Worth about Rs. 25 per 1000.

7. *Mixed Patti.*—Neither this nor the preceding grade has come actually under my observation. The present quality is said by the dealers to consist of mixed shells of inferior quality and colour imported from Singapore via Jaffna. The value ranges from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per 1000 in Calcutta.

8. *Dhola.*—Dead, sub-fossil chanks from the shallow muddy lagoons in the neighbourhood of Jaffna, Ceylon. These are found by probing with an iron rod in the soft mud. They are chalky and lustreless and are used for the cheapest and most inferior grades of bracelets. A considerable proportion of the large sizes are found and these sell for Rs. 5 to 6 per 100 in Calcutta ; the small sizes from Rs. 3 to 4 per 100.

This quality is the one principally employed in making the compound bracelets or gauntlets of 10 to 12 rings affected by low-caste Hindu women in Northern Bengal—Paliya caste very largely.

9. *Gharbaki.*—A class of squat shells badly adapted for economical cutting coming from the Carnatic coast, from Point Calimere in the South to Madras in the North. To the defect of shape, they add that of colour, these shells being frequently distinguished by a marked redness of the inner surface. They are also said to be more brittle than Tuticorin shells and not to give the high glaze when polished as do the latter shells. *Karamukhi* is a term sometimes employed for those of this quality which are characteristically tinted a dirty brick-red at the mouth opening. They vary greatly in quality and may fetch anything from Rs. 40 to 80 per 1000 in Calcutta. Good average quality, such as are fished on the Tanjore coast, should fetch Rs. 80 per 1000 wholesale in Calcutta without difficulty. A certain number of inferior shells with an undue proportion of small sizes come from the French territories of Pondi-

cherry and Karikal; it is possible that these in part are fished in British waters and surreptitiously carried to French territory owing to the rule in force in Tanjore and South Arcot to confiscate all undersized shells brought in for sale to Government. The price of these French shells rules usually from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 per 1000 less than for shells fished off the British districts, owing to the larger proportion of small sizes present.

10. *Duani.*—These shells are fished off the Travancore coast. They are large and of excellent quality. They come packed in cadjan mats, the large separated from the small. The former fetch from Rs. 14 to Rs. 18 per 100 according to size, the smaller Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per 100. The larger run 100 to a bag—the smaller 200 to 250 per bag. The total quantity imported into Calcutta seldom exceeds 100 bags per annum.

11. *Surti.*—The name is a corruption of Surat as these shells were originally shipped from that port before the rise of Bombay. They are fished almost entirely off the Kathiawar coast; often very large and of fine quality. They are recognized as of two sub-grades, of which the larger fetches Rs. 22 to Rs. 25 per 100 while the smaller runs from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per 100. The quantity imported is said to be about 80 bags large (100 shells to a bag) and 120 bags of small (300 to a bag). It must be understood that the prices given above are approximate only; they represent the average value during the past two or three years.

The sawn rings supplied from the wholesale cutting factories at Dacca and some few other centres to local bangle workshops widely scattered throughout Lower Bengal, are distinguished and sold under a different series of trade terms. The range of these terms undergoes considerable reduction at this stage, as it is now only a matter of the quality of the working section or ring and not of size and shape in addition to colour and quality as is the case with regard to the classification of shells.

The grades of shell-sections recognized by bangle workers in outlying districts are usually five in number, and are as follows :—

First quality, *Titkutti.*—The working sections sold under this title vary in price from Rs. 17 to Rs. 22 per 100 pieces according to size and quality—the average working out at about 3 annas each. As is indicated by the name, these sections should be cut from Tuticorin shells of perfect quality. In actual practice, the highest quality of Rameswaram and a quantity of the best selected Ceylon shells from Neduntivu and Mannar are usually utilized for the production of Titkutti rings. These are usually bought on credit in Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 lots.

This particular quality is required almost exclusively for the manufacture of highly ornamented bangles of *churi* and *bala* descriptions as both these require to be highly polished, and for this purpose the Tuticorin grade is the one best adapted on account of its great hardness, fine grain and perfectly white colour.

The second quality, termed *Jádki*, also hails from the Tuticorin and Rameswaram fisheries, but is slightly inferior to the Titkutti grade which forms a "selected" quality. The inferiority of the Jádki grade is expressed usually in some slight defect in respect of colour or the presence of a worm hole. The price of working sections made from this quality is from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per 100 less than similar sized Titkutti ones.

Patti is the 3rd grade, priced from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 3-8 per 100 sections less than those of the Titkutti grade. They are cut from good quality Jaffna shells. The large compound bangles so freely used by Santál women are made from this quality.

The 4th grade, *Dhola*, is cut from dead shells imported from Ceylon. The price for useful-sized sections ranges from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per 100 or from Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per 100 less than for Patti.

The 5th and most inferior grade is *Alabila*, cut from the smaller sizes of Jaffna dead shells. The wholesale price varies from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per 100 sections.

(*e*) *Details of Bangle Manufacture.*

Being an industry widely scattered over a large area—the two Bengals and Assam—it is to be expected that considerable variations in the conduct of manufacture should prevail. In large centres such as Dacca and Calcutta a great part of the work is carried on by capitalists employing workpeople on piecework ; elsewhere it is largely a home or family industry carried on by the head of a household with the aid of his sons and relatives.

In Dacca, the industry falls into two chief divisions, one engaged upon the preparation of working sections of the shell which may either be wrought into the finished product by other craftsmen in the town or else exported to other towns where the trade is limited to the ornamentation of working sections sawn from the shells elsewhere.

The preparation of working sections is carried out usually in shady sheds in the backyards of the employers. In a typical one six sawyers were employed. The shell first passes through a preparatory treatment for the puppose of extracting the columella and thereby reducing the amount of labour necessary in sawing the shell into sections. To admit of this a slice of the lip is first sawn off ; it is then comparatively easy to break through and shatter, by way of the mouth opening, the majority of the various septa connecting the columella with the outer wall of the shell. The apex of the shell is next smashed in and the apical septa destroyed, so releasing the columella, already set free in its oral portion ;[1] the shell is now open from end to end. The tool employed for breaking away the columella is a hammer fashioned on the principle of the well-known geologist's hammer, sharp-edged on one end of head and square on the other.

The shell is now ready for the sawyer, who sits on the earthen floor tightly wedged between two short stakes of unequal length driven into the ground. Against the longer, measuring some 15 inches above the ground, the worker's back is supported, while against the shorter, only 4 to 5 inches high, his toes are pressed. The space between the two stakes measures no more than 18 inches, hence the workman although he sits with his knees widely separate is very tightly jammed between the rests. This is found essential as it is necessary that his limbs should be rigid during his work, as his feet have to function as a vice during the sawing of the sections, the shell to be cut being placed between the right heel and the toes of the left foot.

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[1] This fragment of the columella is utilized by some hill people for making into rude ear or hair ornaments!

After the columella and lip of the shell are removed, a disc of hard wood is placed over the mouth aperture of the shell to provide a firm purchase for the foot pressed against this side of the shell. The worker is now ready to begin sawing the shell into sections. For this purpose he is provided with a heavy hand-saw of great apparent clumsiness. The iron blade, as seen in figs. 3 & 4, pl. xiii, is of a deep crescentic form ending in an attenuate horn at each end. A little way from each of these tapered extremities the end of a long iron tang is rivetted to the back of the saw ; the further ends of the two tangs are connected by a thin cane cross bar or handle lashed by twine to the tangs which are covered with a serving of the same twine. It is noteworthy that the tangs are not straight but have a hook-like bend near the attachment to the blade. The latter is of stout forged iron plate 2 mm. thick except for a distance of one inch from the cutting edge where it is worked down to a thickness of 0·6 mm. Between the tangs the back of the saw is protected by a piping of iron. A saw of this description costs about Rs. 10, each workman providing his own. After sharpening, a new saw is adorned on each side of the blade with a number of red spots as auspicious marks.

In beginning work, the shell is placed somewhat obliquely between the feet, the apex directed to the right and away from the worker, who places his left hand on one twine-covered tang of the saw and the other on the horn of the blade at the opposite extremity. Balancing the saw carefully in his hands, he applies the edge to the shell and begins a vigorous to and fro movement of the saw from side to side, the course of his hands being through a segment of a circle at each swing. Several times he pauses momentarily to adjust the shell anew as the work progresses. On an average it takes 4½ minutes to saw once through a shell. The number of working sections given by a single shell is determined according to the shape and size of the shell and the thickness of the sections desired. For the narrow *churi* bangles as many as ten sections may be obtained from a good-sized shell, but for the broad *bala* bangle three are a good average. If 5 sections are cut from a shell, the shell has to be sawn through six times, so we must count five minutes as the minimum time required to cut off a working section. To this must be added the time occupied in resharpening the saw, a frequent requirement owing to the great hardness of the shell. Fortunately the method employed is an expeditious one. It consists merely in going over the whole length of the cutting edge in a series of taps with a light chisel set hammerwise in a wooden handle (fig. 4, pl. xiii). The taps are quite lightly given, the serrations very numerous and very shallow.

In Dacca, a skilled cutter is paid at the rate of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per 100 shells sawn up, but for this remuneration he has to prepare the shells for cutting, a slow and tedious operation, and has to provide his own tools. One hundred working sections per day is the limit of production per man working upon shells previously prepared ready for sawing. In practice it is usually considerably less owing to various delays normal as well as unforeseen—the repeated sharpening required by the saw, a badly prepared shell, a cut heel due to a slip of the saw, and often enough, a touch of fever. Shell slicing calls for the possession of a highly trained eye, perfect steadiness of hand and arm, and an ironlike capacity to sit for long periods in a position of great discomfort. Unless in a perfect condition of bodily fitness such work is an impossibility. During apprenticeship few men can endure the strain sufficiently long to accustom their body to the habit of the strained position, the constant and monotonous attention required by the saw and the extreme fatigue of the occupation. As a consequence the sawing of working sections is limited to a few centres and a good cutter is a valuable asset to his employer. To retain a hold upon these men, employers willingly give large advances in cash to them, sometimes amounting, I was told, to as much as Rs. 200 per head ; the usual advance ranges between Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. Whenever an exceptional need arises for the expenditure of a considerable sum—it may be a marriage in the family or cost of death ceremonies—a further advance from the employer is relied upon to meet the emergency. The excess beyond a certain sum will be gradually liquidated thereafter, leaving a standing advance at the debit of the workman which on both sides is not expected to be repaid unless the employee decides to quit the service of his master, a virtual impossibility in the case of such improvident people as these cutters are, unless he takes service with another employer who is willing to pay up the whole indebtedness and so take over the debt as well as the workman.

Hitherto the Dacca and other shell cutters have employed no machine saws. They believe that no machinery is capable of cutting the shells without damage, basing their belief on the results of an experiment with some form of machine saw tried some years ago. The cutters allege that the impact of the saw upon the shell was to cause innumerable small fractures which rendered bracelets made from the sections thus cut fragile and liable to break much more readily than when the sections are cut by means of the hand-saw. It is probable that this effect was produced by the machine used, but it does not follow that there are no machine saws on the market capable of cutting shells without ill-effect on their substance. Probably the machine used had a saw carrying teeth too coarse or too large in size. I noted as a striking and characteristic feature of the hand-saw employed, the extreme minuteness of the teeth along the edge, and further that their form is dentate, not serrate, that is, the axis of the point is vertical and not oblique. The latter characteristic enables the saw to cut equally well whether sawing from right to left or conversely. As already noted, so small and weak are the teeth that to sharpen such a saw a series of taps along the edge of the blade with a chisel set hammerwise in a handle is sufficient for the purpose.

The further stages in the manufacture of chank bangles vary within wide limits, dependent upon the market to be served. Some of the processes require no great skill and may be carried out by cheaply paid labour ; others necessitate a long training and great expertness on the part of the workers. Of the former is the preliminary rubbing down to smoothness and regularity of the inner and outer surfaces of the working sections. The first stage after the latter come from the sawing shed is to remove as much as possible of the inwardly projecting " beak " which is the remnant of the septum between adjacent whorls left after removing the columella. This projection has to be chipped off with the utmost care as this part of the ring is its weakest point as it marks the junction of adjacent shell whorls, and if the work be done roughly or carelessly, the ring is frequently fractured at this place. The tool used is a small form of the hammer used to break away the columella and the apex, one end of the head being sharp, the other blunt. With its aid any acutely projecting portions of the margin are also broken off in order to reduce to the utmost the labour of rubbing down. It may here be noted that owing to the shell having to be cut obliquely and not transversely to the long axis the sections appear to be cut askew, particularly those below the shoulder of the shell, and in consequence the ring in transverse section shows one outer obtuse and one outer acute angle; when the latter is specially prominent it is usually reduced by careful chipping with a light sharp-edged hammer.

The rubbing down of the inner surface of the working circlet is accomplished in an ingenious manner by means of a wooden spindle 18 to 20 inches long, covered with an abrasive coating of fine river sand embedded in a rough lac basis. Several sections are threaded on the spindle which is wedged tightly between the low stool whereon the grinder sits and some rigid second support—a tree trunk outside the house or a post of the verandah workshop. Smoothening is effected by rubbing the rings up and down the spindle till the required effect is attained. For this work, the pay given in one workshop visited was 5 annas per 100 sections finished, plus 1½ anna per 100 as the cost of the lac in which the abrasive is incorporated. The lac used is a coarse quality obtained from the Garo hills and elsewhere in Assam. If the bangles to be made are of the heavy plain pattern required by low-caste Hindu women, the sawn (lateral) surfaces of the section are now ground down upon a fine-grained sandstone slab reputed to come from Mirzapore, near Benares. This stone is not unlike the small gravestones used by Muhammadans in some districts; it measures usually 16 in. × 8 in.

A typical compound bangle made at Haragash in Rangpur District in considerable quantity has the outer face of each section formed of two planes meeting medially at an obtuse angle. The original form of the working ring in transverse section being rectangular, considerable labour is required to rub down the outer face of each ring to the requisite pattern owing to the crude form of the tool used; the work is simple, and with an abundant supply of cheap labour, employers feel no need to seek for improved methods. For grinding the outer face of bangles to this pattern the workers receive Re. 1 per 100.

More highly finished bangles necessitate decoration by means of carving, drilling, polishing and lacquering. For carving, small tenon saws and files are used; preference is given to the former whenever possible as it is more flexible, expeditious, and durable than files. The greater part of patterns composed of straight lines and grooves are graved in this way by a small saw of the pattern shown in figs. 8 & 9, pl. xiv. The edge is of the same minutely dentate form as in the two-handed shell-saws, and is sharpened in similar manner by means of a chisel-edged hammer. An ornamentation frequent on common bangles for countrywomen is where a V-shaped groove passes circumferentially around it. This is produced by two cuts made by this saw finished off by filing ; when this groove is made in bangles where the outer face has in addition to be first ground to an obtuse circumferential angle, the worker in one factory visited was paid at the rate of Rs. 4 per 100 bangles for these two operations.

The rest used by bangle carvers to support the working sections exhibits some variation in style according to locality. In Dacca a primitive-looking tripod of three thin sticks is employed, two short, the third long. The two former are lashed together in inverted V-form, in such way that a twisted bridge of string connects the two near the apex. Through the opening thus formed one extremity of a long stick is thrust to the extent required, thus providing a rough tripod with a short projecting arm at the apex. With the aid of this primitive implement, the carver, who squats at one side of it, has all the support he requires while sawing or filing patterns upon the bangle.

In the northern districts of Eastern Bengal, bangle decorators commonly use a less makeshift-looking rest. In this the two short legs of the tripod are formed of a permanent A-shaped frame made of teak having two short thick legs and a small aperture bored through the upper solid part (fig. 8, pl. xiv). When in use one end of a bamboo rod, 1¼ to 1½ inch in diameter, is thrust through the aperture in the wooden A-frame, thus forming the required tripod rest. The projecting end of the bamboo is whittled down till it is of suitable thickness to suit the workman's taste.

All remuneration is on the piecework system, with rates varying according to the difficulty and time required by each different pattern of bangle. A few examples will serve to show the wide range in rates. Thus the work of carving and polishing narrow; highly carved churis of the design figured in fig. G, plate xv, sold wholesale at Rs. 2-4 per set of six, is paid for at the rate of one rupee for the set, while the workmen receive only two rupees per 100 bangles when these are of the plain 5-piece armlets made for Paliya women at Dinajpur. The monkey's-head pattern of bala bangle figured on plate xv (fig. C) is carved and ornamented with red and green lac at the rate of one rupee for three pairs. Red marriage bangles showing an incised pattern cost from four to five annas per pair to prepare, inclusive of the charges for grinding, engraving and lacquering.

Lacquering.—In Bengal, owing to the custom prevailing there among Hindus which requires a bride to put on for the marriage ceremony two red-coloured chank-bangles, a considerable trade exists in lacquering and decorating bangles in this colour in the manner prevalent in each particular district. Besides these marriage bangles, sankhas as they are termed, a small amount of decorative lacquering in other colours is placed upon certain patterns of *bala* bangles, worn by better class Hindu women as ornaments and apart from their obligatory marriage sankhas.

The lac employed is ordinary lac bought in the local bazaars where also the needful pigments are obtained.

The preparation of the coloured lac is done by the workpeople themselves in many workshops, and I was fortunately able on one occasion to be present during the making of a stick of red lac such as is used in colouring red sankhas. For the vermilion that is required, a quantity of the purplish-red crystals of *hingól* (cinnabar) are obtained. This is ground down to a fine powder upon a disc-shaped stone of fine-grained granite or gneiss by means of a pestle consisting of a short stumpy pebble, roughly conical in shape (pl. xiv, fig. 10). One tola weight of hingól to three tolas' weight of shellac is the proportion employed. When the pigment has been sufficiently reduced, two-thirds of the total amount of shellac requisite is first fashioned by heat into the form of a small cup within which the powdered hingól is placed, the remaining third of shellac being warmed to pliability and then used to close the aperture of the cup. The next stage is to thoroughly amalgamate the contained powder with the lac walls of the cup, a process calling forth a great amount of dexterity. The whole mass is deftly rotated over a charcoal fire till soft and pliable and then kneaded thoroughly for a considerable time by the help of two short sticks of the size and length of lead pencils. The softened mass is twisted about over the fire and repeatedly " wound " from the end of one stick to that of the other and back again, the operation being repeated till incorporation be complete. The mass is then formed into a pencil-shaped stick and is ready for use.

In the lacquering of a bangle a short segment of the circle is heated over a small charcoal fire made in the cavity of a wide shallow chatty, a portion of the bangle being laid directly upon the glowing lumps of charcoal. As soon as hot enough, the workman removes the bangle and rubs the warmed portion with the end of the thin stick of lac. A small length only is covered at each application as the bangle soon becomes too cool to melt the lac sufficiently ; it is replaced upon the coals and then a fresh segment is covered and so on till the whole circumference has been worked over. In incised patterns required to stand out red upon a white ground, this effect is obtained by scraping over the surface with a small tool shaped like a bradawl.

(*f*) *Economic Position of the Trade.*

At the present time the industry enjoys considerable prosperity. The demand for bangles suitable for low-caste Hindu women and for the hill tribes is a stable one, influenced by no fluctuations of fashion and dependent only upon the general well-being of the province. When food supplies are abundant and at a normal level, and work readily procurable, women of the labouring classes are able to indulge their fancy in bangles ; their tastes are conservative, and a good demand in consequence is experienced for arm ornaments made from the chank shell. The Swadeshi movement has assisted this industry materially, particularly among the more well-to-do castes, and during the height of the agitation the demand for more highly ornamented chank bangles increased markedly and gave a much-needed impetus to the manufacture of bangles of the more elaborate patterns. This factor now exercises less influence on the trade, its place being taken by the more healthy influence for good exercised by the advertisement of the best productions of Dacca at the provincial exhibitions held from time to time during late years. Several of the leading Dacca manufacturers occasionally stage exhibits, sometimes even sending workmen to demonstrate the methods employed. These exhibitors have had the enterprise to make up a number of chank-shell ornaments in semi-European style—flower pattern bangles, long chains, brooches, buttons and even small figures of gods ; for these there appears to have been a remunerative demand capable of considerable extension as the manufacturers and dealers become more enterprising. An excellent advertising move would be for them to arrange with the dealers in Indian artwares at the great cities most visited by tourists to stock a quantity of the best and most ornamental chank productions turned out by their workshops ; both because of the intrinsic beauty of many of these articles and of the interest attaching to their origin and to the custom prescribing their use among a great section of Indian tribes and castes, such articles should find many purchasers among European and American ladies.

As offset to these favourable factors is the tendency among the women of the better classes to discontinue as far as possible the use of chank bangles in order to emphasize their disassociation from low-caste customs; and in the endeavour to be more "fashionable" in the style of their personal ornaments, they wish where possible to procure gold bracelets, and where their means will not allow they too often prefer to wear gaudy glass bangles of European make.

In Dacca and Calcutta labour in the less skilled branches of the industry is abundant and wages are low in consequence. Highly skilled men can, however, command good pay, and were they of a provident disposition they should be very well-off.

At the small centres located in country districts, living and conditions of labour are greatly superior to those prevailing in the large towns. There is a fairly regular and stable local demand to rely upon, the necessaries of life are cheaper, and temptations to waste earnings in outbursts of self-indulgence are few ; the open surroundings also conduce to a healthier tone both of mind and body than do the slums of Dacca. Best of all, in many places the bangle-maker has some agricultural occupation to afford other interests in life, to give a healthful change from the monotony of a sedentary occupation and a means whereby his savings may be put to remunerative account. In one district I found the local Sankharis engaged in tobacco cultivation as a secondary occupation. Elsewhere I found many of these bangle-cutters cultivating plots of paddy or of jute in the season. The relative importance of the two callings varies considerably as is natural, but they are largely complemental, as there are so many intervals in small cultivation after the crop has been sown when the fields require almost no attention, that a Sankhari has no difficulty in carrying on both satisfactorily. Under these circumstances, these men are quietly prosperous ; they earn good wages from their chank trade, their fields supply almost all their food, and their houses, fairly roomy and well built and fairly well ventilated, are made of grass, thatch walls as well as roof, the supports and rafters of bamboos which grow luxuriantly everywhere around. Many families are reputed to possess good savings in cash, the money being buried as is still the usual habit of country people of this class in Bengal.

(g) *The Castes and Tribes who use Chank Bangles.*

Although evidence is strong in favour of the belief that the custom of wearing chank bracelets was in old times prevalent throughout the length and breadth of

India, more especially in the Tamil country, in the Deccan, in Kathiawar, Gujarat, and Bengal, at the present day only in Bengal and the hill districts to the west, north and east does the custom continue to be widely observed and of notable social importance.

In Bengal and wherever in the adjacent provinces of Assam, Behar and Orissa there are colonies of the Bengali race, every married woman of castes which are completely Hinduised is bound to possess a pair of chank bangles lacquered in vermilion as one of the visible tokens of her married state ; the red sankha indeed is as necessary of assumption during the marriage ceremonies as is the performance of that other Bengali custom of smearing a streak of vermilion on the forehead or down the parting of the bride's hair or as the wedding ring of Englishwomen. Garcia da Orta's curious statement quoted on page 17 is to be explained in the light of this custom ; his informants doubtless meant to convey no more than that among the better classes an essential part of the marriage ceremony consisted in placing chank bracelets on the arms of the bride. The women of castes holding good social status appear however to have no great liking for the custom particularly if their husbands be well-to-do, and I was informed that they frequently lay them aside temporarily in favour either of handsomely carved ornamental chank bangles or replace them, when the means permit, by gold and jewelled ones. Even chank bangles are sometimes ornamented with gold and set with precious stones ; the price of these may reach several hundreds of rupees. The great majority of married women, however, wear them permanently, never removing them so long as their husbands are alive. Occasionally sankha (marriage) bangles are made in two sections secured together after the bangle is placed on the wrist by means of tiny bamboo pins as it is otherwise impossible to pass one of the right size over the hand without great difficulty and the infliction of acute pain.

In spite of the rapid spread of a desire for bracelets of more showy appearance there are a very large number of prosperous Hindu households, especially in the country districts, where the womenfolk remain attached to the old and less ostentatious custom of wearing chank bangles solely as ornaments. Among these conservative folk a large demand exists for the handsome products of the Sankhari workshops. The ornamental bangles made to meet these requirements are of two kinds called respectively *bala* and *churi*. The former are broad bangles worn one on each wrist. The churis on the contrary are always quite narrow, generally $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ inch in width, and usually of conventional scroll design worn in a set of three on each wrist.

The use of these ornamental bangles (*bala* and *churi*) and also of the red marriage bangle is limited almost entirely to the thoroughly Hinduised sections of the Bengali people, more particularly to those inhabiting the districts in the north, south, and east of Bengal, together with the Hindu communities settled in Assam. Baishnab women, however, do not wear these bangles according to the Collector of Birbhum, Mr. Rai Amrita Lal Mukerji, Bahadur. According to the information received from a Muhammadan source women of the lower classes of this community in Dacca, Darjeeling and Assam are said also occasionally to wear chank bangles as wrist ornaments.

As elsewhere in India, it is the invariable custom in orthodox Hindu households for widows to discard all their jewellery on the death of their husbands. In the case of chank and glass bangles, it is usual for the widow to break and throw them away on the first occasion when she bathes after her husband's death. They never resume the use of similar bangles except in the rare cases where widow remarriage is permitted. Tavernier says:[1] "When a man dies, all his relatives and friends should come to the interment, and when they place the body in the ground they take off all the bracelets which are on their arms and legs and bury them with the defunct." This burial of the widow's bangles with the dead may still be continued by some castes, but as earth-burial is now rapidly being displaced by cremation as orthodox Hinduism secures a firmer hold on the people, this custom must tend to die out. Generally, in Bengal, Hindu women wear *Sankhas* as visible tokens of the possession of living husbands; the Hindu Shastras are said to enjoin their use as it is believed that they contribute to the prosperity and longevity of the husbands.

Tuticorin and Rameswaram chanks are necessary in the manufacture of both bala and churi bangles as these require to be made from the finest quality of shells —those possessing a pure white porcellaneous appearance and a dense well-conditioned substance susceptible of high polish.

Among Bengal castes of inferior social status, particularly those whose physical characteristics bespeak Dravidian descent and whose customs are not yet thoroughly Hinduised, the use of chank bangles in the form of massive gauntlets made up of numerous separate bangles is very prevalent. Prominent among these are the widely spread Kochh tribe in their two principal subdivisions of Rajbansi and Paliya. It is largely to supply the women of this tribe with their characteristic ornaments that the chank bangle workshops in Dinajpur and Rangpur exist, as in these districts the tribe has its chief settlement with an approximate total of one million individuals. Kuch Behar and Jalpaiguri account for another half million, while considerable numbers are found also in Purniah, Maldah, the Darjeeling Terai, Bogra, Murshedabad, Nadia, and Dacca. The Rajbansi and Paliya gauntlets are composed usually of ten separate bangles. As the wearers belong largely to the labouring and agricultural classes, the bangles forming these gauntlets are broad and thick, frequently without any ornament whatever; where decoration is attempted, it consists of simple line patterns made of shallow groovings which impair very little the strength of the bangle and yet are effective and elegant Neither are they usually polished, hence dead shells from Jaffna are largely employed in this manufacture, although inferior shells of the better qualities from the Indian side are also extensively made use of.

The Muchi is another numerous Bengal caste where the wearing of numerous chank bangles is a distinctive custom among the women. This is a leather-dressing and cobbler caste, socially a shade higher than the allied Chamárs from whom the Muchis appear to be an offshoot. One of the obvious distinctions between the women of these castes lies in the character of the bracelets worn. Thus while the female Chamár prides herself on huge bracelets of bell metal adorning her arms, the Muchi woman always substitutes chank bangles. The Múchis, like the Paraiyar of the South, are largely the caste drummers of the province and, as they are fond of the violin and the pipe, are employed as musicians at Hindu weddings.

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[1] Tavernier, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 285.

In Western Bengal and in Behar the Santáls take the place occupied by the Rajbansi and Paliyas in North-Eastern and Eastern Bengal as the chief chank-bangle wearing tribe. Many of their women follow the same habit of disposing of a number of chank bangles, three to five usually, as a massive cuff-like gauntlet or compound bracelet. These people being generally poor, the quality employed for these compound gauntlets is inferior, and red and yellow lac is freely used upon them to enhance their appearance and to disguise imperfections. Dead shells are usually employed by the cutters for Santál bangles. Many women are too poor to afford these ornaments and others belong to families which do not observe the custom. In Birbhum, which may be taken as a representative district, it is estimated that about half the Santál female population follow this custom. Sometimes Santál girls wear chank bangles from an early age, but generally they are assumed at marriage. The custom appears to have no religious significance, and marriage is often performed without the assumption of these bangles, which are worn rather for ornament than for any serious motive. Alike with their Hindu sisters, the Santál women break and throw away their bangles on the occasion of widowhood, reassuming others however, if they wish, should they remarry.

Risley states that the Santáls in point of physical characteristics may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock,[1] and in view of the similar origin attributed to the Kochh tribe which includes both the Rajbansi and the Paliya, this becomes a matter of great significance as well as of much difficulty, for whereas the Kochh people are professed Hindus, the Santáls hold the animistic beliefs characteristic of non-Hinduised Dravidians. However Oldham, as quoted by Risley,[2] states that the adhesion of the Kochh tribe to Hinduism is comparatively recent as shown by their customs as regards burial, food and marriage.

The section of the Kurmi caste found in Chota Nagpur and Orissa also wear chank bangles. In view of what has been said above in regard to the Dravidian origin of the Kochhs and Santáls, it is of importance to find that Risley[3] considers this territorial section of the caste as undoubtedly Dravidian, as shown by their physical characteristics, religious beliefs and social customs. He adds that in Manbhum and the north of Orissa, it is difficult to distinguish a Kurmi in appearance from a Bhumij or a Santál. In their religion the animistic beliefs characteristic of the Dravidian races are overlaid by the thinnest veneer of conventional Hinduism, and the vague shapes of ghosts or demons who haunt the jungles and the rocks are the real powers to whom the Kurmi looks for the ordering of his moral and physical welfare.

Alike with the Santáls the internal structure of that branch of the Kurmi caste living in Chota Nagpur and Orissa is founded upon a distinct and well-defined totemism in which a large proportion of the totems are still capable of being identified. Risley[1] enumerates 60 totemistic sections or septs among this caste, among which is one termed SANKHAWAR whose members are prohibited from wearing chank-shell ornaments. Among the Santáls, the place of this sept is taken by one called SANKH, wherein all individuals are forbidden, under pain of caste punishment, the use of the chank shell in any form ; they may neither cut, burn, nor use the shell, nor may the women of this sept use it in personal adornment.[2]

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[1] "The Tribes and Castes of Bengal," vol. ii, p. 225.

[2] Risley, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 492.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 530.

The prevalence of the use of chank bangles among these Dravidian races, the present animistic beliefs of the Santáls and Chota Nagpur Kurmis, and the comparatively recent renunciation of the same cult by the great Kochh tribe, taken in conjunction with other facts and especially with the widely spread archæological finds detailed elsewhere in these pages, point to the use of chank bangles as having had a purely Dravidian origin and as having been a custom prevalent and solidly established among at least certain sections of the race throughout India anterior to the advent of the Aryan invaders and the rise of the Brahmanic faith. The cult of the chank would therefore appear to be one adopted (and modified) by the Brahmans from the religious beliefs which they found indigenous to India.

Finally, in the hill tracts of Chittagong, we find the women of the Maghs, a race of Indo-Mongolian extraction and Buddhists by religion, using very broad unornamented sections of chank shells as bracelets in similar manner as we shall next see is the habit in Thibet and Bhutan, inhabited by other Mongolian races. To supply the needs of the Maghs, bangle cutters are established in Chittagong ; these workpeople are chiefly Muhammadans and the work they do is of the roughest and crudest description in conformity with the undeveloped artistic tastes of their customers who appear to wear these bracelets rather as charms than as ornaments. Broad arm ornaments of similarly simple form are used by the Papuans and by the inhabitants of several groups of the Melanesian islands ; sometimes round the wrist, sometimes on the upper arm above the elbow. I do not know, however, whether the shell employed in these instances be Turbinella or not. Among these island tribes it is the men who wear these shell ornaments.

Outside of Bengal and Assam the only considerable demand for chank bracelets comes from Thibet and Bhutan. The trade is one of long standing for Tavernier in 1666 found Bhutanese merchants taking home from Pabna and Dacca bracelets sawn from " sea-shells as large as an egg." He also states that 2000 men were occupied in these two places in making tortoise shell and sea-shell bracelets, and "all that is produced by them is exported[3] to the kingdoms of Bhutan, Assam, Siam and other countries to the north and east of the territories of the great Moghul" (*loc. cit.*, p. 267).

Now " Bhot " happens to be the native name for the southern section of Thibet inhabited by a settled population, in contradistinction to Chang, the northern region inhabited by nomads, while Bhutea is still used to denote people of Thibetan race living on the southern slopes of the Himalayas.[1] Hence Tavernier's meaning will be correctly read if we substitute Thibet and Bhutan wherever he uses the word Bhutan, more particularly seeing that Thibetan trade has long been in the hands of Bhutanese intermediaries, and Bhutan repeatedly claimed as a dependency by the rulers of Thibet. Thibetan manuscripts[2] make it clear that the present state of Bhutan originated in a colony of Thibetans; the relations between the two countries have always been most intimate. The chain which bound Bhutan to Thibet may have been a loose one, but history shows that it was held by Thibet and tightened on occasions. Tavernier's time was antecedent to the Chinese re-assumption of sovereignty over Thibet in 1720, and coincided with a period when Bhutan was tributary directly to Thibet and so may have been included as a portion of Thibet in the view of foreigners.

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[1] Risley, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, appendix, p. 88.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. xliii.

[3] Evidently a *lapsus pennae* as the custom of wearing chank bangles was even more prevalent in Tavernier's day among Bengali women than it is to-day.

Warren Hastings also appears to have used the word Bhutan as synonymous with Thibet in his earlier letters to the first mission he despatched to open up trade relations with Thibet, at a time when trade with the latter country was carried on through the Bhutan passes by the intermediary of Bhutanese merchants. When Bogle, Warren Hastings' emissary, reached Bhutan in 1774, he found the trade of the country almost entirely in the hands of the Deb Raja, his ministers and governors, who held the monopoly of it both with Bengal and Thibet. Trade with Bengal was maintained by means of annual caravans to Rangpur and there was also trade with Dinajpur. Warren Hastings subsequently established an annual fair at Rangpur for the benefit of Bhutanese merchants whose expenses were paid by the Bengal Government, who also erected stables for their horses and houses for themselves.[3] From Rangpur and Dinajpur the Bhutanese took back stocks of Malda cloth, coarse linen, hogs and salt fish as the major items of trade, while among the smaller were counted supplies of tortoise shell, coral, amber and chank ornaments. The last-named commodity comprises in present-day trade massive single piece bangles without ornamentation, tabular pieces of shell and some of the columellæ which are broken out from the shells before they are sawn into circlets.

Chank bangles appear to be worn very generally throughout Thibet, from Ladakh in the West to the Kham country in the East. Neve records[4] seeing the poorer women in Kashmiri Thibet wearing broad shell-bangles, in shape like a cuff, on both wrists, while on the march of the British expedition to Lhassa in 1904 they were noted as in frequent use by Thibetan women. This ornament is assumed early in life while the hand is still small and pliable; after a few years it becomes impossible to remove it without breakage, which these women will suffer only in the last resort, as it cannot be replaced except by one of large diameter which will fit more loosely on the arm than they like. A medical officer who accompanied the Thibet Mission has informed me that in one instance a Thibetan woman was brought to him for the treatment of a festering wound on the wrist. On examination the cause of the trouble was found to be the presence of a chank bangle so small that the wrist had been wounded and circulation impeded ; gangrene was imminent, and although the woman was loth to part with her bangle it had to be filed off to save the hand.

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[1] The common designation of Thibetans settled in Sikkim is Lhopa Bhotia, literally Thibetans of the south. Risley, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 217.

[2] J. Claude White, "Sikhim and Bhutan," p. 288, London, 1909.

[3] J. Claude White, *loc. cit.*

[4] "Beyond the Pir Panjal," London, 1912.

The export of round and square discs of chank shell to the Buddhist countries of the North appears to be much less than in Tavernier's time, as it is now insignificant. From information gleaned in Dacca, it would appear that these tabular pieces are sometimes worn suspended from the hair as charms, and my informants stated that this custom is found principally among Thibetans (Bhuteas as they termed them) and also to some extent among the Naga and Khasia peoples. Among the Nagas, these discs are employed as necklaces and also to ornament the men's hair-bedecked helmets. As already noted, some Bhutea tribes are also said to wear the columella of the chank as an ear ornament, and Prince Henri d' Orleans[1] found the women of the wild Lissus, a section of the Lolo tribe, mountaineers living in the upper valley of the Mekong in Yunnan, employing chank-shell discs to ornament their Chinese caps. It may be that these Lissus and cognate tribes represent those chank-jewel wearers whom Tavernier refers to as belonging to the kingdom of Siam. In this latter country at the present day I know of no utilization of chanks in personal adornment.

The chank is one of the eight lucky signs recognized by Buddhists of the Northern cult, and as such is constantly reproduced in Buddhist ornamentation in Thibet and Bhutan. It may therefore be inferred that the use of it in personal adornment has a like reason ; whether in the form of a bangle, an ear ornament, or a breast disc, it is employed as a talisman to ensure good fortune, and possibly even as a charm against the evil eye, as is the chank shell placed on the forehead of draught bulls in Southern India.

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[1] "From Tonkin to India," English translation, London, 1898.

PRESENTED
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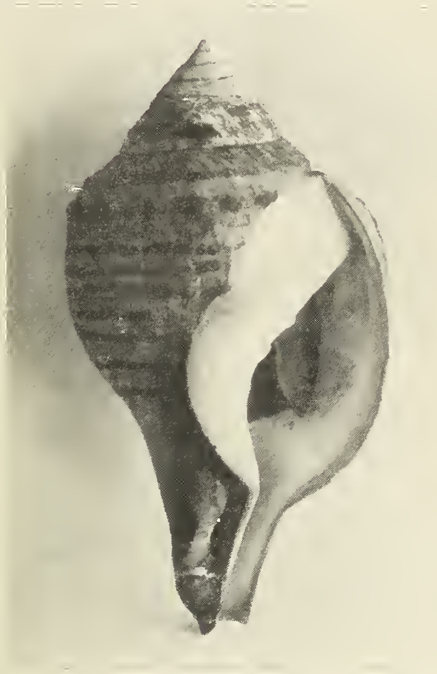
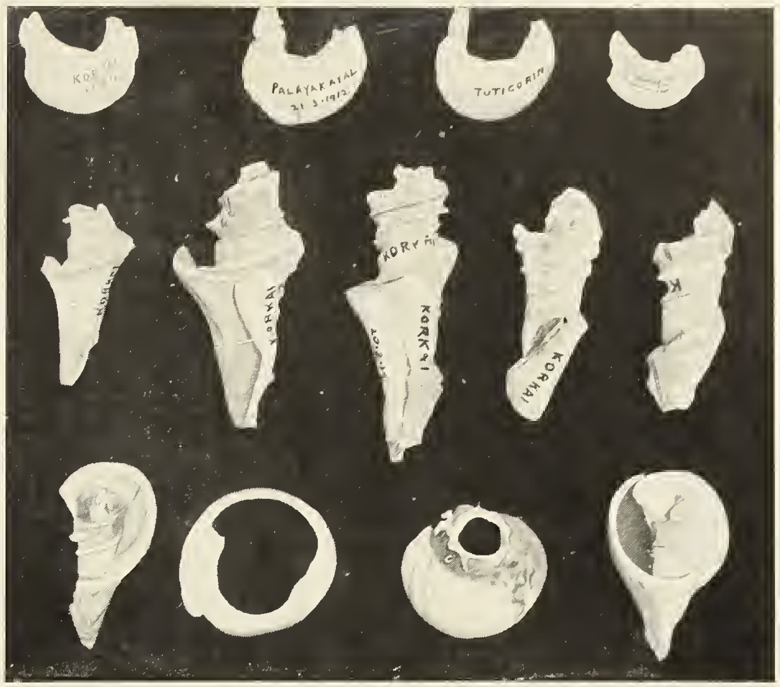


FIG 1. THE INDIAN CHANK-CENTRAL TYPE OF FORM.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PALAYAKAYAL 21.3.1913
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FIG 2. CHANK-SHELL WASTE FROM ANCIENT BANGLE FACTORY SITES AT KORKAI KAYAL, AND TUTICORIN (2 UPPERROWS). COMPARED WITH WASTE FROM DACCA (BOTTOM ROW, WHERE ALSO A WORKING SECTION IS SHOWN).

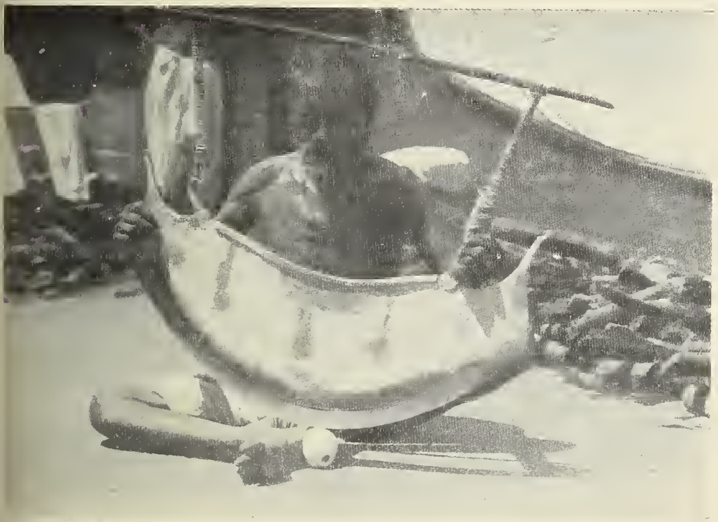


FIG 3. SECTIONING CHANK SHELLS IN A DACCA WORKSHOP.

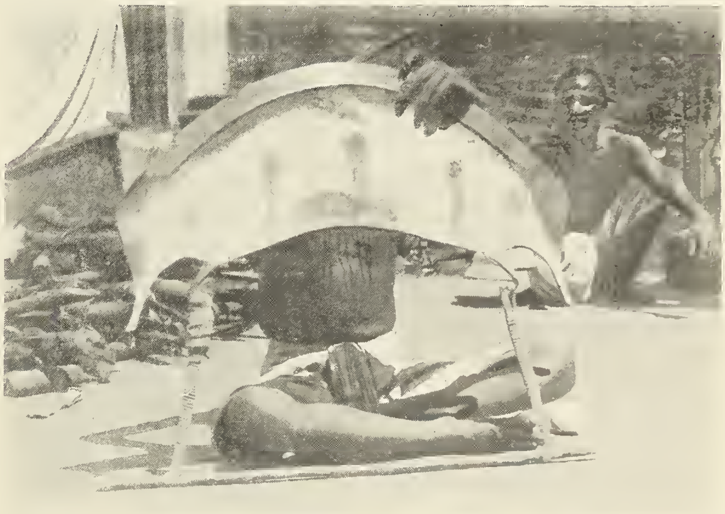


FIG 4. SHARPENING A CHANK SAW, DACCA.

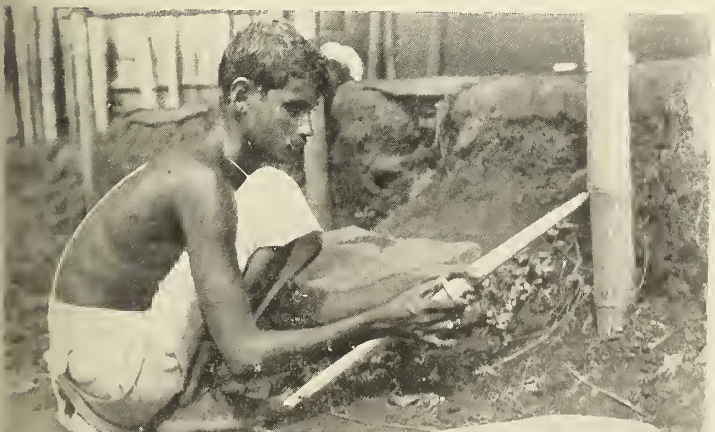


FIG 6. RUBBING DOWN THE INNER SURFACE OF A CHANK WORKING SECTION, DINAJPUR.

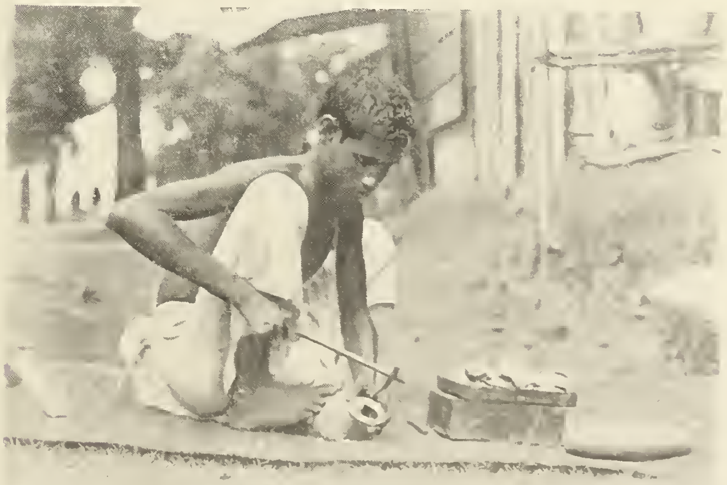


FIG 5. BREAKING AWAY THE REMAINS OF THE SEPTUM FROM A SAWN CHANK CIRCLE (WORKING SECTION).

GRAPHED BY J. HORNELL.

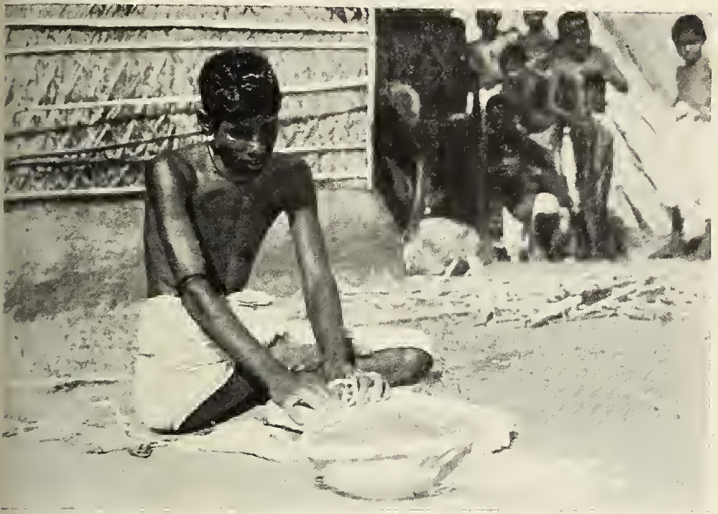


FIG. 7. FORMING A SIMPLE RIDGE PATTERN BY RUBBING DOWN THE SECTIONS ON A STONE. RANGPUR.

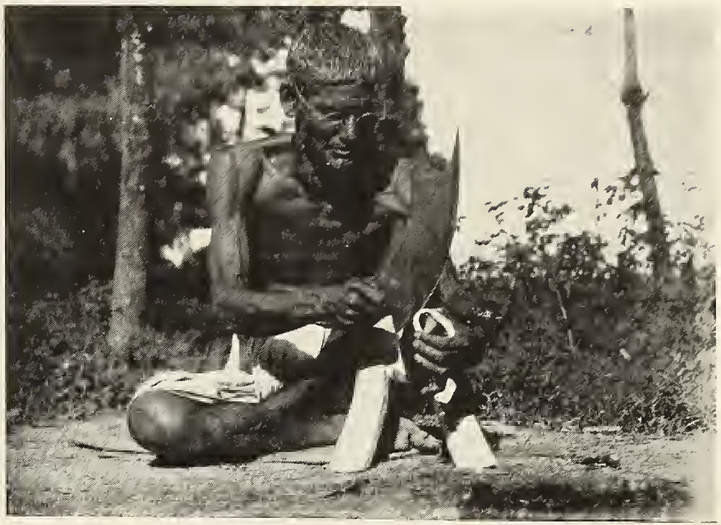


FIG. 8. CARVING AN INCISED PATTERN. RANGPUR.

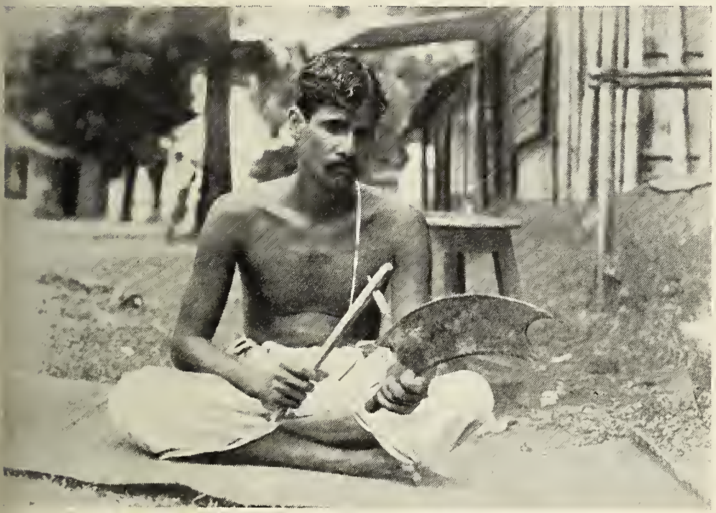


FIG 9. SHARPENING AN ENGRAVING SAW. DINAJPUR.

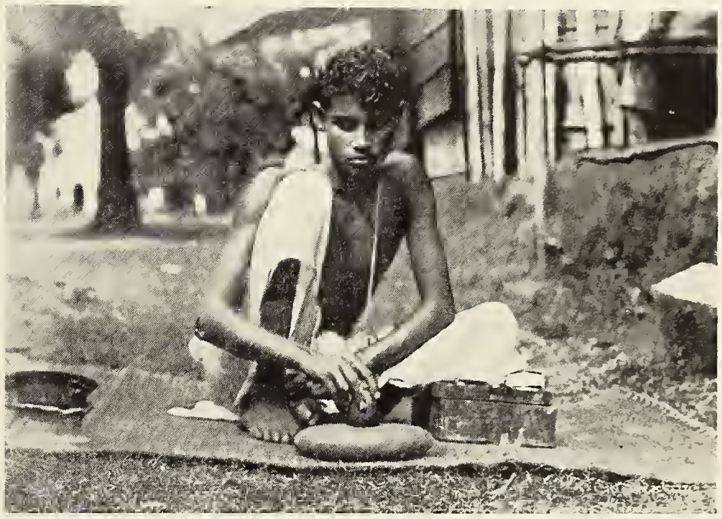


FIG. 10. RUBBING DOWN CINNABAR (HINGOL) TO COLOUR LACQUER RED. DINAJPUR.

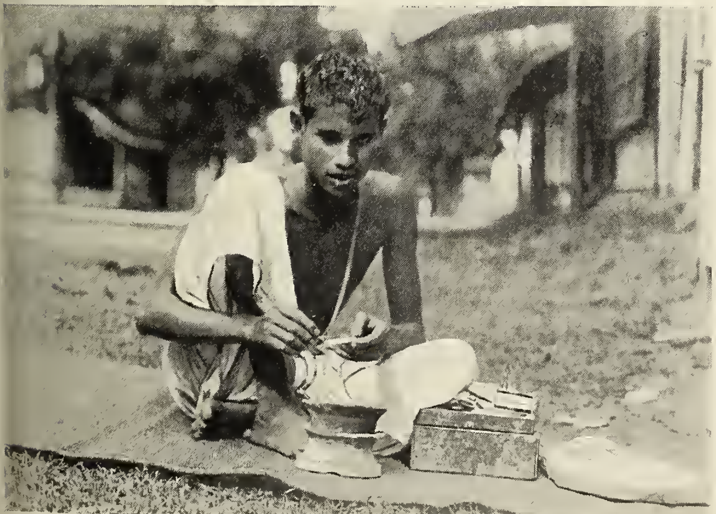


FIG. 11. LACQUERING MARRIAGE BANGLES. DINAJPUR.

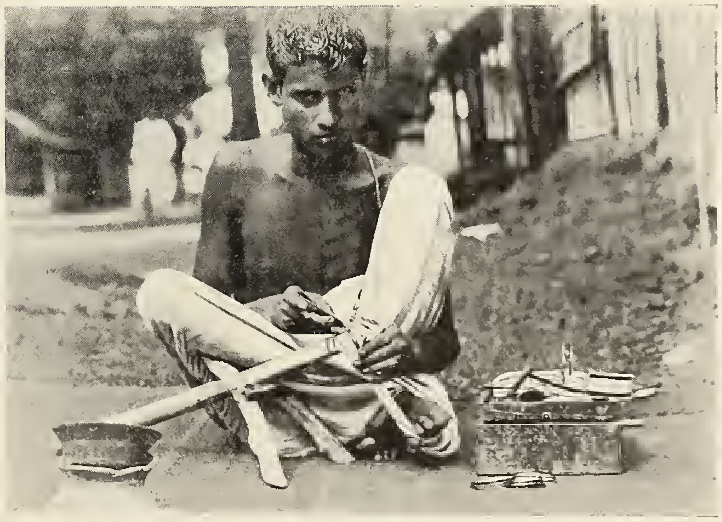
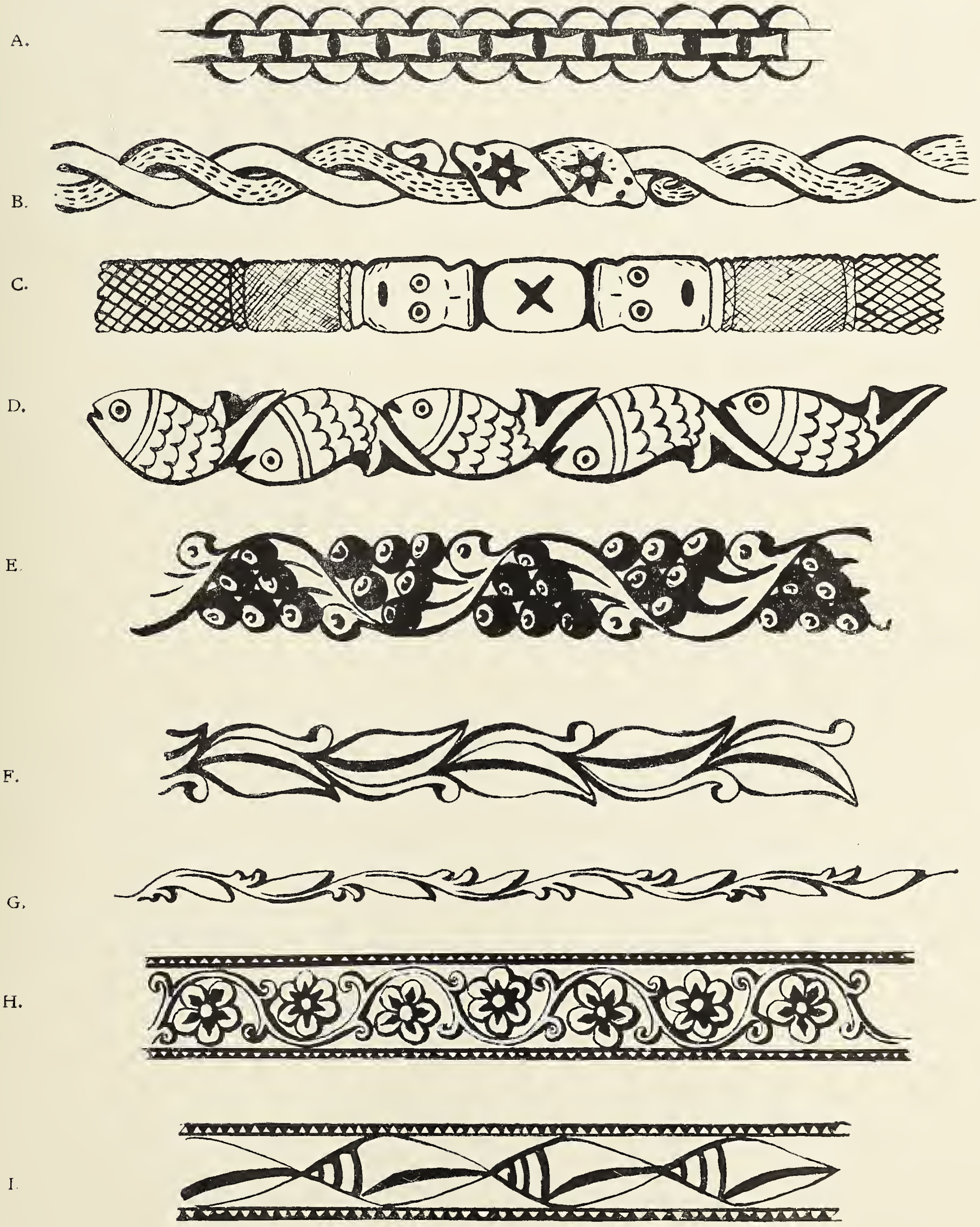


FIG. 12. METHOD OF USING REST WHEN FINISHING OFF AN INLAID LACQUER PATTERN. DINAJPUR.

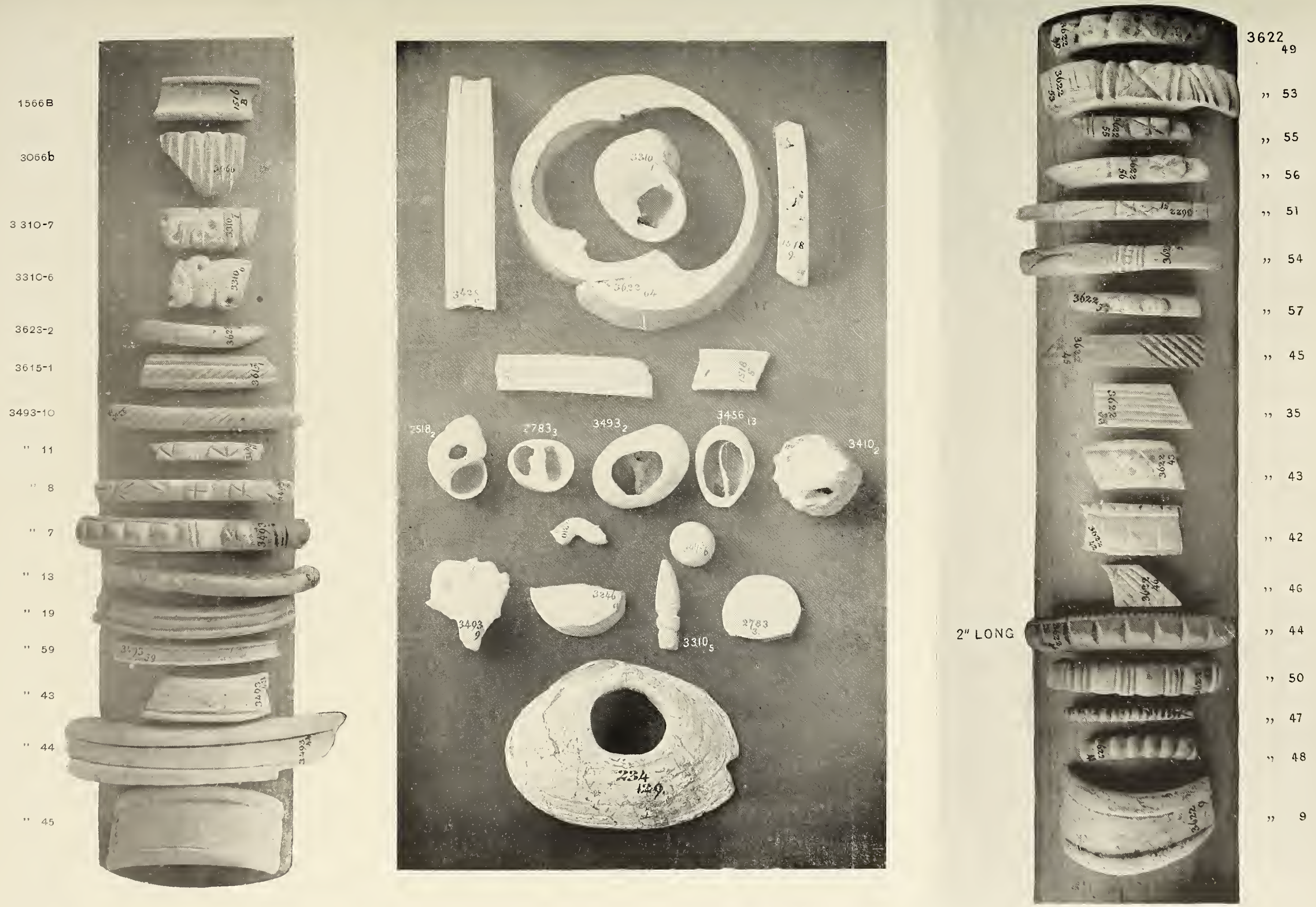
PHOTOGRAPHED BY J. HORNELL.



A SELECTION OF CHANK BANGLE PATTERNS CURRENT IN BENGAL AT THE PRESENT TIME. X 2.

D. L. H. del.

PLATE XVI.


1566B
3066b
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3310-6
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" 44
" 45
2518₂
2783₃
3493₂
3456₁₃
3410₂
3310₅
3622₄₉
" 53
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" 56
" 51
" 54
" 57
" 45
" 35
" 43
" 42
" 46
" 44
" 50
" 47
" 48
" 9
2" LONG

FRAGMENTS OF CHANK BANGLES and OTHER SHELL ORNAMENTS,
FROM ANCIENT SITES IN KATHIAWAR, GUJARAT and THE DECCAN.
By Permission from Mr Bruce Foote's Catalogue of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities in the Madras Museum.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

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VOL. III, No. 8, pp. 449—514.

CATUḤṢATIKĀ BY ARYA DEVA.

EDITED BY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ, M.A., F.A.S.B., C.I.E.

SIR·WILLIAM·JONES
MDCCXLVI-MDCCXCIV

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1914.

Price Rs. 2; *or* 2*s.* 10*d.*

26-10-14.

PREFACE.

The following fragments of Āryadeva's Catuḥśatikā with their commentary by Candra Kīrti are published from 23 old palm leaves written on in Newari character of the 11th century. I had great difficulty in arranging the leaves, as the old leaf-marks have been obliterated in all the leaves except one. That one leaf is marked 15. The last owner of the manuscript marked the other leaves from 16 to 38, leaf 29th belonging to a work on grammar. He has done his work so badly that his 36th leaf contains the colophon of the first chapter, while the 15th leaf, which has the original leaf-mark, contains that of the third chapter. It was after a careful comparison with the Tibetan translation in collaboration with my esteemed friend Dr. Satiśa Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa that I could put the leaves in their proper order.

A comparison with the Tibetan translation revealed the fact that the original Catuḥśatikā contained three hundred and seventy-five verses in the Anuṣṭup metre, which with sixteen long colophons, would count to a copyist, 400 Ślokas. Hence the name Catuḥśatikā. These three hundred and seventy-five verses are divided into sixteen chapters, the majority of which contain 25 verses each. In a few only the number of the verses is less than 25.

From a comparison with the Tibetan translation the commentary appears to have been written by Candra Kīrti. The commentary is written in beautiful prose, enlivened in the first 8 chapters with pretty stories and anecdotes taken both from life and literature; and in the last 8 chapters, with philosophical speculations both Buddhistic and Brahmanical. The only author quoted by name in these fragments of the commentary is Buddha pālita, whom the commenator calls Ācārya. Candra Kīrti is well known by his commentary on the Mādhyamaka Kārikās of Nāgārjuna, and also by his work entitled Madyamakāvatāra which is known in Tibetan version only.

The author Āryadeva is said to have been a pupil of Nāgārjuna, and as such, must have flourished about the end of 2nd century A.D. One of his treatises in Sanskrit entitled Cāritra-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa was discovered by me in 1897 at Kaṭmaṇḍu, and published in the Asiatic Society's Journal for that year; and Catuḥśatikā is a discovery of another work in Sanskrit by Āryadeva. The work is often quoted under the name of Śataka in Candrakīrti's commentary on the Mādhyamaka Kārikās of Nāgārjuna. For instance, in Bibl. Budh. Edition of the same work, p. 71, we read :—

यथोक्तं शतके :— सर्व्व एव घटो दृष्टो रूपे दृष्टे हि जायते ।
ब्रूयात् कस्तत्त्वविन्नाम घटः प्रत्यक्ष इत्यपि ॥
एतेनैव विचारेण सुगन्धि मधुरं मृदु ।
प्रतिषेधयितव्यानि सर्व्वान्युत्तमबुद्धिना ॥ Ch. XIII. 1. 2.

These verses are not to be found in these fragments. But there is another quotation in page 173 of the same :—

यथोक्तं शतके । अलातचक्रनिर्म्माणस्वप्नमायाम्बुचन्द्रकैः ।
धूमिकान्तःप्रतिश्रुत्का मरीच्यभ्रैः समो भवः ॥

In a note the editor, M. Louis de la Vallee Poussin, says that this is the 25th verse of the 13th chapter. This agrees with the last verse of the 13th chapter of our fragments.

There is another quotation in page 199 :—

यथोक्तमार्य्यदेवेन । यस्तवात्मा ममानात्मा तेनात्मा नियमान्न सः ।
नन्वनित्येषु भावेषु कल्पना नाम जायते ॥

The editor in a note says this is from Sataka X. 3. ·This agrees with the 3rd verse of the 10th chapter in our fragments.

Another quotation is in page 220 :—

यथोक्तमार्य्यदेवपादैः । यथा बीजस्य दृष्टोऽन्तो नचादिस्तस्य विद्यते ।
तथा कारणवैकल्यात् जन्मनोऽपि न सम्भवः ॥

The editor says this is from Sataka VIII. 25. This is the last verse of the 8th chapter in our fragments.

The fact that Catuḥsatikā is called Sataka both by Candra Kīrti and M. Poussin led me to think that the Sata Sāstras registered by Nanjio under the name of Āryadeva may perhaps be the same work as Catuḥsatikā. Acting under this impression I obtained from my friend Professor Takakusu of Tokio, a copy of the Sata Sāstra with the commentary of Vasubandhu or Vasu. My young friend and pupil Dr. Kimora read the work for me and pronounced it to be a different work. He says it has 20 chapters of five Sūtras each, making a total of a hundred sūtras, but that ten chapters, being of no use to China, were not translated into their language. Dr. Kimora's description of the work does not tally with that of Nanjio, who says that it has eight chapters only. There is another work entitled Satasūttra by Āryadeva registered by Nanjio. But it is only the Vaipulya version of the former.

The following table will show the distribution of verses in the various chapters of the Catuḥsatikā and their number in each in the fragments published :—

Chapter.	Total number of verses in each chapter.	Number of verses.	Number of verses in the fragments.		
I.	25.	1 to 25.	19, 21, 22, 25	=	4.
II.	25.	26 to 50.	32 to 37	=	6.
III.	25.	51 to 75.	73 to 75	=	3.
IV.	25.	76 to 100.	76, 77, 89 to92, 98 to 100	=	9.
V.	25.	101 to 125.	101	=	1.
VI.	25.	126 to 150.	0	=	0.
VII.	23.	151 to 173.	159 to 169	=	11.
VIII.	24.	174 to 197.	175 to 186 192 to 197	=	18.
IX.	25.	198 to 222.	198 to 204, 222	=	8.
X.	25.	223 to 247.	223 to 226, 233 to 238	=	10.
XI.	14.	248 to 261.	253 to 259	=	7.

Chapter.	Total number of verses in each chapter.	Number of verses.	Number of verses in the fragments.		
XII.	14.	262 to 275.	265 to 272	=	8.
XIII.	25.	276 to 300.	288 to 300	=	13.
XIV.	25.	301 to 325.	301 to 21	=	21.
XV.	25.	326 to 350.	343 to 50.	=	8.
XVI.	25.	351 to 375.	351, 352.	=	2.
					129.

Mañjunātha and Thwanimmathappa, the joint Indian and Tibetan translators of the text of Catuḥśatikā, say that this work was composed in the Sinhalese country on the other side of the great sea. It also says that the country of the composition of the work is now, at the time of the translation, under the possession of the Mussalmans. Nanjio says that Ārya Deva was a native of South India (not Ceylon as in Eitel) and a disciple of Nāgārjuna. There is a life of Ārya Deva in five leaves translated by Kumārājīva into Chinese between A.D. 401 and 409. Āryadeva is also called Nīlanettra, on account of his having two spots, as large as the eyes, on the cheeks. It is also said by Nanjio that his real name was Candra Kīrti. I think that the later writers confounded the author with the commentator.

Chandra Kīrti, the commentator, was an opponent of Candragomi, who lived between 630–940, viz., during Yuan Chauang's stay in Eastern India. He quotes in his commentary on Mādhyamakakārikā from Tathāgataguhyaka, one of the 9 dharma of the Nepalese and a work of the Tantrika Sahajia sect. His commentary was translated into Tibetan by the Indian Paṇḍit Bamse Raṭna-vajra and Lama Thwanimmathappa. Like the text the commentary has no Chinese translation.

Catuḥśatikā by Ārya Deva.

Edited by MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ, M.A., F.A.S.B., C.I.E.

चतुःशतिका by आर्य्यदेव।

..... सहचारिणौ ॥ 19.

यस्य हि भवतोऽन्यस्य वा दृष्टैर्योगः प्रियस्तस्य तैरेव वियोगः कथमप्रियः। ननु यत्रैव सन्ताने योगस्तत्रैवावश्यम्भावी वियोगोऽपीति योगवियोगौ चोभावपि दृश्येते सहचारिणौ। तस्माद्योगार्थिना वियोग + + +

[२] राधनं कृतं। श्रीर्मस्यादिति तेन वरो लब्धो यथास्य गृहं प्रविष्टस्य श्रीर्गृहं प्रविष्टा तदनुलग्ना च कालकर्णी, स श्रियं पृच्छति स्म, कैषा, आह कालकर्णीति। स आह। न पुनर्मयास्यार्थे वरो लब्धः। सा प्राह। यत्राहं तत्रैषा अवश्यमिति। एवं यत्र संयोगः + + + + +

[३] खं एवं सर्व्वसंयोगसुखं वियोगदुःखानुषक्तमेवं यस्य वड़िशामिषभक्षणमिष्टं तस्यावश्यं वड़िशवेधोद्धरणमपीति। अत्राह, यद्यप्यन्ते वियोगो नियतस्तथाप्यादौ संप्रयोगमहत्वात् नासौ गण्यत इति॥ अतिक्रान्तस्य नास्त्यादिरन्तो नागतस्य वा केन ते + + + + +

[४] प्रयोगप्रभावितः। अनागतस्याप्यविद्यावत एवान्ताभावेऽसावपि अप्राप्तत्वात् तदात्मकः। तदत्रानवराग्रजातिसंसारमहार्णवपतितस्य प्रतिक्षणं विनश्वरत्वात्। संसार + + + र्थेन यः संयोगः स क्षणिकः। तदेवमतीतानागतसंगृहीतो विप्रयो + + + + +

[५] स्यातिसूक्ष्मत्वात् संयोगदर्शने सति वियोगदर्शिना सदैव संवेगवता भाव्यं। अन्यभार्य्यापहरणविवादवत्। कश्चित् पुरुषो देशान्तरं गतस्तस्य प्रोषितस्य भार्य्याऽन्येन + + + + + + + ससमीपस्थेन श्रुतं श्रुत्वा च विटगृहं गत्वा तत्कालकृतेन + + + +

[६] तात्कालिकवियोगेन तत्त्वं शोधितं। अत्राह। यद्यपि महान् वियोगस्तथापि ऋतुसम्पदाक्षिप्तचित्तत्वात् नासौ चिन्त्यत इति। उच्यते

शत्रुवत् यान्ति ते काला नियमेन क्षणादयः।
सर्व्वथा तेन ते रागः शत्रुभूतेषु तेषु मा॥ 21.

इह खलु यस्मात् तव जीवितं क्षणल + + + +

[Leaf 36 in the MS. but the earliest leaf according to context. This leaf has lost nearly a third of its length.]

[७] महारिषु तेषु कालेषु भवतो रागो मा भवत्विति। मित्रमुखेनावस्थितारि(नि)परिज्ञाह्वत् तत्परिज्ञानकुशलेन भवितव्यमप्रमादचारिणा। वृद्धदासीदुःखानुबन्धनवत्। यथा वृद्धदास्याः च + + + + परिभवदोषाच्च खा + + + +

[८] शिरमभिलषति। एवमितरेणे+। [नचास्य] कुतश्चित् सुखमस्ति। तदेवमेनां संस्कारधर्म्मतामभितः स्थितामपि चानुचिन्तयता संविग्नमानसेन युक्तमनुरूपमाचरितुम्। किं पुनः + + + + + [३६क]

ते ।

विप्रयोगभयाद्गेहान्न निर्गच्छसि [दुर्मते] ।
[विविच्य] नाम कर्त्तव्यं कुर्य्याद्दण्डेन को बुधः ॥ 22.

इह बन्धुजनविप्रयोगः कष्ट इति तद्भयात् गेहान्न निर्गच्छसि दुर्मते । तदपि यदा तदा च मृत्युवशात् नियम + + +

[२] देयं करं कृत्स्नमहत् दुःखमनुभूय पश्चाद्ददति ग्रामीणा, नान्यथा, एवमवश्यत्यक्तव्यं बन्धुजनं मृत्युना त्याज्यंतेऽबुधा नात्मना त्यजन्ति । अत्राह यद्यवश्यं बन्धुवर्गस्त्याज्यस्तथापि सुतमुत्पाद्य [प्रर्ष] + + + दाहे तस्माद्गृहभारमुत्सृज्येत वा तथता] परिसमाप्तं कृत्वा निर्गमि + + + +

[३] व मया वनं गन्तव्यं किन्तु कर्त्तव्यशेषं किञ्चिदस्ति तत्कृत्वा यास्यामीति तदेतत् यत् क्रियते. यदर्थं च क्रियते तदुभयं कृत्वापि यदि पुनः परित्याज्यमेव तेन तर्हि कृतेन को गुण इत्यकर्त्तव्यमेवैतत् । तस्मान्न तदपेक्षया कालक्षेपो युक्त इति ।

कृत्याकृत्यविचार + + +

[४] ति तस्माम्रफलं गृहीतं सोऽन्येन पृष्टः किमनेन करिष्यसीति । स आह । प्रक्षाल्य परित्यक्ष्यामीति । एवं यदि विषयाः परित्याज्याः किं तैः पर्य्यन्विष्टैः यथाहि कश्चित् सार्थिको गमन + + पाषाणं निर्घर्षयितुमारब्धः स पृष्टः किं करोषीति तदेव निदर्शयति स्म + + + +

[५] ज्ञेयानि । यद्यप्यर्थतो वनगमनं प्रधानं तथाप्यात्मात्मीयसंगवतोस्माद्भयमुत्पद्यत इति । उच्यते ।

नियमाद्म्रियते यस्य मर्त्योऽहमिति भावना ।
तस्य सङ्गपरित्यागात् मृत्योरपि [भयं कु] तः ॥ 24.

इह यस्य कस्यचित् प्राज्ञस्यागमानुसारेण मरणधर्म्माहमिति भावना नि + + +

[६] तावद्भयं नास्ति । कुत एव वनगमनात् पुत्रवियोगात् वा भयं भविष्यतीति । अतो मरणानुस्मृतिभावनायामेव योगः करणीयः । निर्विषीकरणाङ्गुलीयकरबन्धनवत् । सविषान्नपरित्यागवच्च । यथाहि निर्विषीकरणाङ्गुलीयकं करे बध्यते । तथा विद्वद्भिः क्लेशा + + + +

[७] शेन निःश्रेयसमिति ।

आचार्य्यार्य्यदेवीये बोधिसत्त्वयोगाचारे चतुःशतके नित्यविपर्य्यासप्रहाणोपायसन्दर्शनं प्रथमं प्रकरणं समाप्तम् ॥ १ ॥

उक्तस्तावत् प्रथमेन प्रकरणेनानित्यनित्यमिति विपर्य्यासस्य प्रहाणोपायः । + + + + +

[८] सति शरीरे अध्यात्मसमुत्थानि चतुरुत्तराणि चत्वारि व्याधिशतान्युत्पद्यन्ते धातुवैषम्यनिमित्तानि बाह्यजानि च लोष्टदण्डशत्रुशीतोष्णदंशमशकशरीसृपादिसंस्पर्शनिमित्तानि । तस्मादनेक दुःखोदयहेतु + + + + +

तथा दुःखस्य पात्रं भवति । अपि वा सुखेन भावयितुमशक्यत्वात् तद्विपरीत + + + + + + गम्यते तथाहि ॥

शरीरं सुचिरेणापि सुखस्य स्वं न जायते ।
परेणाभिभवो नाम, स्वभावस्य न युज्यते ॥ 32.

सुचिरेणापि कालेन तैस्तैः सुखोपभोगनिमित्तै र्विषयैरुपचर्य्यमाणमपि सुखस्य स्वं शरीरं न जायते दुःखस्वभावत्वात् । यथा नाम कठिनस्वभावानां त्रपुसीसरजतसुवर्णादीनां यद्यप्यग्निसंयोगाद्द्रवत्वं भवति । तथापि तेषां द्रवत्वं स्वं नैव भवति, कठिनस्वभा[२]वत्वात् । तथा शरीरस्य दुःखस्वभावत्वात् । अनात्मीयेन सुखेन सुचिरेणापि न शक्यमात्मीयत्वं कर्त्तुमिति दुःखमेव शरीरम् ॥ कोकिलपोतवत्, यथा कोकिलपोतः काकेन सम्वर्द्धितः कोकिलस्यैव भवति न काकस्यैवं न सुखस्य शरीरम् । भवति चात्र ।

दुःखात्मकं शरीरं, सुखस्य किं स्वीकरोषि मोहान्ध ।
नहि जातु कृष्णलोहं सुचिरादपि हेमतां यातीति ॥

स्यादेतत्, यदपि दुःखं नासंविदितमनर्थायतनम् । तथाह्येके जात्या प्रभृत्यामरणा[३]न्ता एकान्तसुखिनो दृश्यन्ते । अग्रसत्त्वाश्च महति पदे निवेशितास्तद्व्यासङ्गान्न सम्वेदयन्ते । तत्कथं दुःखात्मकं शरीरमिति । उच्यते ॥

अग्र्याणां मानसं दुःखमितरेषां शरीरजम् ।
दुःखद्वयेन लोकोयमहन्यहनि हन्यते ॥ 33.

द्विविधं खलु दुःखं शारीरं मानसञ्च । तत्र य एते सर्व्वसुखोपकरणसम्पन्नाः अग्र्याः अग्रकुलीना महाभोगास्तेषां स्थूलेच्छानां महतः पदस्याभीप्सितस्य दुरापत्वात् ईर्ष्याबाहुल्येनेष्टत्वो [४] भजं मानसं दुःखमनपायि तेषां । ये पुनरेव नीचकुलीना अशन-शयन-शरण-वसनविप्रहीणा अधमसत्त्वास्ते शारीरेण दुःखेन हता एवेति कुतः कस्यचित् सुखावकाश इत्येवम् सर्व्व एवायं लोको दुःखद्वयेनाहन्यहनि हन्यते । तस्मादत्र न कश्चित् स्वभावेन सुखी विद्यते ॥ अधिकृतहस्त्यारोपितदर्शनमन्युपरितोषणवत् ॥ केनचिद्राज्ञा हस्तिनि दुर्द्दान्ते कश्चिदारोपितो वाहयेति । तेन च स हस्ती सम्यक् प्रेरि[५]तस्ततो राज्ञा परितुष्टेन सम्मानितः । तस्य पुरुषस्य सम्मानं दृष्ट्वा हस्त्यधिकृतः पुरुषः दुःखी सम्वृत्तः । ततोऽस्य भयाद्दौर्म्मनस्यमुत्पन्नम् । द्वितीयश्च हीनपुरुषस्तेन राज्ञा तस्मिन् हस्तिन्यारोपितो वाहयेति । तेन न शकितः । स राज्ञा शारीरेण दुःखेन योजितः । अधिकृतस्य च परितोष उत्पन्नः । तत्रैकस्य मानसं दुःखमभूत् द्वितीयस्य शारीरं । तद्वत् महतामवमानान्मानसं दुःखमुत्पद्यते हीनाना[६]न्तु ताड़नाच्छारीरम् । भवति चात्र । दुःखद्वयेन लोकं विहन्यमानं स्वभावदुःखार्त्तं दृष्ट्वा कस्तं ब्रूयात् सुखीति करुणात्मकः पुरुष इति । अत्राह । यद्यपि दुःखद्वयं विद्यते । तथापि तन्महता सुखेनाभिभूतं न ज्ञायते इति । उच्यते । कुतः सुखस्य महत्त्वं दुःखविधेयस्य कल्पनाख्यस्यापि धर्म्मस्य प्रतिबद्धवृत्तित्वात् । तथाहि ॥

[This is the 32nd leaf in the MS. but it should come here in the work.]

कल्पनायाः सुखं वश्यं वश्याद्दुःखस्य कल्पना ।
अतोस्ति किञ्चित् सर्व्वत्र न दुःखाद्ब[७]लवत्तरम् ॥ 34.

यदा खल्वयं पुरुष एवं कल्पयते दाताहमीश्वरोहमिष्टानिन्द्रियार्थानुपभुञ्जेऽहमिति । तदास्यैवं परिकल्पयतो मानसं सुखमुत्पद्यते । सुखसमर्पिणामपि परतस्तदपायमाशङ्कमानानां भोगविच्छित्तिकल्पनया पुनस्तन्मानसं दुःखं निवर्त्तत इत्येवं सुखस्योत्पादनिरोधयोः कल्पनाविधेयत्वात् कल्पनायाः सुखं वश्यं भवति । दुःखन्तु नैवम् । नह्यस्ति काचित् कल्पना या दुःखस्योपघातासामर्थ्य[८]मुपरुन्ध्यादित्यतः सुखवन्न दुःखं कल्पनावश्यम् ॥ यत्तु खल्विदं दृष्टविषयसंभोगसुखं या च सुखोदयानुकूला कल्पना, तदुभयमपि दुःखमुपजातमुपहन्ति । तथाहीन्द्रियार्थमुपभुञ्जानोप्ययमन्यतमेन दुःखेनाभिभूतः सह कल्पनया तत्सर्व्वं सुखमपहाय दुःखमेव प्रतिसम्बिन्ते न सुखं ॥ तदेवं सुखकल्पनाया दुःखविधेयत्वात् दुःखमेव बलवत्तरं न सुखम् । सपत्नीपुत्रसत्कारदुःखितावत् । सप[१२ क]त्नीद्वयस्यैका मृतपुत्रा द्वितीया सपुत्रा । तत्र या मृतपुत्रा सा तं सपत्नीपुत्रं सत्क्रियमाणं दृष्ट्वातीव शोचति स्म । सा पृष्टा कस्मात् मृतमभीष्टं शोचसीति । सा प्राह नाहं तं शोचामि अपि तु एतमहं सपत्नीपुत्रो जीवतीति । सा परेण समयेन सपत्नीपुत्रे ग्लाने ग्रामान्तरं गता । कतिपयैरहोभिस्तं ग्रामं उपश्लिष्टा ; मृतकश्च तस्मात् निर्ह्रियते । तदैवं कल्पितम् । स एव सपत्नीपुत्रो मृत इति । एवञ्चास्याः परिकल्प्यातीव सौमनस्यं जातम् । वृश्चिकेन चा[२]ङ्गावयवे दष्टा । तदस्याः कल्पनावशेन सौमनस्यं जातं विषदुःखेनाभिभूतम् । अतो न दुःखाद्बलवत्तरं किञ्चित् क्वचिदस्ति । आह चात्र ।

विपर्य्यासाद्यतो जातम् सुखं तस्मात् सुदुर्लभम् ।
दुःखन्तु भूतनिर्य्यातन्तस्मात्तद्बलवत्तरम् ॥

अत्राह । यद्यपि सुखं दुर्लभम् तथापि शरीरस्यापीड़ाकरत्वात् तदात्मीयम्, बह्वपि दुःखं पीड़ाकरत्वात् परमेव भवति इति । उच्यते ।

कालो यथा यथा याति दुःखवृद्धिस्तथा तथा ।
तस्मात् कडेवरस्यास्य परवद्दृ[३]श्यते सुखम् ॥ 35.

यस्य खलु शरीरकालो यथा यथा वर्द्धते बाल-कौमार-यौवन-स्थाविरेषु तथा तथा दुःखस्यातिवृद्धिर्दृष्टा न सुखस्य । यस्माच्चैवम् विवर्द्धमानस्य शरीरस्य पृष्ठतः पृष्ठतः सुखमपसर्पति, तस्मादस्य शरीरस्य दुःखमेवात्मीयं दृश्यते सुखन्तु परभूतमिति । दीर्घाध्वगवत् । यथा दीर्घाध्वगस्य दिने दिने तीव्रतरं श्रमदुःखं पथ्यदनपरिचयदुःखं च भवति एवं सर्व्वकालं पृथग्जना यथा[४]यथा चिरं जीवन्ति तथा तथा जरादुःखमनुप्राप्नुवन्ति मरणस्य चाभ्यासीभवन्ति । आह चात्र ।

स्नेहादिवास्य दुःखं पुरतः पुरतः प्रयाति यन्नित्यम् ।
त्यजति च सुखं शरीरं परवत् तस्मात्परं भवति ॥

अत्राह । यद्यप्यस्य शरीरस्य दुःखं स्वभावः तथापि सुखहेतुप्रतीकारो यस्माद्विद्यते तस्मान्नात्मशरीरादुद्वेगः कार्य्य इति ॥ उच्यते ।

व्याधयोऽन्ये च दृश्यन्ते यावन्तो दुःखहेतवः । [५]
तावन्तो न तु दृश्यन्ते नराणां सुखहेतवः ॥ 36.

इह शरीरस्य दुःखहेतवो यावन्तो दृश्यन्ते, अध्यात्मसमुत्थिता धातुवैषम्यहेतुका व्याधयः अन्ये च वाह्याः शीतादिनिमित्ता अनिष्टसंस्पर्शाः । तावन्तोध्यात्मवाह्यहेतुकाः सुखहेतवो अस्य शरीरस्य नैव दृश्यन्ते । यस्य चाल्पाः सुखहेतवोऽनेके च दुःखहेतवः शरीरस्य तस्मात् सुखहेतुसद्भावात् दुःखान्नोद्वेगः करणीय[६] इति । तन्न । राजदुहितृ-स्वयंवरप्रार्थनावत् । वैश्रवणदुहितृहरणमान्धातृवत् च । ये राजदुहितरं स्वयंवरां प्रार्थयन्ते ते दुःखेन संयुज्यन्ते । एकस्यैव हि सा सुखहेतु र्भवति न सर्व्वेषाम् । वहवश्च प्रार्थयन्ते न चासादयन्ति ततो दुःखिनो भवन्ति । तथा सत्त्वानां वहवो दुःखहेतवोऽल्पास्तु सुखहेतवः । तथा वैश्रवण-दुहितृहरणे मान्धातृवत् अनेकदुःखहेतवो भवन्त्युभयो[७]र्वलवत्त्वात् न तु तथा सुखहेतवः । आह चात्र ॥

सुखमुदविन्दुप्रतिमं दुःखन्तु समुद्रवारिसङ्काशम् ।
काये सत्वा विद्वांस्तत्र सुखं मन्यते नु कथम् ॥

अत्राह । यदि सुखं नाम न स्यात् नास्य वृद्धिर्दृश्येत । यस्माच्च सुखस्य दृश्यते वृद्धिस्तस्मात् सुखमस्तीति । उच्यते ।

सुखस्य वर्द्धमानस्य यथा दृष्टो विपर्य्ययः ।
दुःखस्य वर्द्धमानस्य तथा नास्ति विपर्य्ययः ॥ 37

सुखस्य हि यथा यथा वृद्धिर्भवति । तथा तथा तस्य वर्द्ध[८]मानस्य विपर्य्ययो दृष्टः । यदि च स्वभावेन सुखं स्यात् न त + + + + + + + ष्टः स्यात् सुखस्य तु वर्द्धमानस्य तथा विपर्य्ययोऽस्ति न दुःखस्य । तथाहि ॥ सुखमभिवर्द्धमानं कालप्रकर्षेणावगीतं अल्परसमाजायते । दुःखं पुनरभिवर्द्धमानमधिक[त]रसन्तापकर्कशं सुतरां शरीरं चेतश्चोपहन्ति । तदेवं वृद्धौ विपर्य्ययाभावात् दुःखस्वभावं शरीरं न सुख[।] स्वभावतोऽस्ति । मान्धातृपतनव[त्] [३२]

[1]कस्यचिद्राज्ञो नैमित्तिकेनावेदितं वर्षं पतिष्यति यस्तेनाम्भसा कृत्यं करिष्यति स उन्मादं गमिष्यतीति। अथ राजा स्वार्थं कूपश्छादितस्तच्च वर्षं पतितं तत्स(स्व ?)जनस्तेनाम्भसा कृत्यं कृत्वोन्मत्तोऽपि सन्नेकप्रकृतित्वात् आत्मानमेवं स्वस्थं मन्यते राजानमुन्मत्तं। ततो राज्ञा तदर्थमुपलभ्य तदेवाम्भ उपयुक्तं मा मामुन्मत्त इति परिकल्प्यावहसेयुर्विनाशयेयुर्वा इति। एवं यद्येक एव मूची स्यात् स कुष्ठीव वर्ज्येत यदा तु सर्व्व एव मूचिणस्तदा कुचै[२]षामशुचिसंज्ञा भविष्यति। क्वचिच्च देशे सर्व्वो जनो गलगण्डाभिभूतः परमविरूपः तत्र चान्यो दर्शनीयो गतः स तैः परिवर्ज्यते परमविरूपोऽङ्गविकल इति। आह चात्र।

यदि निर्द्दोषः स्याल्लोकः सर्व्वोऽपि तत्र रज्येत।
दोषस्तु विद्यते यस्मात्तस्मात् सन्तस्तमुज्झन्ति॥

अत्राह। यो नाम युवा भूत्वा सर्व्वोपकरणसम्पन्नं युवतिजनं तुष्ट्या नोपभुंक्ते स जीवलोके परमवञ्चितो भवति। तथा हि सुरभिगन्धामोद[३]सम्वासादस्य तदशौचमपनुद्यते। तत्र शुचिं सेवमानानामदोष इति। उच्यते।

प्रतिनासिकया तुष्टिः स्याद्धीनाङ्गस्य कस्यचित्।
रागोऽशुचिप्रतीकारे पुष्पादाविष्यते तथा॥ 73.

यथा कश्चिदपनीतनासिको वहन् कृत्रिमां नासिकां सकलाङ्गमात्मानं मन्यते तुष्टिञ्च गच्छति। स हि बालजातीयतया यथैव स्वकायप्रतिनासिकया लज्जितव्यं तथैव तुष्टिं जनयति। तथै[४]व कामेषु प्रकृत्या लोलजातीयस्य बालजनस्य मोहादशुचिप्रतीकारेषु सुरभिकुसुमगन्धालङ्कारादिष्वशरीरस्वभावेष्वप्यतः सरागो भवति। प्रतिविधानेन शुचिमात्मानं परञ्च मन्यते। न हि कुसुमादयः समुद्वहन्तोऽपि स्थायिनं गन्धातिशयमलमेनं लशुनमिव वासयितुम्। घृतलिप्तविड़ालनासिकास्वादनवत्। सुवर्णनासिकादर्शनतुष्टिवच्च। यथा विड़ालस्य घृतेन नासिकां म्र[५]चयित्वा रुक्षान्नपिण्डो दीयते, स तां स्नेहयुक्ताम्मन्यते। यथा च नासिकावियुक्तः प्रतिनासिकां सौवर्णीं कारयित्वा तां दृष्ट्वा तुष्टिमुत्पादयति। एवं पुष्पादिभिरशुचिप्रतीकारं कृत्वा काये रागमुत्पादयन्ति। आह चात्र।

व्रणोऽयमस्य कायस्य गन्धमाल्यांशुकादिषु।
व्रणलेपनभूतेषु मोहात् संरज्यते जनः॥

अत्राह[६] अस्ति रागस्य कारणं पुष्पादयो, यदि च न स्यात् कारणं, न तैः कायेषु जनो रज्येतेति। उच्यते।

शुचि नाम न तद्युक्तं वैराग्यं यत्र जायते।
न च सोऽस्ति क्वचिद्भावो नियमाद्रागकारणम्॥ 74.

स्वभावेन खलु शुचि नाम वस्तु न किञ्चिदस्ति। तत्र तावद् यदनुपहतदर्शनाः प्रचरितामेध्यवीजदर्शनं कायमीक्षमाणा विरज्यन्ते। तस्मात्तद्वैराग्यकारणत्वात् पुरीषपुञ्जवत् शरीरं शुचित्वेनानुपपन्नं

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[1] [Leaf 15 of the MS.]

पुष्पादयोपि नि[७]यमाद्रागकारणत्वेनानुपपन्नास्तत्रापि वैराग्यस्य सद्भावात्। तथाहि कामवैराग्यलाभिनां तेष्वपि वैराग्यमुपजायते। अपि खलु स्वभावेन न हि किञ्चिन्नामास्ति यन्नियमेन रागकारणं स्यात्, तथाहि पुष्पादीनामपि शुचिसंज्ञितानां पर्य्युषितानामन्यथाभावात् प्रातिकूल्यमुत्पद्यते। यदि तेषां स्वभावेन शुचित्वं स्यात् नान्यथाभावः स्यात्। तस्मान्न तेषु स्वभावेन शुचित्वमस्ति। यदि च नियमात् पुष्पादयो भा[८]वा रागस्य कारणं स्युस्तत्र सर्व्वेऽपि सर्व्वदापि रागं जनयेयुर्न चैतदेवमिति। न पुष्पादयो रागस्य कारणं युज्यन्ते। एकस्येष्टानिष्टदुहितृदर्शनवत्। कश्चिद् वणिगभिजातायां दुहितरि प्रवासं गतः स कालान्तरेणागतः। सा चास्य दुहिता प्राप्तयौवना तस्याधिष्ठानस्य वहिरुद्याने कन्याभिः सह क्रीड़ति स्म। तस्य तां दृष्ट्वा तीव्रो राग उत्पन्नो यदा तु श्रुतं दुहिता तवैषेति तदा विरक्तः [१५क] एवं न स कश्चिद्भावोस्ति यो नियमेन रागाय भवति। यत्र च वैराग्यमुत्पद्यते तदशुचिरवगन्तव्यम्। आह चात्र

तत्रैव रज्यते यस्मात् तत्रैव च विरज्यति।
तस्मान्नियमतः सिद्धं न रागस्यास्ति कारणम्।

तदेवमशुचि शरीरं यथा दुःखमनित्यं च तद्विहितं पूर्व्वं प्रतिपादयिष्यति अनात्मत्वं, त एते चत्वारो विपर्य्यासाः इदं न चिन्त्यते किमेते चत्वारो विपर्य्यासाः एकस्मिन् पदार्थे सम्भवन्त्याहोस्वित् नेति। उच्यते।

अनित्यमशुभं दुःखम[९]नात्मेति चतुष्टयम्।
एकस्मिन्नेव सर्व्वाणि सम्भवन्ति समासतः॥ 75.

यत् खलु संस्कृतं प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं तदनित्यं क्षणिकत्वात्। यच्चानित्यं तदशुभमुद्वेगकरत्वात्। यच्चाशुभं तद्दुःखं पीड़ाकरत्वात्। दुःखञ्च यत्तदनात्मकमस्वतन्त्रत्वात् तदेवमेकस्मिन्नेव स्वभावे समासतः चत्वारो विपर्य्यासाः सम्भवन्ति। न चैतत् संविद्यमानमपि वालैर्विपर्य्यस्तैः परिच्छिद्यते। परिकल्प्यते तु तद्विपरीतत्वं भावानाम्। तदर्ह[३]ति प्राज्ञः यथास्थितमनित्यत्वादिकं भावानामधीत्य नैःस्वाभाव्याधिगमे चेतः समुत्साहयितुम्। पिशाचीस्वभावदर्शनभीतवत्। कस्यचित् पिशाची पत्नीरूपेण व्यवस्थिता स तां पत्नीवदुपचरति। यदा तु तेन तस्याः दुःखोत्पादनेन वीभत्सतया अविधेयतया अनात्यन्तिकत्वेन स्वभावो दृष्टस्तदा भीतो नैषा मम पत्नी पिशाच्येषेति। तदा तस्यां विरज्यति। एवं संस्कृतस्वभावदर्शना विरज्यन्ति [४] प्राज्ञाः। आहचात्र।

यत् संस्कृतं न तन्नित्यं यदनित्यं न तच्छुभम्।
न सुखं तत् यदशुभं यद्दुःखं तदनात्मकम्॥

चत्वारो विपर्य्यासा एकस्मिन्नेव संस्कृते संभवन्ति यतस्तस्मात् सर्व्वे क्लेशा अवस्तुका इति

अशुचिचिन्तानाम तृतीयं प्रकरणम्।

अत्राह । उक्तास्त्रयाणां विपर्य्यासाणां प्रहाणोपायः । चतुर्थस्य विपर्य्यासस्येदानीमुच्यतां प्रहाणोपाय इति । उच्यते ।

अहं ममेति[५] वा दर्पः सतः कस्य भवेद्भवे ।
यस्मात् सर्व्वेऽपि सामान्या विषयाः सर्व्वदेहिनाम् ॥ 76.

अहंकारममकारौ खल्वपि राजन्याधिक्येन वर्त्तेते इति । तयोः प्रतिषेधेन भूयसा राजैवानुशास्यते । तत्राहङ्कार आत्मन उत्कर्षविशेषपरिकल्पनादुपजायते अहं प्रभुरिति । ममकारस्तु स्वीकृतार्थवशित्वकल्पनायामुपजायते । ममेमे विषया इति । दर्पो दृप्तता [६] गर्व्वो मद इत्यर्थः । भवः संसारः कर्म्मक्लेशपरायत्तस्य जन्ममरणपरम्परया गतिपञ्चकपर्य्यटनं । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य कस्य नाम विदुषो ऽहंकारममकाराभ्यां दर्प उत्पद्यते । यदि हि कस्यचित् क्वचित् असाधारणमीशत्वं स्यात् तदा युज्येतास्य तदालम्बनो दर्पोऽहमेवैषां विषयाणां स्वामी ममैव चैते विषया इति वशित्वदर्शनात् । न चैतत् संसारपर्य्यापन्नस्य बालस्य सम्भ[७]वति । तथाहि सर्व्वसत्वसाधारणकर्म्मनिर्ज्जाताः सर्व्वे रूपादयो विषयाः तदेषु सर्व्वसत्वसाधारणपरिभोगेषु साधारण-तरु-षण्ड-मण्डपादिष्विव न युक्तोऽहंकारममकारपरिग्रहाद्दर्पः । राजनटवत् । यथा राजनटो मुहूर्त्तेन नटो मुहूर्त्तेन राजा मुहूर्त्तेनामात्यो मुहूर्त्तेन ब्राह्मणो गृहपतिर्दासश्च भवति । तथा राजानवस्थितः । पञ्चगतिरङ्गनाटनात् । भवति चात्र ।

ऐश्वर्य्यभोगसम्पदा य[८]स्मात् पुण्येन लभ्यते ।
तस्मात् कर्म्मात्मके लोके न दर्पो युज्यते सतः ॥

अत्राह । यस्मात् सर्व्वारम्भो राजन्यधिकृतः तस्माद्धिकारनिमित्तस्तस्य दर्पो युज्यते इति । उच्यते ।

गणदासस्य ते दर्पः षड्भागेन भृतस्य कः ।
जायतेऽधिकृते कार्य्यमायत्तं यत्र तत्र वा ॥ 77.

समुद्भूतादत्तादानेऽपि प्राथमकल्पिके लोके क्षेत्रपरिरक्षार्थं प्रतिबलः पुरुषो महाजनेन धान्यषड्भागवेतनेन भृतः । कथन्ना [१५]

[1]न्नं तदाग्निना सर्व्वस्थानानि दग्धानि। तत्र बहूनि प्राणिसहस्राणि घातितानि तस्य तेन राज्ञानुमोदितम्। तदेवं यत्र मौढ्यं तत्र दया न विद्यते। यत्र दया नास्ति तत्र कुतः पुण्यावाप्तिः। राज्ञां चैव सर्व्वमस्ति। अत एषां गोपायतामपि धर्म्मो न संभवति। आह च।

अहिंसा मूलं धर्म्मस्य यस्मादाहुः कृपात्मकाः।
तस्मान्न विद्यते धर्म्मो निर्द्दये तु नराधिपे।

अत्राह। ऋषिप्रणीतेन ह्यत्र धर्म्मेण हिंसां कुर्व्वतोऽपि राज्ञो नास्त्यधर्म्म इति। उच्य[२]ते।

ऋषीणां चेष्टितं सर्व्वं कुर्व्वीत न विचक्षणः।
हीनमध्यविशिष्टत्वं यस्मात्तेष्वपि विद्यते। 89.

ऋषीणामिह कायवाङ्मनसां विचेष्टितं सर्व्वमेव पण्डितेन न कर्त्तव्यम्। यस्मात् ऋषिष्वपि हीनमध्यविशिष्टत्वं विद्यते। तत्र यस्य शास्त्रे हिंसा कारणवशात् धर्म्मो भवति स हीनः। यस्य स्यान्न स्यात् इति संशयः स मध्यः। यस्य त्वधर्म्म एव हिंसेति स विशिष्टः। तस्मात् सर्व्वेषां ऋषीणां शास्त्रमप्रमाणम्। तत्र यदिष्टमृषिप्रणीतेन ह्ये[३]व धर्म्मेण हिंसां कुर्व्वतोऽपि राज्ञो नास्त्यधर्म्म इति तन्न। विश्वामित्रवशिष्ठजामदग्न्यवत्। विश्वामित्रवशिष्ठजामदग्न्यानां चौर्य्याभक्ष्यभक्षणागम्यगमनप्राणातिपातश्रवणात्, तत्र विश्वामित्रस्य चौर्य्यमभक्ष्यभक्षणं च श्रूयते श्वपचेभ्यः किल श्वमांसमपजिहीर्षुणोक्तम्।

न ते शक्यं तर्त्तुं जीवता कर्म्म पापं प्रायश्चित्तं ह्येतदस्मद्विशेषात्।
मृतश्चाहं तर्त्तुं पापमेतन्न शक्तः तस्माद्ध्येतत् भक्षयिष्ये श्वमांसं॥ [४]

वशिष्ठोऽक्षमालायां चण्डाल्या[ ] अक्षिप्रतिपन्नः श्रूयते। ततः किल पुत्रा आजाता इति। जामदग्न्येनापि वत्सापहरणकोपात् कार्त्तवीर्य्यस्यार्ज्जुनस्य बाहुसहस्रं पातितं, एवं ह्याह।

दान्तस्य क्षमिणोऽपि दुर्ज्जनजनै स्तैस्तैर्व्यलीकव्रणैः
सामर्षं क्रियते बलादपि मुनेर्व्युत्क्रान्तधैर्य्यं मनः।
गोर्वत्सापनयेन दोहसमये हम्भारवैस्तत्क्षतं
यद्रामस्य सुनिर्म्मलस्य परशोर्धारां प्रविष्टा नृपाः॥

[५] तथा तेनैव मात्रा संचोदितेन त्रिःसप्तकृत्वः पृथिवी निःक्षत्रिया कृता। एवं च किल तस्य मात्रोक्तम्।

ऋजुना मृदुना तपस्विना शतशो मान्यतमेन चाहवे।
न जगस्य विनाशकारणं न परैरेकमपि व्यपेक्षितम्॥
अपकारमयेन कर्म्मणा न नरस्तुष्टिमुपैति शक्तिमान्।
अधिकां कुरु वीर यातनां द्विषतां मूलमशेषमुद्धर॥ इति॥

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[1] [Leaf 16 of the MS.]

ततस्तस्य धनुर्निनादशब्दः श्रूयते ।

प्राकारशृङ्गाण्यतिवर्त्त[६]मानो
गृहाणि भिन्दन्निव पार्थिवानाम् ।
स जामदग्न्यस्य धनुर्निनादो
जग्राह केशेष्विव कार्त्तवीर्य्यम् ॥

आह चात्र, न तत् प्रमाणं कर्त्तव्यं शास्त्रमात्मार्थपण्डितैः ।
यस्यार्थं पुरुषाः कृत्वा व्रजेयुर्दुगतिं ध्रुवम् ॥

शास्त्रार्थं हि प्रमाणीकृत्य स्फीतां वसुमतीं सम्यक् परिपालितवन्तो यस्मात् पुरातना राजानस्तस्मादपि शास्त्रं प्रमाणम् । उच्यते ।

पुत्रवत् पालितो लोकः पुरतः पार्थिवैः [७] शुभैः ।
मृगारण्यीकृतः सोऽद्य कलिधर्म्मसमाश्रितैः ॥ 90.

कलियुगात्पूर्व्वोत्पन्नैः पार्थिवैश्चक्रवर्त्त्यादिभिः शुभैर्युक्तायुक्तपरीक्षकैः धर्म्मानुकूलं शास्त्रं प्रमाणीकृत्याधर्म्मानुकूलं परिवर्ज्ज्य दशकुशलकर्म्मप्रतिष्ठितैः प्रियैकपुत्रकवत् जगत्प्रेमानुगतैः पालितो लोकः । साम्प्रतं तु कलियुगोत्पन्नैः पार्थिवैः स्वचित्तदौरात्म्यपरायत्तैरर्थमात्रतृष्णापरैरधर्म्मानुकूलं शास्त्रं प्रमाणीकृत्य धर्म्मानुकूलमुत्सृज्य त[८]थायं लोको निःकरुणैरुद्वासितो यथा मृगारण्यीकृत इत्यतोऽपि नाधर्म्मयुक्तं शास्त्रं प्रमाणमिति । अपरिसंजातेक्षुस्लेच्छपीड़नवत् । यो हि दस्युर्मोहादपरिसंजातमिक्षुं पीडयति सोऽनर्थमेव करोति नार्थं, तद्वत् राजा चेत् पालनीयान् न पालयति, न तस्यैहिकार्थो न पारत्रिकः । अपुण्यकरणात् । आह च ।

स्वराष्ट्रपरराष्ट्रेषु न विभागकृतोऽत्र यत् ।
प्रजा भवन्ति सुखिनः तच्छास्त्रं संस्कृतं बुधै[१६क]ः ॥

अत्राह । राज्ञः खल्विह शत्रूंश्छिद्रेषु प्रहरतो नास्त्यधर्म्मः शास्त्रदृष्टित्वादिति ।

उच्यते । छिद्रप्रहारिणः पापं यदि राज्ञो न विद्यते ।
अन्येषामपि चौराणां तत् प्रागेव न विद्यते । 91.

यदि खलु शत्रूनन्यान् वा छिद्रेषु प्रहरतो राज्ञः पापं न विद्यते । ननु राजतस्करादन्येषामपि चौराणां धनारक्षकाणां किंचित् छिद्रं प्राप्य परधनमपहरतां छिद्रप्रहारित्वात् प्रथमं पापेन न भवितव्यम् । छिद्रप्रहारित्वेन तेषां ज्येष्ठभूतत्वात् । पश्चाद् राज्ञो [२] न चैतदेवमिष्टमित्यतो यदिष्टं राज्ञः छिद्रेषु प्रहरतः पापं नास्तीति तन्न । अजितसेनराजपुत्रवत् । केनचित् किल राज्ञा अमात्यः प्रोक्तो यदा मे मरणं भवति तदा अस्मद्भ्रातरमजितसेनं राजकुमारमभिषेच्यसीति । ततस्तेनामात्येन तस्मिन् राजनि मृते छिद्रप्रहारिणा स राजकुमारो घातितः । आत्मना च तद्राज्यं अवष्टब्धं । तस्यातीवाकीर्त्तिर्लोके प्रतिष्ठिता पापाचार इति । परत्र चापुण्यम् । तद्वत् राज्ञां छिद्रप्रहा[२]रिणां कथमकीर्त्तिः पापञ्च न भविष्यतीति । आह चात्र ।

यत् कृष्णं कर्म्म कृतं न तस्य संजायते फलं शुक्लम् ।
नहि पूतिवृक्षबीजाच्चम्पकबीजाङ्कुरो भवति ॥

अत्राह । राज्ञो रणमुखे शत्रून् जित्वा महान् परितोषो भवति स्वशौर्य्यविक्रमार्ज्जितां च धनसम्पदमनुपश्यतः । अथास्य रणे मृत्युर्भवति, तदा ध्रुवमस्यात्मनः परित्यागात् स्वर्गगामित्वमिति । उच्यते ।

सर्व्वस्वस्य परित्यागो म[४]द्यादिषु न पूजितः ।
आत्मनोपि परित्यागः किं मन्ये पूजितो रणे ॥ 92.

इह द्यूतमद्यवेश्याङ्गनासु विषदं सर्व्वस्वमपि परित्यजन्तः पुण्यभाजो न भवन्ति । व्यसनानुपदत्वात् तत्त्यागस्य न सज्जनमनांसि आराधयन्ति । एवं आत्मभावपरित्यागो रणे न पूज्यते । तस्यापुण्यायतनत्वात् । कथं हि नाम युद्धे ससंरम्भमभिधावतः कृपाविपर्य्यासात् परस्मिन्निष्ठुराशयस्य विनिपातनाय परशिरसि विनि[५]विष्टदृष्टेः समुद्यतायुधस्य परेण विनिपातितस्य स्वर्गगमनं सम्भावयितुं युज्यते । तत्र यदिष्टं रणमुखे ध्रुवं मृतस्य स्वर्गगमनमिति तन्न । आभीरीश्वशुरशरीरदानवत् । काचिदाभीरी भर्त्तरि प्रोषिते श्वशुरमतीवावमन्यते स्म । अथ स वृद्धाभीरः तस्मिन्नागते पुत्रे तमर्थमावेदितवान् । एवं चाह, यदि ते पत्नी पुनरप्यस्मास्ववमानं करिष्यति न ते गृहे वत्स्यामीति । स च न स्त्रीभीरुः पि[६]तृभक्तश्चातः तां परिभाष्याह । स[।] चेत् त्वं पितरमवमन्यसे, न ते मम गृहे वासोस्ति । दुःकरमप्यस्य कुरु दुर्द्देयञ्चास्मै प्रयच्छेति, तया तथैव प्रतिज्ञातम् । अथ सा पुनः प्रोषिते भर्त्तरि चकितचकिता परेणादरेण श्वशुरस्य शुश्रूषां चकार । स्नानानुलेपनमाल्यदानान्नभोजनपानादिना प्रणीतेन दिवसमुपस्थाय रात्रावुष्णोदकेनास्य पादौ धावयित्वा तैलेन म्रक्षयित्वा वस्त्राण्यव[७]मुच्य निर्व्वसना दुष्टयोगाहितेन क्रमेण शयनमारोढुमारब्धा । वृद्धाभीर आह । पापे किमिदमारब्धमिति । आभीर्य्याह । भर्त्ताहमुक्ता दुष्करमपि त्वयास्य कार्य्यं । दुर्द्देयमपि देयमिति न चास्माद्दुष्करतरमस्ति दुर्द्देयाच्च दुर्द्देयमिति । वृद्धाभीरोऽब्रवीत् । एष उपायो हीतो निर्गमनाय, तुष्टा भव । न पुनरिह गृहे स्थास्यामीति उक्त्वा निर्गतः । स चास्य पुत्र आगतः । पितरमपश्यन् पत्नीं पृच्छति । सावोचत् । स्वामिन् न मया कि[८]ञ्चित् परिहीणं परेणादरेण स मया ऋतुसुखेन स्नानानुलेपनभोजनादिनोपचरित इति सर्व्वं निवेदयति । ततस्तेन स्वामिना निर्भर्त्स्य गृहान्निःकासिता । पिता च प्रसाद्य स्वभवनं प्रवेशितः । यथास्या आभीर्य्या दुष्टभावायाः शरीरप्रदानं न पूजितम् । एवं राज्ञां दुष्टचेतसां रणे जीवितपरित्यागो न पूजितः । लोके च दुष्टत्वात् मद्यादिषु सर्व्वस्वपरित्यागो न पूजित इति । आह च ।

रणे मृतस्य गमनं सेरुष्ट [१६]

[1][र्म्मणा ।

विप्रोपि कर्म्मणा शूद्रः केन मन्ये न जायते । 98.

यदि हि इदानीं अक्षत्रियोऽपि क्षत्रियकर्म्म कुर्व्वन् क्षत्रियो भवति । शूद्रोऽपि हि नाम ब्राह्मणकर्म्म कुर्व्वन् ब्राह्मणो भविष्यति प्रतिगृह्णन्नधीयानश्च; तथाप्यन्योप्यन्यदीयं कर्म्म समाचरन् स एव स्यात् । तत्र यदिष्टं कर्म्मणा क्षत्रियो भविष्यतीति । तन्न । नौपारगमनवत् । यथा नौः पारं गच्छत्यागच्छति । तत्र नद्याः उभयकूलस्थितौ ब्रुवाते नौः पारं गता नौः पारंगतेति । न च किं[२]चित् सिद्धं पारमस्ति । स एवासिद्धः ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वा । यदि शूद्रः कर्म्मणा क्षत्रियो भवत्येवं विप्रोऽपि कर्म्मणा शूद्रो भविष्यति । आह च ।

सद्यः पतति मांसेन लाक्षया लवणेन च ।
त्र्यहेण शूद्रो भवति यो विप्रः क्षीरविक्रयी ॥

इत्यादि । आह चात्र ।

कर्म्मणा यदि वर्णाः स्युर्जातिस्तत्र न कारणम् ।
न च द्वाभ्यां भवन्त्येते जातिः प्राग्दूषिता यतः ॥

अत्राह । राज्यैश्वर्य्येण हि महता महतो जनस्य श[३]क्योत्यैश्वर्य्यसंविभागं कर्त्तुं कालेन यतः तस्मात् महतैश्वर्य्यमेष्टव्यं राज्ञेति उच्यते ।

पापस्यैश्वर्य्यवद्राजन् संविभागो न विद्यते ।
विद्वान्नाम परस्यार्थे कः कुर्य्यादायतीवधं ॥ 99.

सत्यं राज्ञा महदैश्वर्य्यं महता कालेनोपार्ज्जितं; शक्यं महाजनस्य सम्विभक्तुं तत्तु न विना महाजनपीड़या शक्यं निष्पादयितुं, अवश्यं च महाजनपीड़या महता पापेन भवितव्यं, यथै[४]श्वर्य्यं संविभज्यते नैवं तन्निमित्तमवद्यमुपचितं सम्विभक्तुं पार्य्यते केवलमेकाकिनैव तद्दुःखमनुभवितव्यम् । तत्कोऽयमपण्डितः परस्मै अल्पोपकारार्थं सम्विभक्ष्यामीति अनल्पानर्थप्रदानदक्षमसाधारणमवद्यमुपचिन्वन्नायत्या वधमात्मनः कुर्य्यात्तदिदं ह्रियः स्थानं न मदस्य । महिषोपघातवत् । शौनिकदारकवच्च । यथा महिषः स्व[५]परार्थं एकेन हन्यते बहुभिः परिभुज्यते । घातकस्यैव पापम् । तथा राजा राज्यहेतोः पापं कर्म्म करोति, बहवश्च परिभुंजते । तथाच शौनिकदारकोऽधर्म्मभयान्न मारयति । स च स्वजनेनोच्यते मारय त्वं यस्तत्राधर्म्मो भविष्यति स सर्व्वेषामस्माकं समतया भविष्यतीति । तेनोपायेनोक्तं महती मे शिरसि वेदना तां भाजयथेति । त ऊचुर्न शक्यत इति । स प्राह । तत् कथमपायवेदना[६]समतया भविष्यतीति । आह चात्र ।

अनित्यमिह लोके यत् परत्र च सुखावहम् ।
तत् कर्त्तव्यं मनुष्येण परत्र सुखमिच्छता ॥

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[1] [Leaf 17 of the MS.]

अत्राह । राज्ञः खल्विह महत्यैश्वर्य्ये अवश्यमेव महता मानेन भवितव्यमिति उच्यते ।

दृष्ट्वा समान् विशिष्टांश्च पराँश्छक्तिसमन्वितान् ।
ऐश्वर्य्यजनितो मानः सतां हृदि न तिष्ठति ॥ 100.

परत उत्कर्षमात्मनः पश्यतो मानः स्यात् । स चानवस्थितः परापेक्ष एवेति न विद्वांसो [७] मन्यन्ते। तस्मादपहाय मानं जगते हितमाधित्सुना गुरव इव स्वामिन इव परे नावमन्तव्याः। तदेवं कुर्व्वाणः स्युरेव ते भाजनं सम्पदां, जगदाराधनप्रवृत्तत्वात् वासुलपत्नीवत् । वासुलब्राह्मणस्य पत्नी कथयति स्म न मत्सदृशी स्त्री काचित् स्त्रीरूपेण पृथिव्यां संविद्यते न च त्वं मामनुरूपेण वस्त्रालङ्कारेणार्च्चयसीति। सा तेनोपायेन रुद्रनाम्नो राज्ञोऽन्तःपुरं प्रवेशिता । तस्यास्तत्र परिचारिकां दृष्ट्वा रूपमदो न[८]ष्टः श्रीमेव राजपत्नीम् । तथा राज्ञाऽत्मनः समान् विशिष्टांश्च दृष्ट्वा मदं चाहङ्कारश्च युक्तं त्यक्तुम् । आह चात्र ।

दीने राजनि तावत् मानो राज्ञो न युज्यते कर्त्तुम् ।
तुल्ये श्रेष्ठे च नृपे कुतोऽवकाशोस्ति मानस्य ॥

अहङ्कारविपर्य्यासप्रहाणोपायन्नाम चतुर्थं प्रकरणम् ।

अत्राह कुतः पुनरिमे सुभाषितरत्नाशया यथास्थितलौकिकार्थतत्वप्रतिपादका वैराग्यहेतवो लभ्यन्ते । उच्यते, बुद्धेभ्यो [१७क] भगवद्भ्यः । कीदृशाः खलु बुद्धा भगवन्तः, महाकरुणावेशात् सर्व्वथानिन्द्याचिन्त्याशेषजगदर्थसम्पादनपराः ।

तथाहि । न चेष्टा किल बुद्धानां अस्ति काचिदकारणा ।
निःश्वासोऽपि हितायैव प्राणिनां संप्रवर्त्तते ॥ 101.

बुद्धा भगवन्तः सर्व्वजगदनुग्रहाशयक्षिप्तकर्म्मनिर्म्मितत्वात् "यथाप्रत्ययं फलमिति" जगद्धिताधानोदयदत्ताभिः समीहाभिः सकलं जगदनुगृह्णन्ति । नहि सास्ति काचित् कायपरिस्पन्दलक्षणा चेष्टा या सत्त्वोपकारानुपयोगिनी[२]ति, आस्तां ज्ञानपूर्व्विका तावच्चेष्टा । योऽप्ययं प्रेरकचेतनाविशेषाक्षेपनिरपेक्षः स्वरसवाही जन्मनः प्रभृत्यामरणादहर्निशमनुवर्त्तते निश्वासः सोऽपि नामैषां प्रवर्त्तते जन्मभृतां हितायैव । तथाह्येषां बुद्धानां भगवतां निश्वासा विनिर्गत्योपरि नरकभाजनानां महान्तः कालमेघा विपरिणमन्ते, कज्जलाञ्जनराशय इव नारकजनमनोहराः संच्छादिताशेषनरकभाजनमण्डलाः पटुमधुरनिरन्तर स्तनि[३]तैराह्लादयन्तो नारकान् स्वच्छ-स्वादु-शीतोष्णकवार्य्योघैर्न्निवारयन्तो नारकाग्निम् तत्प्रत्ययमपेतदुःखानां नारकाणां कस्यानुभावादिदमुपनतमस्माकमिति मीमांसापरिगतहृदयाणां, मनःप्रसादायतनताथागताचिन्त्यरूपकायसन्दर्शनेनावर्ज्जितचित्तसत्त्वानां बुद्धे भगवति अभिप्रसादान्वयक्षयिताशेषाकुशलकर्म्मराशीनां तदन्वयमेव च समाक्षिप्तमोक्षभागीयानां अत्यन्तोपकारा[४]न्निःश्वासोपि हितायैव प्राणिनां संप्रवर्त्तते । एवमन्यत्रापि योज्यं । तदेवं मतिमानवमितसंसारदोषः तत्क्षयोद्युक्तः सर्व्वथा यथोपवर्णितसुभाषितरत्नाधारे त्रिभुवनगुरौ बुद्धे भगवति प्रसादपुरःसरमर्हति मनो निवेशयितुम् । पाराशरकुलभिक्षुवत्। कश्चित् भिक्षुः पाराशरकुलं गतः । स यत्राचार्य्यगृहं प्रविष्टस्तेन निमन्त्रितो मम गृहे त्वया वर्षा करणीया । अहं

पिण्डपातं[५]दास्यामीति । तेन तथैव कृतं । तस्य च प्रासादस्याधस्तात् बहूनि यन्त्रकार्य्यकरणे पत्राणि सन्ति । ततस्तेन स भिक्षुः प्रासादे स्थापितोऽत्र त्वं यथेच्छसि तथा तिष्ठेति । स तस्मै निर्गताय चीवरमूल्यं दत्त्वा भृतकवेतनं ददाति स्म । भिक्षुराह । न ते मया किञ्चित् कर्म्म कृतं कस्मात् वेतनं ग्रहीष्यामीति । दानपतिराह । न त्वं मुहूर्त्तमप्यकर्म्मक इह गृहे केनचिदीर्य्यापथेन स्थितः । पत्रा[६]णि चास्य दर्शयति, लाभं च तत्कृतं । यथा तस्य भिक्षो र्न कश्चिदीर्य्यापथोऽस्ति योऽस्य नोपकाराय भवेत् तद्यन्त्रवाहनेन । एवं भगवतो बुद्धस्य न काचित् कायवाङ्मनश्चेष्टास्ति यात्मा वा अनर्था वा स्यात् । आह च ।

शरीरवाचो मनसां प्रवृत्तिः स्वार्था मुनेर्नास्ति न चाप्यनर्था ।
महाकृपाविष्टविशुद्धबुद्धेः परोदयायैव पुनः प्रवृत्तिः ॥

तं चोपासीनाः सर्व्वव्यसनान्यति[७]वर्त्तन्ते । यावन्मरणभयमिति । तथाहि ।

यथा, सर्व्वस्य लोकस्य मृत्युशब्दो भयङ्करः ।

प्रियजीवितवियोगकारकत्वात् ।

तथायं सर्व्वविच्छब्दो मृत्योरपि भयङ्करः ।

यतः तद्विशेषसीमानमतिवर्त्तन्ते ताथागतस्य वर्त्मनः सम्यगनुष्ठातारस्तथानुष्ठानं वीजानि च कुशलमूलानि तथागतनामधेयश्रवणादाधीयन्ते । यथा चोक्तं भगवता ये मम नामधेयं श्रोष्यन्ति सर्व्वे ते त्रयाणां यानानां [८] अन्यतमेन यानेन परिनिर्व्वास्यन्तीति । बन्धनमोक्षबन्धनाधिकृतज्वरवत् ! कश्चिद्बन्धनाधिकृतः पुरुषो राजकुलेन स्थापितो यस्य सर्व्वबन्धनमायत्तम् । राज्ञा च पुत्रे जाते सर्व्वबन्धनमोक्षो घोषितस्तेन च शब्देन सर्व्वलोको हर्षितः । सचैवैको बन्धनाधिकृतो भीतो ज्वरितश्च तं बन्धनमोक्षशब्दं श्रुत्वा । एवं तथागत उत्पन्ने सर्व्वलोकः प्रीतो वर्ज्जयित्वा मारम् । आह चात्मशः, बुद्ध इत्येव घोषो [१७]

गीतानि चकार । यथास्य राज्ञः स्नेहविपर्य्ययानवस्थानाच्चोन्मादः तद्वत् पृथक्जनानां । विद्वान्स्तस्मात् स्नेहविपर्य्यासात् चित्तानवस्थानादनुचिन्तयन्त्युन्मादम् । तथा ह्येषां यत्रैव विषये तीव्राभिष्वङ्गस्तत्रैवातीवपरित्यागो दृश्यते, तत् को भवस्थमब्रूयादुन्मत्त इति । आह चात्र ।

उन्मादात् कर्म्मैवानर्थं कुरुते नरस्य नोन्मादः ।
न ह्युन्मादश्चित्रं करोति पुरुषं यथा कर्म्म ॥

तदेवं सूनास्थानसमत्वादुन्मादस्थानत्वाच्च पण्डितैः परिव[२]र्ज्जनीयो भवः, स च सर्व्वकर्म्मप्रवृत्तिनिरोधेन परिवर्ज्जयितव्यः । अस्ति चास्य भवस्य परिवर्ज्जनोपायः सर्व्वकर्म्मक्षयः, स कथं भवतीति तदुपायावेदनाय आह ।

क्षीयमानां रुजं दृष्ट्वा गमनादौ विपर्यये ।
सर्व्वकर्म्मक्षये तेन करोति मतिमान् मतिम् ॥ 159.

यथा गमनादिजनिता रुजः चंक्रमणादिपरिवर्ज्जनेषु पूर्व्वविधपरिक्षयात् अनुपूर्व्वं क्षीयन्ते, तथा सर्व्वेण सर्व्वरुजः सर्व्वकर्म्मापच्छेदैस्ततः स[३]कलोच्छेदमन्वयमानः कुशलः सर्व्वकर्म्मक्षयायायं यतते, तथा अन्योऽपि यतमानस्तां जातिं लप्स्यत इत्याख्यातव्यो यत्नः सर्व्वकर्म्मक्षयलभ्ये. सर्व्ववेदयितृत्वनिरोधरूपेण मतिमता निर्व्वाणे, दीर्घाध्वगवत् । यथा दीर्घाध्वगो यथा यथा गच्छति तथा तथा दुःखीभवति विषयस्य श्रमदुःखेन पथ्यदनपरिक्षयदुःखेन च, तथा बालाः संसाराध्वनि वर्त्तमाना आश्रयदुःखेन शुभक[४]र्म्मपरिक्षयदुःखेन च बाध्यन्ते । अथवा दीर्घाध्वगो गमनदुःखेन पीड़ितः स्थानमारभते ततोऽस्य गमनदुःखं परिवर्त्तते, स्थानदुःखमपि निषद्यया, निषद्यादुःखमपि निषद्यया, यदि पुनर्निषद्यादुःखपरिखिन्नस्तत्त्यागादन्यदीर्य्यापथान्तरं नारभते तदास्येर्य्यापथिकदुःखनिवृत्तिरत्यन्तं सम्भाव्येत । एवं सर्व्वकर्म्मक्षयेऽपि वाच्यम् । तदेवं सर्व्वकर्म्म[५]क्षयः सर्व्वदुःखनिवृत्तिकारणमिति सर्व्वकर्म्मक्षये मतिमता मतिः कार्य्येति । आह चात्र ।

यथा सुखं चैतसिकं श्रेष्ठं कायसुखादपि ।
तथा कर्म्मक्षयसुखं क्लेशक्षयसुखादिह ॥

इतश्च युक्तः संसारत्यागो धीमतां भयकारणत्वात्, तथा हि ।

यदैकस्यापि कार्य्यस्य दृश्यते नादिकारणम् ।
तदा कस्य भयन्न स्यात् दृष्ट्वैकस्यापि विस्तरम् ॥ 160.

इह एकस्यापि तावत् कार्य्य[६]स्य भौतिकस्य, वातिकस्य वा पैत्तिकस्य वा पूर्व्वंपारम्पर्य्येण परीक्षमाणस्य आदिकारणं यदा न दृश्यते अनादिमत्त्वात् जगत्प्रवृत्तेरेवमेवैकस्यापि कार्य्यस्यानन्त्यं सविस्तरं दृष्ट्वा तदा कस्येह पुरुषस्याधिगतभयस्य जगत्प्रवृत्तिदर्शने भयं न स्यात् । युक्तन्त्वस्यापरिमितप्रबन्धगडनदुःसञ्चरतरायां संसाराटव्यां नित्यमेवोद्विजितुं, त[७]दनुरूपं च योनिशः प्रधानं भावयितुम् । घटवत् । यथा हि घटेऽनेकप्रत्यया मृत्पिण्डदण्डचक्रसूत्रोदकपुरुषप्रयत्नादयो दृश्यन्ते घटकरणे तावत् प्रागेवान्येषां गुरुतराणामर्थानां निष्पादने । आह चात्र ।

[Leaf 20 of the MS.]

कालस्यानन्तत्वादादिश्च न विद्यते यतो जगतः ।
तस्माज्जन्तोर्दुःखं पूर्व्वां कोटिं समाज्ञातुम् ॥

अपि च । यदयमभिलषन् तृष्णया परिस्पन्दते, तस्य यदि नियोग[८]तः सिद्धिः स्यात् युक्तं स्पन्दितुं तस्य च ।

सिद्धिः सर्व्वस्य कार्य्यस्य नियमेन न जायते ।
नियमेन कृतस्यान्तः किं तदर्थं विहन्यसे ॥ 161.

इह हि सर्व्वस्यैव कार्य्यस्य प्रारब्धस्य नियमेन सिद्धिर्भवति वा न वा । सिद्धस्य तु सर्व्वस्यैव कार्य्यस्य नियमादवश्यमेव विनाशो भवति । तत्र यस्य कृतस्य सुचिरादप्यवश्यमेव नियमतो विनाशः किं तदर्थमयं बालो विहन्यत इति । [२०क] अतोऽवधूय जालिनीं तदुच्छेदाय यतितव्यम् । कुम्भकारपाकवत् । यथा कुम्भकारपाके सिद्धिरनैकान्तिकी निष्पन्नानाञ्च कुम्भकारभाजनानां नियमतो विनाशस्तथा सर्व्वेषां लौकिकानां कार्य्याणां सिद्धिरनैकान्तिकी । आह चात्र ।

सर्व्वेषां भावानां कृतकत्वान्नास्ति नियमतः सिद्धिः ।
तस्माद्भाव्यस्तेषां नियमेनैव ध्रुवो नाशः ॥

यथा च कायस्य ध्रुवो विनाशः । तथा कर्म्मणोऽपीति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

यत्नतः क्रियते [२] कर्म्म कृतं नश्यत्ययत्नतः ।
विरागोऽस्ति न ते कश्चिदेवं सत्यपि कर्म्मणि ॥ 162.

इह खलु महता यत्नेन बहुभिः साधनोपायैः कर्म्म क्रियते तत्तु महता प्रयत्नेन बहुभिरपि साधनैः कृतमयत्नादेव कायवद्विनश्यति । तदेवमतिमहत्पुरुषकारधनमपार्थकमिति कर्म्मणि कथं नाम न स्याद्वैराग्यम्विदुषः । तत्पुनः पुनस्तत्कर्म्माचरणाद्विरागाभावो जड़तामेव वेदयते, तत्क्रियतां वैराग्याव[३]सरः । न हि निष्ठुरा वृत्तिरुपकुर्व्वति शोभते । पर्व्वतशिलारोपणवत् । यथा पर्व्वतमूर्द्धनि शिला यत्नेनारोप्यते अयत्नेन पतति तथा सर्व्वलौकिक्यः प्रवृत्तयः । आह चात्र ।

हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्र्या कर्म्म संस्क्रियते यतः ।
तस्मा[त् य]त्क्रियते यत्नात्तद् वैकल्याच्च नश्यतीति ॥

अत्राह यद्यप्यप्रयत्नात् कायं नश्यति तथापि सुखहेतुत्वान्न तत्र वैराग्यं भवतीति । उच्य[४]ते ॥

अतीतस्य सुखं नास्ति नाप्यप्राप्तस्य विद्यते ।
वर्त्तमानोऽपि यात्येव श्रमोऽयं कस्य नाम ते ॥ 163.

अतीतस्य तावत् विज्ञानस्य सुखं नास्ति निरुद्धत्वात्, अनागतस्यापि सुखं नास्ति असंप्राप्तत्वात्, वर्त्तमानस्यापि सुखं नास्ति स्थित्यभावात् । तदेवमसति सुखे तेनानुग्रहाभावात् सुखसम्भोगलालसस्य योऽयं सुखहेतुकर्म्मोपार्ज्जनश्रमो भवतः स कस्य [५] कृते भवतु, विफल एव सर्व्वथा सुखहेतूपार्ज्जनपरिश्रमोपा[या]यास इत्यभिप्रायः । नदीतीरगृहकरणवत् । केनचिन्नदीतीरे गृहं कृतं स च प्रदेशः स्फुटितः ।

ततोऽन्यदनुतीरमेव कृतं सोऽपि स्फुटित एवमनवस्था जाता, एवं तस्य गृहकर्त्तुः महांश्च श्रमो, न च श्रमफलावाप्तिः। तथा सर्व्वलौकिक्यः प्रवृत्तयः। आह चात्र।

चित्तक्षणचपलगतेः [६] कस्यार्थे सञ्चिनोषि कर्म्माणि।
कालत्रयेऽपि यस्मात् परीक्ष[य]माणं सुखं नास्ति॥

अत्राह। यद्यप्येवं तथापि स्वर्गसुखार्थमवश्यमेव कुशलं कर्म्म कर्त्तव्यमिति। उच्यते।

स्वर्गो निरयतुल्योऽपि विदुषां स्याद्भयङ्करः।
सर्व्वथा दुर्लभस्तेषां भवो यो न भयङ्करः॥ 164

तत्र विविधसंक्लेशाय द्वारत्वात् तीव्रतरविषयसम्भूतक्लेशाग्निसन्दीपितत्वात् [७] मोहभूयस्त्वात् च स्वर्गमपि निरयवद्भयङ्करत्वात् परिवर्ज्जयन्ति विद्वांसः। ततश्च येषामनवगीतसुखसम्भोगरमणीया स्वर्गसम्पद् तथा न जनयन्त्यास्थां तेषां तदन्यत्र भवे श्मशानभूमाविव कुतो रतिः। अपिशब्दश्चात्र भिन्नक्रमः स्वर्गशब्दानन्तरं द्रष्टव्यः। तिष्ठतु तावदन्यो भवः। स्वर्गोऽपि विदुषां निरयतुल्य इति व्याख्येयं। बालबन्धनमोक्षणवत्। तद्यथा बालो नाम राजा बभूव [८] क्रूरप्रकृतिरूपस्तीक्ष्णशासनः। तस्य बन्धनागारे यः प्रवेश्यते स करचरणग्रीवासु पञ्चभिर्व्वन्धनैर्गाढ़म्बध्यते। स यदा न कदाचिदुपायेन कश्चिन् मोचयति तदा रक्षापुरुषाणामाज्ञापयति। अयं सर्व्वबन्धनेभ्यो मोक्तव्यः किन्तु येनैकेनेर्य्यापथेनेच्छति यावदायुः स्थास्यते। तेन सुगुप्ते स्थापयितव्य इति। "एष देवेति" राज्ञ आज्ञां शिरसि कृत्वा नून कुर्व्वन्ति। तत्र यो [२०] [1]बालराजबन्धनान्मुक्तो भवति तस्य बन्धनेन तुल्यं मोक्षणमपि भयङ्करमेव दुःखविशेषात्तथान्येषामपि महात्मनां नरकतुल्यस्तेषां कोन्योऽस्ति भवस्तद्विशिष्टो यो न भयङ्करः स्यात्। यथा बलिः सर्व्वलोकाधिपत्यं दत्त्वा बद्धः। किमयमन्यद्दत्वा मुक्तो दृश्यते। तथा येषां स्वर्गोऽपि दुःखहेतुत्वात् निरयसमस्तेषां कोन्यो भवान्तरोस्ति यो न भयङ्करः स्यात्। अपि च। यथा खलु पण्डिताः संसारदोषप्रत्यवेक्षानिपुणा दुःखाग्निज्वालापरिगतमेकान्तदुःखं संसारं यथावदीक्षन्ते तथा खलु

संसारदुःखं जानीयात् यदि बालोपि सर्व्वशः।
गच्छेदत्यन्ततो नाशं सह [२] चित्तेन तत्क्षणम्॥ 165.

यद्दुःखमाकारयन्त आर्य्याः संसारादुद्विजन्ते तद्यदि पृथग्जनः शक्नुयादध्यक्षयितुं तदा तत्क्षणमेवास्य शतधा विशीर्य्येत हृदयमनवबोधात्त्वयमभिरमते संसारे। कृतज्ञतामहाकरुणाभ्यां तु सत्त्वोपकाराभिप्रायधैर्य्यावष्टब्धं संसारदुःखमार्य्याणाम् न तथोद्वेगकारणमिति न तेषामत्यन्तो नाशः शक्यः सम्भावयितुम्।

पृथग्जनस्तु सत्कायदृष्ट्यनुगमा[३]त् प्रतिपक्षभावनावैकल्यात् परमाणुशो नियतं विशीर्य्येत यदि सर्व्वथा संसारदुःखं जानीयात्। यक्षाभ्याहतवत् बालनायकवच्च। कश्चिद्यक्षेणाभ्याहतः, स च यक्षस्तेन न दृष्टः, तस्यैतदभवत्। अदृष्टे तावत् तस्मिन् यक्षे ईदृक् दुःखमुत्पन्नम् यदि दृष्टः स्यात् ततो मे तुषमुष्टिवत् कायो विशीर्णः स्यादिति। यथा च बालनायक आधिपत्यलोभात् जी[४]वित .... गृह्णाति एवं

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[1] [Leaf 18 of the MS.]

यदि बालोऽपि संसारदुःखमधिगच्छेत् तद्भयात् सर्व्वभवपरित्यागादत्यन्ततो नाशं गच्छेन्मोक्षमित्यर्थः । आह चात्र ।

यथा बुद्धा विजानन्ति फलं पापस्य यादृशम् ।
तथा बालो विजानीयात् स भवेत् तत्क्षणं जिनः ॥

अपि च संसारे क्रियासु सामर्थ्यवतः समीहमानस्य सुखं स्यात् । स च निरूप्यमाणः ।

अमानी दुर्ल[५]भः शक्तो मानी नास्ति घृणान्वितः ।
उक्तः सुदुर्लभस्तेन ज्योतिर्ज्योतिःपरायणः ॥ 166.

शक्तस्यैव क्रियासु पुरुषकारेणोपात्तसुखवेदनाय विषयोपार्ज्जनात् उपात्तपरिरक्षणाच्चावश्यमेव पुरुषस्य मान उपजायते । मानतश्चायमात्मानं विशेषतः परिकल्पयन्नधिकमसहमानस्तदुपजिघांसया निर्द्दयो भवति निर्द्दयस्य चास्यापायपर्य्यवसान[६]तया + + + + सम्पदो यतोऽस्य सुखानुभवः सम्भाव्येत । अत एव भगवता ज्योतिर्ज्योतिःपरायणः पुद्गलो दुर्लभः इत्युक्तं कुलभोगैश्वर्य्यज्ञानमानेन नियतमधःपतनात् । जामदग्न्यवत् । यथा जामदग्न्येन शक्तेन मानित्वात् त्रिःसप्तकृत्वः पृथिवी निःक्षत्रिया कृता नैर्घृण्यादतिदुर्लभो यच्छक्तोऽमानी स्यात् मानी च घृणान्वितः स्यात् । यत एवम[७] तोऽवोचद्भगवान् दुर्लभो ज्योतिर्ज्योतिःपरायण इति । यद्येवं मानिनः पापाचरणादपायनिष्ठा इति गर्हिता विपर्य्ययेण ब्रह्ममानिनः स्वर्गसुखसाधनधर्म्माचरणात् प्रशस्यास्ततश्च तैरेकान्तेन गर्हितः संसार इत्युच्यते । धर्म्मोऽपि वैपरीत्यादयुक्तः सङ्गस्तथा हि ।

निवृत्तिविषयस्येह विषयः किल लभ्यते ।
केनापि हेतुना धर्म्मो विपरीतोऽपि स स्मृतः ॥ 167.

यः किल[८]विषयेष्वनास्थस्तान् विषयान् परित्यजति ब्रह्मचर्य्याभ्युपगमात्, तस्येह च्युतस्य ईश्वरकुले स्वर्गेषूपपन्नः तेन लोके नाङ्गीकृतस्येति नात्राभिनिवेशो ज्यायान्, तिताड़यिषुमेषवत् । यथा मेषस्ताड़यितुमिच्छन् दूरतोऽप्यनिवृत्तः यथा विषयार्थी निवृत्तविषयः । एवं तावद्धर्म्मो विपरीतत्वात् त्याज्यः । यदपि तद्धर्म्मफलमैश्वर्य्यं तदपि वशित्वाभावादिविविधव्यसनस्थानत्वाच्च, ना[१८क]स्थेयं विदुषा । तथा हि ।

पुण्यस्य फलमैश्वर्य्यं तच्च रक्ष्यं सदान्यतः ।
कथं नाम तदात्मीयं यद्रक्ष्यं सर्व्वदान्यतः ॥ 168.

पूर्व्वकृतस्य हि कर्म्मणः फलमैश्वर्य्यं तच्चात्मीयसंज्ञितं तच्चेह सदैव संरक्ष्यते प्रत्यर्थिभ्यो, यदि तदात्मनीनं स्यान्नैव प्रत्यर्थिभ्यो रक्षणीयं स्यात् । यच्च परैराच्छेद्यत्वात् सततमाधीयमानरक्षाविधानं कथं तदात्मीयमिति शक्यं वक्तुम् । तदयं रक्षाविधाननिरन्तरः परमनिर्वृतः कदा नाम विषयरसमास्वादयेत् । तस्मात्फलमप्यस्य नानु[२]ग्रहाय पर्य्याप्तम् । गुरुवत् । यथा गुरुः नित्यमेवानुवर्त्त्यो नित्यं चाप्रमत्तेन भवितव्यं गुरौ । तथैश्वर्य्यं पुण्यबलनिर्जातं तच्च राजादिभ्यो नित्यमेव रक्ष्यम् । यच्च सर्व्वदा रक्ष्यं कथं तदात्मीयं भवति । अनवस्थितत्वाच्च लौकिकस्य धर्म्मस्य तत्रास्था न ज्यायसी । तथा हि

या या लोकस्थितिस्तां तां धर्म्मः समनुवर्त्तते ।
धर्म्मादपि ततो लोको बलवानिव दृश्यते ॥ 169.

लोको हि यां यां स्थितिं व्यवस्थापयति देशकुलगोत्राचारव्यवस्थया कन्यादानोद्वहनादिकं तां तां [३] धर्म्मः समनुवर्त्तते। तस्यास्तस्या स्थिते धर्म्म इति प्रसिद्धिगमनात्। न चैष स्वभावव्यवस्थितस्य न्यायो युज्यते, यद्देशकालभेदयोरन्यथात्वादन्यथा स्यात्। ततो नात्रात्यन्तादरो युक्तः। दुहितृविवाहवत्। केनचित् पुरुषेण यवनेषु गतेन यवनः कश्चिदग्निं प्रज्वाल्य तस्मादग्नेर्विद्यया शब्दं निश्चारयन् दृष्टो दुहिता कल्पते भार्य्या भवत इति। स च पुरुषोत्यन्तरागचरितो दुहिता च तस्य स्वदेशे रूप[४]यौवनवती तिष्ठति। ततस्तेन पुरुषेण तस्य यवनस्य सकाशात् सा विद्या महता प्रयत्नेन द्रव्यप्रदानेन चार्थिता। स्वदेशं च गत्वा स्वां दुहितरं भार्य्यां कर्त्तुकामोऽग्निमिच्छति तमर्थं वाचयितुं। तेनाग्निनोक्तं अन्यथास्य देशस्थितिरिति। एवं धर्म्मादपि लोको बलवानिति। अत्राह। अभिलषितविषयसमुत्पादमन्तरेण सुखवेदनानुभवो नास्ति। स च विषयोत्पादः कृतपुण्यानामेव यस्मात् सम्भव[५]ति। तस्मात् विषयार्थिना कर्त्तव्य एव धर्म्म इति। उच्यते।

विषयश्च शुभेनेष्टो विषयः स च कुत्सितः।
श्रेयान् यस्य परित्यागो निष्पन्नेनापि तेन किम्॥

योयमिष्टपञ्चकायगुणात्मको विषयो रूपशब्दगन्धरसस्प्रष्टव्यसंज्ञितः; स शुभेन कर्म्मणा लभ्यते। स एव सत्त्वानां मोक्षकामानां कुत्सितोऽमेध्यलिप्तगात्र इव श्वा, यस्य च श्रेयान् परित्यागोऽनर्थमूलत्वात् अनित्याशुच्य[६]नात्मकत्वेनानिर्वृतिकरत्वात् रागादिक्लेशोत्पादकत्वेन प्रमादस्थानत्वाच्च निष्पन्नेनापि तेन न किंचित् प्रयोजनमिति व्यर्थ एव विषयफलधर्म्मोपार्ज्जनश्रम इति त्यज्यतामधर्म्म इव धर्म्मोऽपि सङ्ग इति। कम्बोजभैक्षचरणवत्। कश्चित् भिक्षुः कम्बोजेषु जनपदेषु भिक्षां गतः, स केनचिदुक्तः शब्देन कार्य्यार्थं मा तावदत्र किञ्चिद्वक्ष्यसि पिण्डपातं चरन्नवहास्यो भविष्यसि। एषास्मिन् वि[७]षये मर्य्यादा। तेन ऋजुना श्रद्धधानतया तथा कृतम्। ततस्तेन जनकायेन विज्ञातोऽस्मत्स्पर्द्धिना यन्त्रमेतत् तेन पुरुषेण कृत्वा अस्माकमनुप्रेषितमित्यहोऽस्योन्मेषनिमेषादि पुरुषवदुपपादितमेव सर्व्वं, प्रत्यङ्गानि वर्णयामास। ततस्तैरपि तादृशान्येव यन्त्राणि कृत्वा प्रेषितानि तस्य पुरुषस्य। ततस्तेन पुरुषेणोक्तम् तस्य भिक्षो र्व्वाचमिदानीं भाषस्व तत्सन्निरोधादिति। तेन तथाकृतमारोग्यादि-वाग्निश्चारिता। ततस्ते विस्म[८]यापन्ना एवमूचुः। अशक्यमेतदस्माकमनेन रञ्जिता वयमिति। स शठः भिक्षुप्रतिरूपः स्वरूपपरिज्ञानात् कुत्सित एव भवति तद्वदेतदिति। अत्राह। यद्यपि विषयस्य कुत्सितत्वात् विषयसाधनो धर्म्मो निष्प्रयोजनस्तथापि आज्ञारसास्वादसुखगुरूणि राज्यानीति तदर्थं राज्ञाधिपत्येषु प्रवर्त्तितव्यमिति। उच्यते। नैव हि सर्व्वेषामाज्ञया कार्य्यं सम्भवति। ततश्च।

कार्य्यं नास्त्यनुपायस्य तस्य धर्म्मो निरर्थकः।

यस्य हि समीहितार्थसंसिद्धिरन्यथा न सम्भवति स [९]

[1]चिद्राज्ञः पुत्रोऽतीव प्रियः स कदाचिद्युत्थितः स तेन राज्ञा संग्रामे निर्ज्जित्य गृहीतः । तस्य च राज्ञः तद्दोषदर्शित्वात् तस्मात् स्नेहो विगतः । एवं दोषज्ञे सर्व्वत्र रागो न तिष्ठतीति न केवलं सर्व्वदोषदर्शित्वाच्चिरं नास्ति रागः । इतश्च तत्प्रहाणं न सम्भाव्यते रागवत्स्वभावत्वात् । तथा प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

तत्रैव रज्यते कश्चित् कश्चित् तत्रैव दुष्यति ।
कश्चित् मुह्यति तत्रैव तस्मात् कायो निरर्थकः ॥ 175.

रञ्जनीयवस्त्वायत्तोदयो हि रागस्तच्च रञ्जनीयं[२]वस्तु स्वरूपासिद्धम् । यदेव ह्येकस्य रञ्जनीयं तदेवापरस्य द्वेषणीयं वोपलभ्यते । यदि च रञ्जनीयं वस्तु स्वरूपतः स्यात् । तत् सर्व्वदा सर्व्वस्य च तथैव स्यात् । नत्वेष नियमो दृष्टः। तथाहि। यत्रैको रज्यते, तत्रैवापरो दुष्यति। तत्रैवापरो मुह्यति। तस्माद्विषयकामः स्वरूपासिद्धत्वात् शून्यः । न चैवं रञ्जनीयवस्तुशून्यताभावना-तत्परस्य योगिनो रागप्रहाणं न सम्भाव्यत इति विद्यतएव रागप्रहाणम् । [३] मातृपत्नीदासीवत् । कस्यचित् पुरुषस्य पत्नीद्वयं तत्रैका मात्रा सह तिष्ठति । द्वितीया तु विना मात्रा । तत्र यदासौ माता दुहितरं पश्यति तदा तुष्टा भवति । तामेव दृष्ट्वा सपत्नी दुःखिता भवति । दासी तु दृष्ट्वोदासीना भवतीति । नास्ति रागादीनां आलम्बनस्य स्वरूपसिद्धिः । एवं तावदालम्बनासिद्ध्या रागाद्यसिद्धिं प्रतिपाद्य हेत्वसिद्ध्यापि रागाद्यसिद्धिं प्रतिपादयितुका[४]म आह ।

विना कल्पनयास्तित्वं रागादीनां न विद्यते ।
भूतार्थः कल्पना चेति को ग्रहीष्यति बुद्धिमान् ॥ 176.

संकल्पप्रभवो रागो द्वेषो मोहश्च कथ्यते इतिवचनात् ।

विषयेषु अयोनिशः कल्पना रागादिसिद्धिकारणम् । ततश्च येषां सत्यामेव कल्पनायां अस्तित्वं ध्रुवम् तेषां रज्जुकुण्डलके परिकल्पितसर्पवत् स्वरूपासिद्धिरवसीयते । यस्तु स्वरूपसिद्धिं रागादीनां[५] अभ्युपैति, नियतं तेन कल्पनापेक्ष्यजन्मत्वं स्वरूपसिद्धिविरुद्धं नाभ्युपेतव्यम् ॥ यदि ह्यसौ भूतोऽर्थः किमर्थं तदस्तित्वे कल्पनापेक्ष्यते । अथापेक्ष्यते कथमसौ भूतार्थः । इत्येवं सोपपत्तिकागमालोकावभासितचित्तसन्तानत्वान्न विद्वांसः स्वरूपसिद्धस्य कल्पनाजनितत्वमङ्गीकुर्व्वन्ति । जड़ास्तु यथाकथञ्चित् विपर्य्यासात् प्रवर्त्तंते ध्यायिशिरःकपाल[६]वत् । कश्चिद्ध्यायी चित्तविभ्रममनुप्राप्तः कपालं मम शिरसि लग्नमिति । तस्य केनचित् अन्यत् कपालं पातितं एतत् तव शिरसः पतितमिति । स च तथेत्यवगम्य स्वस्थो जातः । कल्पनाविगमात् । अत्राह । विद्यत एव रागादीनां स्वभावो बन्धनत्वात् । तथाहि स्त्री पुरुषविषयेण रागेण पुरुषेण सह वद्धा, नातिक्रमति पुरुषम् । पुरुषश्च स्त्रीविषयेण रा[७]गेण, स्त्रिया सह वद्धो न परित्यजति स्त्रियमिति । उच्यते ।

कस्यचित् केनचित् सार्द्धं बन्धो नाम न विद्यते ।

यथैव हि रागः कल्पनापेक्ष्यजन्मत्वात् स्वभावासिद्धः तद्वत् स्त्रीपुरुषयोरपि स्वरूपासिद्धत्वात् कस्यचिदर्थस्य केनचिदर्थेन सह नास्ति स्वभावतो बन्ध इति । न बन्धकारणत्वात् रागः स्वरूपतः सिध्यति । अथाप्यवधूयेत्थं विचारं परेण सह परस्य बन्धः परिकल्प्यते । ए[८]वमपि

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[1] [Leaf 21 of the MS.]

परेण सह बद्धस्य विप्रयोगो न युज्यते ॥ 177.

यदि हि परस्य स्वरूपतो बन्धनकारणत्वं स्यात् तदा स्वरूपस्यान्यथाभावाभावात् मुक्त्यभाव एव स्यात्। विप्रयोगो विमोक्षो विमुक्तिरित्यनर्थान्तरम्। अस्ति च मुक्तिरिति नास्ति स्वरूपतो बन्धनकारणत्वं परस्य। असति बन्धनकारणे कुतो बन्ध इति स्वभावशून्या एव रागादयः स्वभावशून्यतादर्शनात् प्रक्षीयन्त इति शक्यमास्थातुम्। कृष्णावदातबलीवर्द्दसंयो[२१क]जनवत्। यथा न कृष्णो बलीवर्द्दोऽवदातस्य संयोजनाय, नाप्यवदातः कृष्णस्यापि तु युगरज्जं तथा नेन्द्रियाणि विषयाणां नापि विषया इन्द्रियाणामपि तु योत्र छन्दरागस्तद्बन्धनमिति। यद्येवं विचारात् क्लेशा निवर्त्तन्ते तत् किमित्यजितक्लेशाः प्रायो दृश्यन्ते। गम्भीरधर्म्माधिमुक्तिविरहात्। तथाहि ॥

अस्मिन् धर्म्मेऽल्पपुण्यस्य सन्देहोऽपि न जायते।
भवः सन्देहमात्रेण जायते जर्ज्जरीकृतः ॥ 178.

अनादिसंसाराभ्यस्तविपर्य्याससन्दर्शनोह्यवि[२]द्वान् प्रतिबिम्बोपमेषु पदार्थेष्विदंसत्याभिनिविष्टः स्वभावशून्यतोपदेशं प्रपातमिव मन्यते। शून्यविमुक्तिहेतुकुशलविरहितचित्तसन्तानत्वात् तथाविधस्य हि सतस्यास्मिन् शून्यताधर्म्मे किमेवं नैवमिति सन्देहोऽपि न जायतेऽन्यत्र विपरीतनिश्चयात्। ततश्च मुक्तिहेतुविपर्य्यस्तत्वात् कुतोऽस्य मोक्षः। यदि त्वयं केनापि हेतुना शून्यताधर्म्मे उपदिश्यमाने संशयमुत्पादयेत् किमयं धर्म्म एवं नैवमि[३]ति; नियतमस्यानेनापि सन्देहमात्रेण जर्ज्जर एव संसारो जायते। स हि यदैवमित्यवलम्बते मोक्षाङ्गः क्रमेण क्लेशतस्करोच्छेदाय सम्पद्यते। यदा संशयितो निश्चयेनार्थौ सोपपत्तिकागमबलात् सम्यग्दर्शनो निश्चितः क्लेशक्षयाय संसारोच्छेदं करिष्यतीति। सन्देहकालेऽपि जर्ज्जर एवास्य संसारो लक्ष्यते तद्भेदानुकूलावस्थावस्थितत्वात्। राक्षसीगृ[४]हीतबालाहकाश्वराजपरिमोचितवत्। यथा भग्नवाहनः सार्थवाहो राक्षसीगृहीतः पतित्वेनोपचर्य्यमाणस्तदा दक्षिणस्या दिशो निवार्य्यमाणो न कदाचित्त्वया दक्षिणा दिक् गन्तव्येति। स सन्दिह्यमानः कस्मादेषा मां वारयतीति गतस्तत्र बालाहकमश्वराजमागम्य तस्याः राक्षस्याः निर्मुक्तः समुद्रपारञ्च संप्राप्तः। यदि चास्य सन्देहो नाभविष्यत् न तस्या [५] राक्षस्या वियुक्तोऽभविष्यत्, न च समुद्रपारं प्राप्तोऽभविष्यत्। यश्चायं स्वभावशून्यतालक्षणो धर्म्मो यस्मिन् सन्देहोऽपि भवस्य जर्ज्जरत्वाय संवर्त्तते, तस्य भगवता प्रथमक्षान्तिक्षणमुपादाय यावत् मोक्षस्तावदपरिहानिर्वृद्धिश्चोपवर्णिता नत्वेवं लौकिकानां धर्म्माणाम्। ते हि विपाकक्षयादपि क्षीयन्ते प्रत्ययवैकल्यादपि न प्रवर्त्तन्ते। न हि प्रज्ञापारमि[६]ताऽनधिष्ठिता दानादयः समर्थाः जात्यन्धा इव सर्व्वज्ञतानगरमनुप्राप्तुमित्युवाच शास्ता। तदेवं ॥

आत्मा ह्याद्यस्य धर्म्मस्य वृद्धिमेवोक्तवान् मुनिः।
तत्र भक्तिर्न यस्यास्ति सुव्यक्तं बुद्धिमान् न सः ॥ 179.

यो ह्यत्यन्तोपकारिणि धर्म्मे वृद्धिप्रकर्षवति नोत्पादयति भक्तिं, स क्षेमस्थाने भयदर्शित्वात् मूढतामेवात्मनो जडः प्रकटयति। तदित्थं मूढता माभून्ममेति [७] विद्वद्भिः स्वभावशून्यतादर्शने भक्तिरास्थेया। शर्करामोदकवत् शलाकामुद्रावच्च। यथा शर्करामोदकः सर्व्वत आस्वाद्यस्तथा। यथा कस्यचित् पुरुषस्य

विद्याद्वयं सिद्धं। तत्रैकया शलाकां परिजप्य सर्व्वस्याध्युपशमनं करोति द्वितीयया मुद्रां दत्वा। अथ तेन कस्यचित् स्निग्धस्योच्यते। गृहाण त्वं एतत् [विद्या]द्वयमुपकारस्ते भविष्यति। तेन न गृहीतम्। अथास्यास्मिन् मृते स्निग्धे महाव्याधिरुत्पन्नः। स चाचिकित्स्यः तेनैव कालगतः। किं पुनरिमे पदार्थाः शून्या एव सन्तः वैराग्यार्थं शून्यवद्दृश्यन्ते ; अथ प्रकृत्या एव शून्या इति व्यपदिश्यन्ते इति। उच्यते ॥

नाशून्यं शून्यवद्दृष्टं निर्व्वाणं मे भवत्विति ॥ 180.

किं कारणं यस्मात्।

मिथ्यादृष्टेन निर्व्वाणं वर्णयन्ति तथागताः ॥

अन्यथावस्थितस्य वस्तुनो यदन्यथादर्शनं तन्मिथ्यादर्शनम्। यदि च स्वभावशून्याः सन्तः पदार्थाः स्वभावशून्या इति दृश्येरन् तदा मिथ्याद[२१][1]र्शनादेव निर्व्वाणाधिगमः स्यात्। न च मिथ्यादृष्टेः पुद्गलस्य निर्व्वाणाधिगमं बुद्धा भगवन्तो व्यवस्थापयन्ति। सम्यग्दृष्टिपुरःसरेणैव यथा निर्व्वाणप्राप्तिव्यवस्थापनात् ; ततश्च मायावत् प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् स्वभावशून्या एव सन्तो भावाः शून्याः स्वभावेनेत्यधिगम्यन्ते यथास्थितपदार्थतत्त्वदर्शनावदातसन्तानैः समारोपार्थवादान्तकल्पनामलामलिनैरार्य्यैः। राज्ञां वेल्लकपेयप्रेषणवत्। कश्चित् वेल्लको गुरुणा [१] राज्ञां पेयस्यार्थमभीक्ष्णं प्रेष्यते। अथ कदाचित् स तेनोच्यते। नैतत् कल्पते भिक्षूणां कथं त्वं पिबसीति। स प्राह पानीयमिति। तेनाप्यन्यस्मिन्नहनि पानीयमेवानीतं। स प्राह। कस्मादन्यदेवमानीतमिति। श्रामणेरः कथयति। यदा त्वं पानीयमेवेति कृत्वा पिबसि तत् कोत्र विशेष इति। यदि खलु स्वभावशून्या एव पदार्थाः किमर्थमविद्यादिना क्रमेण सत्वभाजनलोकस्य प्रवृत्तिरुपदिश्यते। [२] ननु स्वभावपरमार्थत्वात् स्वभावशून्यतैव केवलमुपदेष्टव्येति। नैतदेवम्। नैव हि लौकिकं प्रवृत्त्यात्मकम् परमार्थं पूर्व्वं सदुपदिश्य शक्यं स्वभावशून्यतालक्षणतत्त्वमादर्शयितुमिति। तत्त्वावतारसोपानभूतत्वात् प्रवृत्त्युपदेशोऽपि कर्त्तव्यः। सर्व्वसङ्गपरित्यागेन निवृत्तिसुखावाप्तिनिमित्तं स्वभावशून्यतोपदेशोऽपि कर्त्तव्यस्तदत्र तायागते प्रवचने।

लौकिकी देश[४]ना यत्र प्रवृत्तिस्तत्र वर्ण्यते ॥
परमार्थकथा यत्र निवृत्तिस्तत्र वर्ण्यते। 181.

यत्र संसारप्रवृत्तिक्रमोऽविद्यासंस्कारादिना क्रमेणाहेत्वेकहेतुविषमहेतुविनाशार्थं स्वसामान्यलक्षणसंज्ञावकल्पनया देश्यते ; ज्ञातव्यं विदुषा प्रवृत्तिस्तत्र वर्ण्यत इति। यत्र तु प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्य स्वभावानुत्पादस्वभावशून्यतोपदिश्यते ; तत्र संसारप्रवृत्तेर्निवृत्तिर्वर्ण्यते। स्वभावशू[५]न्यतापरमार्थावगमात् सर्व्वत्रासङ्गवतो वेदनास्वतृष्णस्य तृष्णाप्रत्ययो यानादिकारणनिरोधेन जातिजरामरणादेः सर्व्वथा निरोधात्। विलप्रवेशवत्। यथा विलप्रवेशे सा काचिदुपकरणप्रवृत्तिः ; सर्व्वासावुत्क्रष्टव्या न तया किञ्चित्प्रयोजनं क्रियते। तथा सर्व्वा लौकिक्यः प्रवृत्तयो निस्साराः परित्यक्तव्या विदुषा यस्मात् प्रवृत्तिधर्म्म इति। यद्येवं[६] परमार्थकथायां न किञ्चिदस्ति। शून्यत्वात् सर्व्वभावानां तदा सर्व्वाभावः प्रसज्यते। सर्व्वा-

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[1] [Leaf 19 of the MS.]

भावाच्च न किञ्चित्कर्त्तव्यं स्यात्। कर्त्तृकर्म्मक्रियादीनां सर्व्वथाभावात्। अभावाच्च क्रियादीनां न स्यात् मोक्षः इत्यतः सर्व्वमेवायुक्तमित्युच्यते।

किं करिष्याम्यसत्सर्व्वमिति ते जायते भयम्॥ 181.
विद्यते यदि कर्त्तव्यं नायं धर्म्मो निवर्त्तकः।

यत एव हि सर्व्वमसत् अत एवायं प[७]रमार्थधर्म्मः प्रवृत्तिनिवर्त्तको युज्यते। तत्किमिति निवृत्त्यर्थी सर्व्वाभावं क्रियाद्यनधिष्ठानत्वं समीहते। अथ हि नामात्रापि प्रवृत्ताविव कर्त्तव्यं स्यात् तदा क्रियाफलस्यापि परार्थस्य प्रवृत्तेः सैव प्रवृत्तिरिति कथमयं धर्म्मो निर्व्वाणावाहकः स्यात्। मृगतृष्णावत्। यथा हि मृगतृष्णिका पानीयसंज्ञां जनयति न च तत्पानीयं भवति। यस्य तु तत्र परितर्षो जायते स तत्रैवानर्थं समापद्यते। तथा स्कन्धेष्वा[८]त्मसंज्ञा। यतस्तु निवर्त्तके धर्म्मे न किञ्चित् कर्म्मास्ति तस्मात् शून्यपक्षः श्रेयानिति। यस्तु शून्यतामार्गे रज्यति। विपरीते स स्वभावपक्षे दुष्यति तमुपालभते।

स्वपक्षे विद्यते रागः परपक्षस्तु तेऽप्रियः॥ 182 B.
न गमिष्यसि निर्व्वाणं न शिवं द्वन्द्वचारिणः। 183 A.

द्विविधो हि पक्षः समासतः स्वपक्षः परपक्षश्च। तत्र यदि स्वपक्षे ते रागोऽस्ति शून्यपक्षः श्रेयानिति, परपक्षश्च ते मिथ्ये[१८क]ति कृत्वाऽप्रियः। न गमिष्यसि निर्व्वाणम्। न ह्यत्र नयप्रतिघहतस्य द्वन्द्वचारिणो निर्व्वाणमस्ति। सर्व्वत्र हि उदासीनाः सङ्गच्छेदादनपायसुखैकरसं शिवमाप्नुवन्ति। आचार्य्यसंघसेनवटुवत्। कश्चिद्वटुराचार्य्यसंघसेनात् शास्त्रं शुश्रूषति। स कदाचित्तेनोक्तं(?) उपासको भवेति। सोऽप्यन्यतमस्मिन्नहनि तमाचार्य्यमुवाचाचार्य्य उपासकोऽहं संवृत्तः। किं कारणं इति। ब्राह्मणान् दृष्ट्वा घातयितुमिच्छामीति। अत्राह। यद्यपि नि[२]र्व्वाणं परमसुखं सकलोपद्रवरहितत्वात्। तथापि तदशक्यं प्राप्तुम्। तत्प्राप्त्युपायस्यातिदुःकरत्वात्। भवस्त्वयत्नसाध्यत्वात् यस्मात् सुखेन प्राप्यते। तस्मात् तत्र न प्रवृत्तिरिति। उच्यते। विपरीतमवधारितं यस्मात्।

अकुर्व्वाणस्य निर्व्वाणं कुर्व्वाणस्य पुनर्भवः॥ 188 B.
निश्चिन्तेन सुखं प्राप्तुं निर्व्वाणं तेन नेतरः। 184 A.

कुशलाधिक्रियासु निरस्तव्यापारेण निश्चिन्तेन निर्व्वाणमवाप्यते। तस्मात् सुखं प्राप्तुं निर्व्वाणम्। कुशला[३]कुशलादिप्रवृत्तिसाध्यत्वात् तु निर्व्वाणादितरः पुनर्भवो न सुखेन प्राप्यते, न विदुषोऽप्रयत्नलभ्यं निर्व्वाणमवधूय युक्तं विविधव्यापारपरिखेदलभ्यं पुनर्भवमर्थयितुम्। आरोग्यवलसाधनवत्। बहवो ह्यरोगस्य वलसाधनाय दृश्यन्ते प्रत्ययाः। यदा तु नेच्छन्ति किञ्चिदपि विशेषं तदा सर्व्वैः प्रत्ययैरनर्थी भवति। यदि खल्वकुर्व्वाणस्य निर्व्वाणं तत् किमर्थं त्व[४]यात्र शास्त्रे अनित्याद्यर्थप्रतिपादनं क्रियते। संसारभुक्तं जगत्संसारादुद्वेजनार्थं। तथा हि॥

उद्वेगो यस्य नास्तीह भक्तिस्तस्य कुतः शिवे॥ 184 B.
निर्गमश्च भवादस्मात् स्वगृहादिव दुष्करः।

संसारादुद्विग्नचेतास्तन्निःसारणाय निर्व्वाणं भजते। यस्य तु नास्त्युद्वेगः स किमिति तदर्थयते।

तदुद्वेगाभावादेव च भवान्निर्गन्तुं अल्पबुद्धयो नोत्सहन्ते। यथा स्व[५]गृहमल्पसारमपि व्यासङ्गपरिच्छेदस्य दुःकरत्वात् न त्यक्तुं पार्य्यते। तादृशमेतत्। बध्ययानप्रार्थनवत्। बध्यः कश्चिद् बधायोत्सृष्टः सद्यो हन्तव्य इति। स च यानं प्रार्थयते स्म। एवमत्र भवगतानामपीच्छा न निवर्त्तते। अपि तु। विषयसुखसम्भोगसुलभानि गृहाणि त्यक्तुमाढ्यानां मा भूत् तत्सामर्थ्यान्निर्व्वाणं च गन्तुम्। येषान्तु व्याधिदारिद्र्यादीनां दुःखहेतूनां प्रतिविधानास[६]म्भवस्तेषां युक्त एव संसारपरित्यागः। तथा हि॥

दुःखाभिभूता दृश्यन्ते केचित् मरणकाङ्क्षिणः॥ 185.
ते तदा केवलं मोहान्न गच्छन्ति परं पदम्। 186 A.

व्याधिविप्रयोगदुःखान्विताः केचिदात्मस्नेहमपास्यातटादप्यात्मानं उत्सृजन्ति। तथैव यदि संसारं दुःखतो निवार्य्यात्मस्नेहमत्यन्ताय उद्धरेयुरदूरे निर्वृतिसुखस्य वर्त्तेरन्। विपर्य्यासितदर्शनास्तु मो[७]हात्तथा न प्रवर्त्तन्ते ये निर्व्वाणं नासादयन्ति। पेयापीतशयितत्ववत् पेयौषधसन्देहवच्च। कश्चित् पेयान् पीत्वा शयितः स भूयस्या मात्रया दुःखी संवृत्तः; तथा बाला यथा यथा सुखं प्रार्थयन्ते तथा तथा दुःखिततमा भवन्ति। यथा कश्चिदौषधं पास्यामीति उपस्निग्धः स चोपस्नेहात् सन्दिग्धो जातः किमौषधं पेयं कतमद्वा पेयमिति स व्याधेर्न मुक्तः। तथा सर्व्वबालपृथग्जनाः दुःखोपद्रवस्नेह[८]द्रवीकृतक्लेशा अपि सन्तः अज्ञानव्याधिविनाशाय विरागौषधपानसन्दिग्धाः क्लेषौषधमपीत्वा सर्व्वक्लेशव्याधिनिर्म्मोचात् परं पदं नाधिगच्छन्ति। अत्राह। यद्येवं सर्व्वपरित्यागेन निर्व्वाणमेवार्थनीयं तत्प्राप्तये भावनाकथवास्तु तत्किमर्थं भगवता दानशीलकथे अपि विहिते इति उच्यते। त्रिविधो हि सत्त्वधातु[:] हीनमध्यमोत्तमभेदात् तद्भेदार्थं भगवतो देशनावैचित्र्यम्। [१८]

[1]स्य विधेयः ॥ बालदारकवत् ॥ यथा बालदारको नान्यथा भाषया शक्यते बोधयितुम्, तथा पृथक्जनो लोकः। अतएव लोकावतारोपायत्वात् सदसदादिदेशनानां, भगवता।

सदसत् सदसच्चेति नोभयं चेति कथ्यते। 192.

सर्व्वाभावदर्शनमलक्षालनाय सदिति कथितम्। भावाभिनिवेशप्रहाणायासदिति कथितम्। उभयाकारदर्शनत्यागाय सदसदित्यावेदितम्। सर्व्वाकारप्रपञ्चोच्छेदाय नोभयमिति प्रकाशितम्। अपि च त्वमेव तावद्विचारय। [२]

ननु व्याधिवशात् पथ्यमौषधं नाम जायते।

व्याधयः प्रतिविधातव्याः। तेषां च निदानभेदादनेकमौषधं नैकमेव सर्व्वत्रोपयुज्यते। तादृशमेतत्। यक्षप्रेतप्रव्रजितधर्म्मपानीयदानवत् यक्षप्रत्यवस्थितदर्शनवच्च। यथा त्रयो भ्रातरः, तत्रैकः प्रव्रजितः, द्वितीयो यक्षः सम्वृत्तः महर्द्धिकः, तृतीयः प्रेतः संजात उल्कामुखः, तावुभावपि तस्य भिक्षोः सकाशं गतौ। ततः तेन भिक्षुणा तस्य यक्षस्य मदहेतुज्ञापनार्थं दौः[३]शील्यदोष उद्भावितः प्रेतस्य तु पानीयप्रदानेन ज्वलनदुःसहदुःखमुपशमय्य दुःखहेतुज्ञापनार्थं मात्सर्य्यदोषो ज्ञापितः। एवं सत्वाशयवैचित्र्यात् धर्म्मदेशनावैचित्र्यं भवति। यथा कस्यचित् पित्रा कन्यका देशान्तरे याचिता। स चास्य पिता कालगतः स मात्रोच्यते। गच्छ तां कन्यकामवलोकयितुं, तत्र पितृवयस्यो यक्ष एवंनामा तमर्थयस्वेति। तेन तथाकृतं। अथ स यक्षः तं विमा[४]नेन वैहायसं गृहीत्वा गतः। पुरुषश्चाभ्यागच्छति। स तेन यक्षेण पुत्र उक्तो गच्छैनं त्रासयस्वेति। तेन तथाकृतं। आगत्यैनं पृच्छति, किमर्थं चैष पुरुषः त्रासितइति। स प्राह, एष प्रव्रजितो नाहमस्य तेजः सहे। अथ तेन तं नगरं नीत्वा स पुत्र एकान्ते स्थापितः। तत्कन्यान्वेषणार्थं नगरं प्रविष्टः। तस्य च यक्षस्य तां कन्यकां दृष्ट्वा रागः समुत्पन्नः, सा तेन गृहीता, स च पुत्रः चिरम[५]सौ किं करोतीति स्वयं गतो यावत्तेनैव गृहीतां दृष्ट्वा स तेनैव विज्ञप्यते। मुञ्चैनां कन्यकां स्नुषा ते भवतीति। धर्म्मदेशनापि तद्वत् ज्ञेया। आसां च सदसदादिदेशनानामध्यात्मचिन्ताऽप्रवृत्तत्वात्। यैषा नोभयदेशना एषा परमार्थदेशना तस्मिंश्च परमार्थे।

सम्यग्दृष्टे परं स्थानं किंचिद्दृष्टे शुभा गतिः।
तस्मादध्यात्मचिन्तायां कार्य्या नित्यं मतिर्बुधैः ॥ 193.

परमार्थज्ञानेन [६] खलु सम्यग्दृष्टे परमार्थे परं स्थानं प्राप्यते निर्व्वाणम्। ईषत् किञ्चित् दृष्टे शुभा देवमनुष्यगति र्भवति। यस्माच्च सम्पूर्णज्ञानदर्शने निर्व्वाणं प्राप्यते। असमाप्ते च शुभा गतिः। तस्मादध्यात्मचिन्तायां विदुषा नित्यमेव बुद्धिः कर्त्तव्येति। इभ्यकुलचौरासद्धर्म्मनिमन्त्रणवत्। कश्चित् चौरोऽभीक्ष्णं विहारं गच्छति स्म। स केनचित् भिक्षुणोक्तः प्राभृतमस्मत्तः प्रतिगृहाणेति। स [७] प्राह कीदृशं प्राभृतम्, भिक्षुरुवाच। धर्म्मप्राभृतम् शिक्षापदं गृहाणेति। स प्राह। प्राणातिपातादत्तादानमृषावादेभ्यो विरन्तुं न शक्यं किन्तु काममिथ्याचाराद्विरमामीति। स ततो विरम्य राजकुलं चौर्य्याय प्रविष्टः। तत्र चासद्धर्म्मेण

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[1] [Leaf 22 of the MS.]

निमन्त्रितो, न च तेनेष्टं, स चार्थो राज्ञोपलब्धः। तेन सर्व्वालङ्कारविभूषिता स्त्री तस्मायनुप्रदत्ता सम्मानितश्च। एवमेवास्यां अध्यात्मचिन्तायां नियतं फ[८]लं निर्व्वाणं व्यवस्थाप्यते। अथ कुतश्चित् प्रत्ययवैकल्यात्।

इह यद्यपि तत्त्वज्ञो निर्व्वाणं नाधिगच्छति।
प्राप्नोत्ययत्नतोऽवश्यं पुनर्ज्जन्मनि कर्म्मवत् ॥ 194.

यद्यपीह जन्मनि तत्त्वदर्शनाभियुक्तो विरागावसानं न लभते। परमार्थज्ञाननिष्यन्दादप्रयत्नादवश्यमेव पुनर्ज्जन्मनि स निर्व्वाणं प्राप्नोति कर्म्मवत्। यथा नामेह कृतस्य नियतस्य कर्म्मणः फलं यद्यप्यस्मिन् जन्मनि नास्ति, तस्य त्ववश्यमेवा[२२क]न्यजन्मनि फलं भवति। आम्रभक्षणरोपणवत्। यो ह्याम्रभक्षणं कृत्वा वीजमविनाश्य रोपयति स यद्यपि सद्यः फलं नासादयति वीजानास्वादन-(नं) कृतं तथापि कालान्तरे महान्तमर्थं आसादयति॥ यद्येवं तत्त्वज्ञानमस्ति। किमर्थं मुक्ता न दृश्यन्ते, दृश्यन्त एव च केचित्। अपि खलु।

सर्व्वकार्य्येषु निष्पत्तिश्चिन्त्यमाना सुदुर्ल्लभा।
न च नास्तीह निर्व्वाणं युक्ता मुक्ताश्च दुर्ल्लभाः ॥ 195.

न च केवलं विराग एव दुर्लभदर्शनो[२]ऽपि खलु सर्व्वारम्भाः दुरवसेयफलोदयाः। न हि चिन्तैव फलसाधिका। किन्तर्हि हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्रीसमीहितफलनिष्पादिका? सा च हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्री दुर्लभा तस्मादिह चिन्तया सर्व्वकार्येषु सुदुर्लभा निष्पत्तिः। तद्वदिह शासने यद्यपि निर्व्वाणमस्ति। तथापि कल्याणमित्रवैकल्यादध्यात्मं च योनिशो विकल्पाभावात् युक्ताः सुदुर्लभाः, यस्मात्ततो मुक्ता अपि दुर्लभा भवन्ति। अस्मा[३]न्न शक्यं मुक्तादर्शनात्तदभावः प्रतिपत्तुम्। चाण्डालीफालालेहनवत्। यथा चाण्डाली चौर्य्येणाभियुक्ता तद्दोषविमुक्ता अपि सती नोत्सहते फालालेहनं कर्त्तुं कथमहं चण्डालत्वेनाशुचिस्वभावा देवसन्निधौ फालालेहनं करिष्यामीति। यदि पुनः कुर्य्यात् मुच्येत ततोऽभियोगात्। एवं केचिद्बाला हीनमात्मानं मन्यमाना नोत्सहन्ते बुद्धत्वाय [४] घटयितुम्। यदि पुनर्न्यायेन घटेरन् लभेरन् बुद्धत्वमवश्यम्। कथं पुनरेतदवसातुं शक्यं, यदेवं चिरकालप्रवृत्तस्य क्लेशगणस्य क्षयोऽस्तीति॥ उच्यते

श्रुत्वा शरीरनैर्गुण्यं क्षणं रागो न तिष्ठति।
प्राप्तस्तेनैव मार्गेण सर्व्वस्यापि ननु क्षयः ॥ 196.

यथेह चिरकालं ममत्वाभिरक्षितस्य शरीरस्य विचित्रैर्भोगैरुपलालितस्यापि वि[५]रागधर्म्मणाकृतज्ञस्य नैर्गुण्यं श्रुत्वा पण्डितस्य तत्क्षणं रागो न जायते, तथा तेनैव मार्गेण वैराग्यजनने सुभावितेन चिरकालप्रवृत्तस्यापि रागस्य सर्व्वस्यैवात्यन्तशो ननु क्षयः प्राप्तः। ततश्च सर्व्वस्यैव वाह्यस्य चाध्यात्मिकस्य च वस्तुनः स्वभावशून्यतयासारत्वदर्शनात् निरवशेषरागबन्धनच्छेदान्मुक्तिः। चाणक्यसौवर्णपरित्यागवत्। श[६]क्नोम्यहमनेनोपायेन बह्वपि सुवर्णं कर्त्तुमित्येवं योगाचारशरीरनैर्गुण्यश्रवणमात्रकेण क्षणमात्रं रागस्यानवस्थानं दृष्ट्वा तमेव मार्गं अभ्यस्यति। शक्याम्यहमनेनोपायेन मार्गेणात्यन्तं रागनिवर्त्तनं कर्त्तुमिति। अत्राह अनादिकालप्रवृत्तस्यास्य जन्मसन्तानस्य कथमन्तो भविष्यतीति। उच्यते॥

यथावीजस्य दृष्टोऽन्तो न [७] चादिस्तस्य विद्यते ।
तथा कारणवैकल्यात् जन्मनोऽपि न सम्भवः ॥ 197.

यथा नाम चिरकालप्रवृत्तस्यास्य हेतुफलपरम्परया प्रवर्त्तमानस्य वीजसन्तानस्यानादिमतोऽन्तो दृष्टः, अग्निदाहात्, तथानादिकालप्रवृत्तस्य परम्परया हेतुतः प्रवर्त्तमानस्यानादिमतोऽपि विज्ञानवीजजन्मनः कारणवैकल्यात् पुनः सम्भवो नास्ति । क्लेशापेक्षं हि कर्म्म जन्माक्षेप्तुं पर्य्याप्तम् । ते च क्लेशा ज्ञानतेजःस्पर्शादभावं गतास्तदयमसमर्थः कर्म्मसहायाभावाद् जन्माक्षेप्तुं एवमयमवसितजन्मासीति भवति दीपवत्, भ्रष्टतिलवत्, विहायसपरिव्राजकवत्, वृक्षवच्च । यथा दीपस्य प्रत्ययेषु असत्सु स्थितिर्न भवति सत्सु भवति । यथा भ्रष्टानां तिलानां विरोहणन्न भवति । विहायसपरिव्राजको मनःशिलां साधयित्वा तद्धेतोर्विहायसा गच्छति स्म ; यदा तु सान्येन पुरुषेण विद्यापहृता त[१२] [1]दा- हेत्वभावात् पतितः । यथा च वृक्षस्य मूलोत्पाटनान्न पुनर्वृद्धिर्भवति हेत्वभावात् । तथा भावाभिनिवेशहेत्वभावात् न रागादीनां क्लेशानामुत्पत्तिर्भवति । न च कर्म्मवशात् बोधिसत्वानां प्रवृत्तिरपि तु प्रणिधानवशात् । तस्मात् सर्व्वगतिभावदर्शित्वेन परमदुःकरतममत्यद्भुतं बोधिसत्त्वस्य यत् सत्त्वार्थे घटते ; सत्त्वं च नाभिनिविशते किञ्चिदिति । उक्तं चाचार्य्यबुद्धपालितेन ।

पश्यन्नपि जगच्छून्यं जन्मदुःखनुत्सया । [२]
सुचिरं यदसि क्लिष्टस्तन्नाम परमाद्भुतम् ॥

तच्च सर्व्वजगत्स्वभावदर्शित्वं यथा भवति । तथोत्तरच्च प्रकरणैरष्टाभिः प्रतिपादयिष्यति ।

आचार्य्यार्य्यदेवीये बोधिसत्त्वयोगाचारे चतुःशतके पारिकर्म्मिकप्रकरणमष्टमम् ।

समनुक्रान्तप्रकरणजलप्रक्षालितचित्तसन्तानस्य तत्त्वामृतदेशनापात्रस्य शिष्यस्याचार्य्योऽतः परमवशिष्टैः प्रकरणैः यथास्थितपदार्थतत्त्वा[३]धिगमाय तत्त्वविनिश्चयमारब्धुकामः संस्कृतस्योदयव्ययत्वेनासारतामुद्भावयन्नाह ॥

सर्व्वं कार्य्यार्थमुत्पन्नं तेन नित्यं न विद्यते । 198 A.

कार्य्यार्था हि प्रवृत्तिः लोके न स्वाभाविकी । तथाचाहु लौकिकाः कार्य्यकृतोऽयमस्य स्नेहो न स्वाभाविक इति । संस्कृतस्य च भूतभौतिकचित्तचैत्तलक्ष्यलक्षणादेरेकस्यैकस्योदयाभावात् यथासम्भवं कलाप[४]रूपस्यैवोत्पादः । तस्य कलापस्य मिथःकार्य्यकारणावस्थानात् । यस्मिन् सति यद्भवति, यदभावे च यन्न भवति तत्तस्य कारणं इतरत् कार्य्यमिति । पृथिवीमन्तरेण भूतत्रयस्याभावात् । सत्याञ्च भावाद्भवति कार्य्यप्रयोजना पृथिव्याः समुत्पत्तिरित्येवं सर्व्वमेव संस्कृतम् यथास्वं कार्य्यार्थमुत्पन्नम् । यच्च कार्य्यार्थमुत्पन्नन्न तत् नित्यम् । नि[५]त्यशब्दस्य स्वभावसत्यसारवस्तुद्रव्यपर्य्यायत्वात् । तदभावेन, निःस्वभावमसत्यमसारमवस्तुद्रव्यमसंस्कृतमिति गण्यते । अतएवोक्तं भगवता चक्षुः समृद्धे शून्यमात्मना आत्मीयेन च नित्येन

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[1] [Leaf 34 of the MS.]

ध्रुवेण शाश्वतेनाविपरिणामधर्म्मेणेति । तथा चक्षुः चक्षुषा शून्यं अकूटस्थाविनाशितामुपादाय । तत्कस्य हेतोः प्रकृतिरस्यैषेति [६] अतएव तन्मृषा मोषधर्म्मकं यदेतत् संस्कृतमित्युवाच शास्ता । एतच्च वचनम् वक्ष्यमाणयुक्त्युपेतं, तन्निश्चित्याचार्य्य आह ॥

तस्मान्मुनिमृते नास्ति यथाभावस्तथागतः ॥ 198 B.

अशैक्ष्यकायवाङ्मनोमौनयोगान्मुनिर्बुद्धो भगवान् । स एवानित्यशून्यतोपदेशेन यथा भावानां स्वभावस्तथागतो बुद्धस्तथागत इत्युच्यते नान्यो विपरीततत्वोपदे[७]शेन यथास्थिततत्त्वार्थानभिसम्बोधात् यथाचोक्तम् ।

अतीता तथता यद्वत् प्रत्युत्पन्नाप्यनागता ।
सर्व्वधर्म्मास्तथा दृष्टाः तेनोक्तः स तथागतः इति ॥

अथवायमन्योर्थः । यत् समुदयधर्म्मि तदवश्यं निरोधधर्म्मि जातिप्रत्ययं जरामरणमिति चोपदेशात् । यदुत्पन्नं तस्य कार्य्यं विनाश एव तदर्थत्वादुत्पादस्येत्यतः सर्व्वंकार्य्यार्थमुत्पन्नम् । तेन नित्यं न विद्यते स्वभावो न वि[८]द्यत इत्यर्थः । यत एतदेवं तस्मात् मुनिमृतेनास्ति यथा भावस्तथागतः । अस्यार्थः पूर्व्ववत् । अथवा वेदनात्रयवेदनीयकर्म्मणां कालदेशावस्थाविशेषसंवेद्यानां तैर्विना कर्म्मफलसंवेदनाभावात् तदर्थमाध्यात्मिकं वाह्यम्बा वस्तु सम्भवात् सर्व्वं कार्य्यार्थमुत्पन्नम् न स्वरूपत एव व्यवस्थितम् तेन नित्यं न विद्यते । यदि हि तत् स्वरूपतो व्यवस्थितं स्यात् स्वरूपस्यानपायित्वा [३४क] न्नित्यमेव स्यात् । न च तथास्तीति । तेन नित्यं न विद्यते । स्वभावशून्यं सर्व्वमित्यर्थः । सा चेयं शून्यता तथागतेतरशास्तृप्रवचनानुपदिष्टा इत्याह । तस्मान्मुनिमृतेनास्ति यथाभावस्तथागत इति । तार्किकास्तु व्याचक्षते । परेण यत् कार्य्यार्थमनुत्पन्नत्वेनाभ्युपगतं तदुत्पन्नं कार्य्यार्थत्वादुत्पन्नकार्य्यार्थवदिति । तदत्रानुदयव्ययवताम् परिकल्पितानां पृथिव्यादिपरमाणूनां खपुष्पादिवत् तावदस्तित्वमा[२]स्थातुमशक्यम् । न चाविद्यमानानां कारणत्वमारोप्य उत्पादसिद्ध्याऽनित्यत्वसाधनं न्याय्यं । कार्य्यार्थत्वस्य स्वत एवासिद्धत्वात् प्रसिद्धहेत्वङ्गीकरणे चातिप्रसङ्गात् अयुक्तवस्त्वभ्युपगमाच्च परस्य निवारणीयत्वान्न युक्तं नित्यं कार्य्यार्थत्वेनाभ्युपगन्तुं । न चानेन परप्रतिज्ञाया अनुमानविरोधोद्भावनं न्याय्यम् । तस्योभयप्रसिद्धेनैवोद्भावनात् । यस्यापि स्वोभयप्रसिद्धे [३] नानुमानवाधासम्भवात् स्वप्रसिद्धेनाप्यस्ति अनुमानवाधेति नूनं तस्याप्यर्थप्रतिपादनाकौशलमेव स्यात् । न हि विद्वान् सुखप्रतिपाद्यमर्थं दुःखेन प्रतिपादयितुमाद्रियते । अपि चाकाशस्यापि चक्षुर्विज्ञानाङ्कुरोत्पत्तौ कारणत्वाभिधानात् सूत्रान्ते षट्धातुपाठाच्च पुद्गलप्रज्ञप्तिनिमित्तत्वादनैकान्तिकत्वमेव स्यात् [४] कार्य्यार्थत्वस्य ।

कारणं विकृतिं गच्छत् जायतेऽन्यस्य कारणमिति ।

न्यायात् नास्त्याकाशस्य कारणत्वमिति चेन्नैतदेवम् तत्र हि क्रियते येन तत् कारणमिति जनक एव हेतुरभिसमीहितः कारणत्वेनाङ्कुरस्येव वीजं । निमित्तभावमात्रेण त्वाकाशस्यापीष्यत एव कारणत्वमेवं ह्यनिष्यमाणे सूत्रशास्त्रयोरविरोधो नोद्भावितः [५] स्यात् । न चाचार्य्यः सर्व्वथा निःस्वभावभाववादित्वात् हि उत्पत्तिसुखेनानित्यतां प्रतिपादयति । तत्त्वाधिकारात् उत्तरत्र तस्या अपि नित्यतावत् प्रतिषिध्यमानत्वात् । वक्ष्यति हि ।

“ उत्पादस्थितिभङ्गानां युगपन्नास्ति सम्भवः ।
क्रमशः सम्भवो नास्ति सम्भवो विद्यते कदेति ॥ ”

शास्त्रेपि चोक्तं
अनित्ये नित्यमित्येवं यदि ग्राहो विप[६]र्य्ययः ।
अनित्यमित्यपि ग्राहः शून्ये किन्न विपर्य्यय इति ॥

अपिच वस्तुनो लोकसिद्धत्वात् तत्सिद्धावनुमानपरिग्राहो निःप्रयोजन एव । योऽप्यवस्तुनो वस्तुसत्तां मौढ्यात् प्रतिपद्यते सोऽपि सामान्यजनप्रसिध्या शक्यत एव विवक्षितमर्थं ग्राहयितुं । वस्तुतत्त्वसाधने चावयवत्रितयस्यापि साध्यवदसिद्धत्वादसम्भव एवार्थ[७]साधनस्येत्यतस्तार्किकानां व्यर्थ एव तर्कप्रणयनश्रमो लक्ष्यते । तथाच लौकिका अनधीततर्कलक्षणा अपि सन्तो लौकिकार्थनिश्चयनिपुणा यद्यथास्थितं वस्तु तत् तथैव प्रतिपद्यन्ते प्रतिपादयन्ति चापरेभ्यः । अपि चानित्यताया लोकप्रतीतत्वात् यत्र लोकोपि तामवस्यति तत्र न शक्यत एव तदुक्तुं विपरीतार्थाभिधायी तथागत एवेति । यस्तु स्वलक्षणमारोप्य लोको नित्यतां प्रतिपद्यमानः तस्य वस्तुनो मृ द षामोषधर्म्मकत्वेनाप्रतिपत्तेः सर्व्वत्र तथागत एवाविपरीतदर्शीति युक्तं । अत्राहुरेके । सत्यं यत् कार्य्यार्थमुत्पन्नम् न तत् नित्यं भवतीति । ये तूभयाङ्गविकलाः पदार्थास्तद्यथाकाशादयो मनःपर्य्यन्ताः ; येपि चैकाङ्गविकलाः पदार्थाः तद्यथा पृथिव्यादिपरमाणवस्ते नित्या भविष्यन्ति । तेषाञ्चास्तित्वनित्यत्वानवगमान्नाविपरीतदर्शी तथागत इति । तेषां मतस्यायुक्ततामुद्भावयन्नाहाचार्य्यः ॥ [२ ४]

[1]अप्रतीत्यास्तिता नास्तीति । यथास्वं हेतुप्रत्ययायत्तोदयानां सुखादीनां अस्तित्वमुपलभ्य कथमयमर्थापत्त्याऽप्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नानां नास्तित्वं न प्रतिपाद्येत । अर्हत्येवायं स्फुटतरमेषां गगनोत्पलादीनामिवासत्त्वं प्रतिपत्तुं । तच्चेन्न प्रतिपद्यते नियतमस्य तैमिरिकस्येव समारोपकृतं दर्शनवैकृतं उपलक्ष्यत इति अतोऽप्रतीत्यास्तिता नास्ति । स चैष न्यायः कालवस्तुदेशभेदभिन्ने पदार्थे सर्व्वत्राव्यभिचारी आह [२] कदाचित् कस्यचिदिति । यतश्चैतदेवं ॥

न कदाचित् क्वचित् कश्चित् विद्यते तेन शाश्वतः ॥

पूर्व्वार्द्धेन सिद्धस्यैतन्निगमनं । यदा चैवमप्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् परिकल्पितानां पदार्थानां सत्त्वनित्यत्वेन तदा सिद्धं तथागतस्याविपरीतदर्शित्वं तथाहि तेन सच्च सतो ज्ञातं यत् प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं । असच्चासतः परपरिकल्पितमप्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं चेति । येपिच सर्गप्रलययोराविर्भावतिरोभावमात्रेण महदादेरभू[२]त्वाभावतिरस्कारेणाभिव्यक्तिमात्रतया नित्यतां प्रतिपन्ना न कस्यचित् प्रतीत्योदयमिच्छन्ति तेऽप्युक्तदूषणं नातिवर्त्तन्ते । अथ स्यात्, सुखादयस्तावत् प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नाः सन्ति । तेषां च समवायिकारणमात्मा न चासतः समवायिकारणत्वं न्याय्यमित्यतस्तत्कार्योपलम्भादस्ति तावदात्मा । स चैष नित्यः सदाकारणत्वात् । यदस्ति न चास्य कारणमुपलभ्यते तन्नित्यं [४] । सति चात्मनि तज्जातीया अपि पदार्था भविष्यन्तीति । अत्रोच्यते । स्युस्तज्जातीयाः पदार्था यद्यात्मैव स्यात् । नत्वस्ति । कथं कृत्वा ; यस्मात्, न विना हेतुना भावः, भावः स्वभाव आत्मेति पर्य्यायाः । स विना हेतुना न सम्भवति । तथाहि परेणैवास्याकारणत्वमभ्युपेतं तच्च निर्हेतुकं खरविषाणादिवन्नास्तीति सिद्धम् । आकाशादिभिरनैकान्तिकतेति चे[५]त्

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[1] [Leaf 38 of the MS.]

तेषामपि तद्वदेवास्तित्वस्य निषिध्यमानत्वात्। अथैवं दोषपरिजिहीर्षयाभ्युपेतविरुद्धमपि हेतुमत्त्वमङ्गीक्रियते। एवमप्यसत् ।

हीयते नित्यत्वं यस्मात् हेतुमान्नास्ति शाश्वतः। 199.

हेतुमत्त्वात् सुखादिवदित्यभिप्रायः। यत एतदेवं।

तेनाकारणतः सिद्धिः, सिद्धिर्नैत्याह तत्त्ववित् ॥ 200 B.

उक्तं हि भगवता

प्रतीत्य धर्मानधिमुच्यते विदू, न चान्तदृष्टी, य करोति निश्रयं ॥
स [६] हेतुप्रत्यय जानती अहेतुप्रत्यय नास्ति धर्मतेति ॥

अस्या देशनाया यथोपवर्णितोपपत्त्यनुगमादविपरीतार्थवित्तथागत एवेति सिद्धं। अथ स्यात् घटसुखादेः कृतकस्यार्थस्यानित्यत्वमुपलभ्यार्थापत्त्याऽकृतकस्यात्मादेर्नित्यत्वं भविष्यतीत्येतदप्ययुक्तं। यस्मादेवमिष्यमाणे कृतकस्य घटसुखादेरस्तित्वमुपलभ्य, तद्विपर्य्ययेणार्थापत्त्याऽकृत[७]कस्यात्मादेर्नास्तित्वमापन्नमिति । तदेव प्रतिपादयन्नाह ॥

अनित्यं कृतकं दृष्ट्वा शाश्वतोऽकृतको यदि ।
कृतकस्यास्तितां दृष्ट्वा नास्ति तेनास्तु शाश्वतः ॥ 201.

न चाविद्यमानस्य नित्यत्वं नापि सदेवानियं वस्तु । अथ स्यादाकाशाप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधानां अभिधर्मशास्त्रपरिपठितानां अकृतकानां सतां नित्यत्वास्तित्वेनाभ्युपगमादकृतकस्यासत्त्वप्रतिपादनमभ्युपेतेन वाध्यते इ[८]त्येतदपि नास्ति यस्मात् ॥

आकाशादीनि कल्प्यन्ते नित्यानीति पृथग्जनैः ।
लौकिकेनापि तेष्वर्थान्न पश्यन्ति विचक्षणाः ॥ 202

रूपाभावमात्र एवाकाशव्यवहारान्न किञ्चनाकाशं नाम वस्तुरूपमस्ति । रूपान्तराभावे तु रूपिणामुत्पत्तिप्रतिबन्धाभावात्; स एव रूपान्तराभावो भृशमस्यान्तः काशन्ते भावा इत्याकाशमित्याख्यातः । तदस्यावस्तुसतोऽकिंचनस्य नामधेयमात्रोपदेशव्यामूढैरभिधर्मशा[२८क]स्त्रे वैभाषिकैर्यद्वस्तुत्वमारोपितं न तत् प्रमाणमिति न तेनास्माकं अभ्युपगमवाधाचोदनं न्याय्यं । तथाहि, पदार्थस्वभावपण्डिता आकाशाभिधाने प्रयुज्यमाने, लौकिकेनापि ज्ञानेनाभिधेयं नाम [न] किंचित् स्वरूपमुपलभन्ते यथा पृथिव्याद्यभिधानेषु काठिन्यादिकं । किमुत पदार्थस्वभावज्ञानावस्थाः सर्व्वं वाह्यं चाध्यात्मिकं च वस्त्वनुपलभमानास्तस्य स्वरूपमुपलप्स्यन्त इत्येवमप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधप्रतिसं[२]ख्यानिरोधयोरपि वक्तव्यं । नित्यत्वं तेषामकिंचनत्वेनानन्यथाभावाभावमात्रद्योतकं न विधानमित्यतो नास्त्याकाशादीनां नित्यत्वमिति । अत्राह नित्यमेवाकाशं विभुत्वात् । यदनित्यन्न तद्विभुः। तद्यथा घट इति । अत्रोच्यते। यद्यप्यजातस्यासत्त्वप्रतिपादनेन तदधिकरणसर्व्वाधेयासम्भवोऽप्यर्थादुपपादितस्तथापि परमतप्रसिद्धपदार्थस्वरूपविशेषापाकरणमुखेन [३] तन्मतस्यायुक्ततामुद्भावयिषुः आकाशस्य विभुत्वप्रतिषेधेन नित्यतामपाकर्त्तुकाम आह ॥

प्रदेशिनि न सर्व्वस्मिन् प्रदेशो नाम वर्त्तते ।
तस्मात् सुव्यक्तमन्योपि प्रदेशोस्ति प्रदेशिनि ॥ 203.

आकाशस्य येऽवयवास्तेऽस्य प्रदेशाः, तैः प्रदेशस्याकाशं तस्मिन् योऽन्यसंयोगो प्रदेशः स तदितरसंयोगिनि प्रदेशे वर्त्तते । यदि हि वर्त्तेत तदा [४] तेनाभिन्नदेशस्यापि घटस्य सर्व्वगतत्वं स्यात् ; न चैतदस्तीत्ययुक्तमेतत् । अपिच यदि प्रदेशोपि सर्व्वत्र वर्त्तेत सोऽपि व्यापित्वात् प्रदेशिवत् प्रदेशाभिधानभाग्न स्यात् । प्रदेशाभावाच्च प्रदेशिनोप्यभावः स्यात् । अथैतद्दोषपरिजिहीर्षया प्रदेशिनि [न] सर्व्वस्मिन् प्रदेशो नाम वर्त्तत इत्यभिमतं । तदावश्यं सुव्यक्तमन्योपि प्रदे[५]शोस्ति प्रदेशिनीत्यभ्युपेयं । ततश्चासर्व्वगतप्रदेशवतः आकाशस्य प्रदेशिनो घटादिवत् विभुत्वमवहीयेत । न च परस्पराव्यतिभिन्नप्रदेशमात्रव्यतिरेकेण प्रदेशी नाम कश्चिदुपलभ्यत इति कुतोऽस्यासिद्धसत्ताकस्य नित्यत्वमिति न नित्यमाकाशं । अथाप्यस्य निरवयवत्वात् प्रदेशित्वं नाभ्युपेयते । नन्वेवं स[६]ति घटादीनां तेन न संयोगोपि स्यात् । स हि तेषां सयोगः सर्व्वात्मना वा स्यादेकदेशेन वा । न तावत् सर्व्वात्मना, घटादीनामपि प्रत्येकं सर्व्वगतत्वप्रसङ्गात् । तस्मादवश्यं प्रदेशसयोगिनो घटादय इत्यभ्युपेयं । तथाचाभ्युपगच्छतो नियतमयं यथोक्तो दोषो न नापद्यते । यथोक्तदोषप्रसङ्गाच्च न नि[७]त्यमाकाशमिति ।

कालवादी तु मन्यते कालकृतौ जगप्रवृत्त्युपसंहारावुपलभ्य कालसद्भावोनुमीयते । तथाहि सत्स्वपि वीजक्षितिसलिलज्वलनपवनाकाशाख्येषु प्रत्ययेषु न सर्व्वदाङ्कुरादेरुदय उपलभ्यते । अथ कदाचिदेवोपलभ्यते । तदवस्थानविरोधिकालसन्निधाने च निवर्त्तते । तदेवं ॥

यस्मिन् भावे प्रवृत्तिश्च निवृत्तिश्चोपलभ्यते ॥ 204.

स तथानुमित[८]ःकालो नामास्ति, तस्य च सतोपि कारणानुपलम्भान्नित्यत्वमिति । ननु चैवं सति नित्यत्वात् कालस्य तदायत्तोदयानामङ्कुरादीनां सदैवोत्पादः प्राप्नोति । अथ सतोपि न कदाचित् कार्य्यक्रियासूपनतव्यापारतास्येति कल्प्येत एवमपि सैवास्यासत्वमापादयिष्यति । अथ सतोपि वीजादिवत् कार्य्यप्रवृत्तियोग्यात्मातिशयासम्मुखीभावान्नास्ति सर्व्वदाका—[२८]

[1]मिव संसारनिवृत्तिर्न स्यात्। विशेषाभ्युपगमेन विकारसद्भावादनित्यः स्यात्। अनित्यस्य च कारणत्वं स्यात्। ततश्च दुःखसन्तानसदृश एव स्यात्। एवं च सति स्वभावत्यागः स्यात्। तस्मात् न युक्तमस्यात्मानमभ्युपेतुं। अभ्युपेत्यापि हि यत् परं प्रति प्रतिपादनासामर्थ्यात् उक्तदोषाच्च परित्याज्यं किन्तेनाभ्युपगतेन प्रयोजनमिति त्यज्यतामात्मवादः। यद्येवं मुक्तावस्थायां मुक्तात्मनोऽप्यसद्भावः। संस्काराणाञ्चापुनरुत्पत्त्या सर्व्वथा परिक्षयरूपं [२] परमार्थसंज्ञकं निर्व्वाणं वर्ण्यते। तदलमनेनेदृशेन परमार्थेनार्थितेन, इत्यतः आत्मकामस्य ॥

वरं लौकिकमेवेदं परमार्थो न सर्व्वथा।
लौकिके विद्यते किञ्चित् परमार्थे न विद्यते ॥ 222.

नैव हि आत्मकामो लोचनामयसम्पातशङ्कया अक्ष्णोरुत्पाटनमनुतिष्ठति करोति तु आमयोपघातमेव। तथा संसारदुःखोद्विग्नस्य दुःखत्याग एव ज्यायान्। न तु सर्व्वथा सर्व्वाभावः। सर्व्वाभावे हि सति सर्व्वस्य सुखस्याप्युच्छि[३]त्त्या न किञ्चिदनेनात्मन उपकृतं भवति। ततश्च वरं लौकिकमेवेदं। लौकिके हि त्वया किञ्चिदङ्गीक्रियते यत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नमुपादाय च प्रज्ञप्तं; किञ्चिन्नाङ्गीक्रियते यत् तीर्थिकैरभूतमारोपितं सस्वाभाव्यं च भावानां। अथवा यद्दत्तफलमतीतं कर्म्म, तत्फलञ्चानागतम् प्रत्युत्पन्नाश्च संस्कारा इत्येतत् तव लौकिकेनास्ति। तदवशिष्टं नास्तीति वरमेतल्लौकिकं य[४]त्र न सर्व्वाभावः। परमार्थस्तु सर्व्वथा न श्रेयान् सर्व्वथाप्यात्मनोप्यसद्भावादिति।

बोधसत्त्वयोगाचारे चतुःशतके नित्यार्थप्रतिषेधोनाम नवमं प्रकरणम्।

अत्राह। यद्यात्मा नाम कश्चित् स्वरूपतः स्यात् तस्य निर्व्वाणे सर्व्वथोच्छेददर्शनात्।

नास्त्यहं न भविष्यामि न मे ऽस्ति न भविष्यतीति।

परिशङ्कितस्य स्यादेवं

वरं लौकिकमे[५]वेदं परमार्थो न सर्व्वथा।
लौकिके विद्यते किञ्चित् परमार्थे न विद्यते ॥

न चात्मा नाम कश्चित् स्वरूपतः सम्भवति। यदि हि स्यात् स नियतं स्त्रीत्वेन वा स्यात् पुरुषत्वेन वा नपुंसकत्वेन वा। ततोन्यस्य कल्पनान्तरस्याभावात्। द्विविधं ह्यात्मानं वर्णयन्ति तीर्थिकाः। यदुतान्तरात्मानं वहिरात्मानञ्च। तत्रान्तरात्मा[६]नाम यः शरीरागारान्तर्व्यवस्थितः शरीरेन्द्रियसंघातस्य तत्र तत्र प्रवर्त्तयितान्तर्व्यापारपुरुषो जगदहङ्कारनिबन्धनः कुशलादिकर्म्मफलोपभोक्ता प्रतितन्त्रमनेकविकल्पभेदभिन्नः। वहिरात्मा तु देहेन्द्रियसंघातरूपोन्तरात्मनो अपकारीव। तत्र यस्तावदयमन्तरात्मा स यदि स्त्रीत्वेन परिकल्प्येत तदा तस्याजहत्स्वरूपत्वात् जन्मान्तरपरिव[७]र्त्तेपि लिङ्गान्तराप्रतिपत्त्या नित्यमेव स्त्रीत्वं स्यात्। न चैतद्दृश्यते, व्यत्ययोपलब्धेः स्त्रीत्वादीनामात्मगुणत्वाभावाच्च। एवं पुंस्त्वे नपुंसकत्वे च वाच्यं। तदेवम्;

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[1] [Leaf 37 of the MS.]

अन्तरात्मा यदा न स्त्री न पुमान् न नपुंसकं ।
तदा केवलमज्ञानात् भावस्तेऽहं पुमानिति ॥ 223.

पुमानित्युपलक्षणत्वात् अहं स्त्री नपुंसकमहमिति सर्व्वमेवाज्ञानाद्भवति। विचार्य्यमाणस्य वस्तुसत्त्वस्य तथाऽसिद्धत्वादज्ञानं मुक्त्वा [८]नान्यत्त(स्त)थापरिकल्पकारणं युक्तम्। रज्जुस्वरूपापरिज्ञाने सर्पाध्यारोपवत् इत्यभिप्रायः। एवं तावदन्तरात्मनो यः स्त्रीत्वादिपरिकल्पो नासौ वस्त्वनुविधायीति स्थितं। अथ मन्यसे वहिरात्मनो लिङ्गान्येतानि स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकत्वानि, तत् सम्बन्धादन्तरात्मन्यपि परिकल्प्यन्त इति॥ स्यादेतदेवम् यदि वहिरात्मनोप्येतानि युज्यन्ते। कथं कृत्वा। इहाकाशस्य ता[३ ७क]वन्महाभूतत्वायोगाच्चत्वार्य्येव महाभूतानि। यस्यापि पञ्चमहाभूतानि तस्याप्याकाशस्य शरीरारम्भकत्वायोगाच्चत्वार्य्येव महाभूतानि कारणभावं प्रतिपद्यन्ते॥ तेषु च स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकत्वानि स्वरूपतो न विद्यन्ते। यदि स्युस्तदा तत्स्वभावानुरोधात् सर्व्वदेहानां नियतलिङ्गता स्यात्। कललादपि च लिङ्गोपलब्धिः स्यात् न चैतदस्तीत्यतः।

यदा सर्व्वेषु भूतेषु नास्ति स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकम्।
तदा किं नाम तान्येव प्राप्य स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकम् ॥ 224.

किन्नामात्र कारणं यत् स्वरूपतो लिङ्ग[२]रहितानि महाभूतानि प्राप्य स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकानि देहानां सम्भविष्यन्ति। तदेवं वहिरात्मनोपि स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकत्वानामयोगात् केवलमज्ञान + + + तवायमभिप्रायः, पुमानहं स्त्री नपुंसकमहमिति। येपि च खट्टावृत्तयो[:]स्तनादिलोमशत्वादेर्निमित्तस्याभावादन्यथा स्त्रीत्वादीनि कल्पयन्ति। तेषामपि कल्पनामात्रं न वार्य्यते। तवाप्ययं समानप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्नैतदेवम्। मम हि निःस्वभावाः पदार्थाः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् न च निःस्वभावस्य [३] यथाप्रत्ययमन्यथाभावो न युज्यते चित्रपुरुषमायाङ्गनादिरूपस्येवेत्यदोषः। सस्वभाववादिनस्तु स्वभावस्यान्यथात्वासम्भवात् यथास्वभावं लिङ्गनियमः प्रसज्यते। तदेवं पुमानहमित्येवमादीनां कल्पनानां मोहमात्रसम्भूतत्वादयुक्तम् तल्लिङ्गवत आत्मनः स्वरूपतोऽस्तित्वम्। इतश्चात्मा स्वरूपतो नास्ति। यदि ह्यात्मा स्वरूपतः स्यात् स यथैकस्याहङ्कारस्यालम्बनं तथा [४] सर्व्वेषामप्यहङ्कारस्यालम्बनं। न हि लोके अग्नेरौष्ण्यं स्वभावः कस्यचिदनौष्ण्यं भवति। एवं आत्मा यदि स्वरूपतः स्यात् सर्वेषामात्मेति स्यात् अहङ्कारविषयश्च। न चैतदेवम् तथा हि॥

यस्तवात्मा ममानात्मा तेनात्मा नियमान्न सः।

यो हि तवात्मा त्वदहङ्कारविषयः आत्मस्नेहविषयश्च स एव ममानात्मा भवति अस्मदहङ्काराविषयत्वादात्मस्नेहाविषयत्वाच्च। यत [५] एतदेवं तेन नियमान्न सः। यश्च नियमादात्मा न भवति स स्वभावतो नास्तीति त्यज्यतां असदर्थे आत्माध्यारोपः। यद्यात्मा नास्ति क्व तौ इमौ अहङ्कारात्मस्नेहावित्याह।

नन्वनित्येष्वभावेषु कल्पना नाम जायते ॥ 225.

यथोपवर्णितेन न्यायेन स्वरूपसिद्धस्य स्कन्धव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनः सर्व्वथाभावात् नन्वनित्येषु रूपवेदनासंज्ञासंस्कारविज्ञानाख्येषु भावेष्वात्मेति कल्पना[६]स्वभूतार्थारोपणं क्रियते आत्मा सत्त्वो जीवो जन्तुरिति। यदाहीन्धनमुपादायाग्निरेवं स्कन्धानुपादाय आत्मा प्रज्ञप्यते, स च स्कन्धेभ्यस्तत्त्वान्यत्वेन पञ्चधा च निरूप्यमाणः स्वभावतो नास्तीत्युपादाय प्रज्ञप्त्या परिकल्प्यत इत्येवमनित्येषु संसारेष्वात्मपरिकल्पना भवतीति स्थितम्।

अत्राह। अस्त्येवात्मा स्वभावतः प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिकारणत्वात्। यदि ह्यात्मा न स्यात् कः शुभमशुभं [७] वा कर्म्म कृत्वा तत्फलं सम्वेदयेत्। स हि शुभमशुभम् वा कर्म्म कृत्वा जातिगतियोन्यादिभेदभिन्ने त्रैधातुके कर्म्मानुरूपं जन्मप्रबन्धमनन्तप्रभेदं सुखदुःखफलोपभोगनिबन्धनमासादयति। स ह्यभिसंस्कर्त्ता च, प्रत्यनुभविता च, स हन्यते चाधर्म्मेन स्पृश्यते मुच्यते च। तस्मादस्ति स्वरूपत आत्मेति। किं पुनरयमात्मा जन्मान्तरपरिवर्त्तेषु देहभेदविकारमनुरुध्यते, अथ न। यदि तावन्नानुरुध्यते, त[८]दा किमनेनाकिंचित्करेणात्मपरिकल्पनेन। अथानुरुध्यते, तदा नियतं तव

देहवद्विकृतिं याति पुमान् जन्मनि जन्मनि।
ततश्च; देहान्तेनान्यता तस्य नित्यता च न युज्यते। 226.

नासौ देहादन्यो देहविकारानुविधायित्वात् देहैकदेशवन्नापि नित्यो देहादनन्यत्वात्। देहस्यात्मवत् इत्ययुक्त आत्माध्यारोपः। स हि प्रतिक्षणविनश्वराणां संसाराणां अवस्थानाभावात् कर्म्मफलसंवेदनाय नित्यमात्मानं प्रतिपन्नः। [२७]

[1]मत्तस्य निःप्रयोजनमेवेन्धोपार्ज्जनमिति, तद्वदेतत्। ततश्चास्य महदादेर्विकारग्रामस्य विफलैव प्रवृत्तिरिति व्यर्थ एवास्य शास्त्रे प्रक्रियाप्रणयनश्रमो लक्ष्यते। अथ स्याच्चैतन्यशक्तिरूपः पुरुषः तस्य चक्षुरादिकरणव्यापारनिबन्धनबुद्ध्यभिव्यक्तेः चैतन्यवृत्त्यभिव्यक्तेरुपभोक्ता हि पुरुषः स विषयोपभुक्तिक्रियाभिनिवृत्त्याविषयं चेतयते। सा ह्यस्य विषयोपभुक्तिश्चैतन्यवृत्त्यात्मिका क्रिया, सा च न विना चक्षुरादिना करण[२]ग्रामेण भवतीति कुतोऽस्य विकारग्रामस्य वृथात्वमिति। उच्यते। यदि चैतन्यवृत्तिस्वरूपं तदास्य क्रियया धर्म्मानतिक्रमेण भवितव्यम्। कश्च क्रियाणां धर्म्मो द्रव्याश्रयत्वं चलत्वं च। तथाहि॥

आविनाशाच्चलं नाम द्रव्यं नास्ति क्रिया यथा॥

द्रव्यव्यापाररूपा हि क्रिया सा चोदयात् प्रभृत्याविनाशाच्चला। तथाहि वृक्षादयः, पवनाभ्युपनिपातमन्तरेण नारब्धक्रियास्तिष्ठन्त्यविचलाः [३] कम्पनक्रिया त्वेषा पवनादिप्रत्ययसम्पातादुपजायमाना आविनाशं चलतां नातिवर्त्तते। यस्मादेतदेवं।

पुरुषोस्ति न चैतन्यमिति तेन न युज्यते। 233.

यथा वृक्षादयः चलनक्रियाप्रारम्भात् प्रागवस्थायां वृक्षाद्यात्मना द्रव्यरूपेणोपलभ्यन्ते, नैवं पुरुषः। स हि चैतन्यरूपमात्रत्वात् न तद्व्यतिरिक्तः। द्रव्यरूपत्वाभावाच्च चैतन्यरहितेनाप्यात्मना[४]स्तीति न शक्यते कल्पयितुम्; ततश्च पुरुषः संविद्यते न चैतन्यमिति न युज्यते। यच्चैतन्यशक्तिसद्भावात् पुरुषस्यास्तित्वं कल्प्येत तदप्ययुक्तं। निराधारायाः शक्तेरसद्भावात्; यथा चैतन्यवृत्तिव्यतिरिक्तः पुमान्न सम्भवति एवं शक्त्यवस्थायामपि चैतन्यशक्तिमात्रव्यतिरिक्तः पुरुषो नास्ति। ततश्च निराश्रया नास्ति शक्तिः शक्त्यभावाच्च शक्ते र्व्यक्तिरूप[५]भावोपयोगित्वेन यच्चक्षुरादीनां सोपयोगित्वं कल्पितं तदयुक्तमेवेत्यविचलमेतत्।

[2]करणं जायते मिथ्या चैतन्यं शाश्वतं यदि। इति।

अपि चायं पुरुषो यदि चैतन्यव्यक्तेः पूर्व्वं चैतन्यशक्तिरूपः स्यात् तदा॥

चेतनाधातुरन्यत्र दृश्यतेऽन्यत्र चेतना॥

चैतन्यस्य द्वैरूप्यकल्पनायां अन्यत्र पृथक्त्वेन चेतनायाः चेतनाधातुश्चेतनावीजं चेतनाशक्ति[६]र्दृश्यते त्वया। चेतनाशक्तेश्चान्यत्र पृथक् चेतनाधातोश्चेतना प्रवर्त्तमाना चेतनाधातुसमानदेशा प्रवर्त्तते। दृष्टान्तमाह॥ द्रवत्वमिव लोहस्येति॥ यथा लोहं द्रवतामापद्यमानं लोहदेशाभिन्नदेशं भवति तद्वत्। वीजाङ्कुरयोर्ह्याविर्भावतिरोभावदर्शनान्न समानदेशता। न च पुरुषस्याविर्भावतिरोभावाविति समानदेशमस्ति। अतएवाचार्य्यो लोहस्य द्र[७]वतादृष्टान्तमाह॥ न च चैतन्यशक्तिरूपात् पृथक् पुरुषोस्ति व्यक्तस्ततोऽनन्यत्वात्। तदयं शक्तिरूपापन्नो व्यक्तिरूपतामापद्यमानः।

द्रवत्वमिव लोहस्य विकृतिं यात्यतः पुमान्॥ 234.

विक्रियमानत्वाच्च लोहवदेव नास्यात्मनो नित्यत्वमिति सिद्धम्। अन्ये पुनराहुः। नैव ह्यस्माकं चैतन्यरूपः पुमान् किं तर्हि॥

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[1] [Leaf 35 of the MS.]

[2] This is taken from 232.

चैतन्यञ्च मनोमात्रे महांश्चाकाशवत् पुमान् [८]

आत्मा हि प्रतिशरीरे सर्व्वप्राणभृतामाकाशवत् विभुः, तस्य च मनोमात्रसंयुक्ता चेतना न सर्व्वव्यापिनी। मनश्चात्मनः परमाणुमात्रप्रदेशसंयुक्तं। तेन मनसा संयुज्य पुरुषस्तदभिन्नदेशं चैतन्यमुत्पादयति। ततश्च यथोक्तदोषानवसरोऽस्मत्पक्षः इति। उच्यते यतएव ह्याकाशवदिति महतः पुरुषस्य मनोमात्रे चैतन्यमभ्युपेयते ननु त्वया ॥

अचैतन्यं ततस्तस्य स्वरूपमिव दृश्यते ॥ [९] 235.

एवं सत्यचेतन एव पुरुषः प्राप्नोति। न हि परमाणुमात्रप्रदेशचेतनासम्बन्धेन सचेतनः पुरुष इति युक्तं वक्तुं। न हि लवण-परमाणुमात्रसम्पर्कात् गङ्गाह्रदजलं सलवणमिति शक्यं सम्भावयितुं, तद्वदेतत् द्रव्यं चात्मा चैतन्यञ्च गुणरूपं तयोः परस्परभेदात् अचेतन-स्वरूप एव पुमान्। न चास्याचेतनस्य घटस्येवात्मत्वं कल्पयितुं न्याय्यमिति न युक्त आत्मा ॥ यदि चायमात्मा प्रति[३५क]सत्त्वं सर्व्वगतः स्यात्तदा ॥

परस्त्वेवेति किन्नाहमहं सर्व्वगतो यदि ॥

यदि भाविकया कल्पनया अहं सर्व्वगतः सर्व्वव्यापी स्यामाकाशवत् तदा सत्त्वान्तरेप्ययं मदात्मनः सद्भावात् किमिति तस्य तस्मिन् ममेवाहङ्कारो नोत्पद्येत। एवं ह्यस्य सर्व्वगतत्वं युज्यते, यदिह ममेव परस्यापि मदात्मनि स्यादहङ्कारः। न च परात्मनास्य मदात्मनः परशरीरे युक्तमावरणं। न हि परात्मदेशेऽस्मदात्मनोऽसद्भावः सर्व्वात्मना[२]व्यापित्वाभ्युपगमात्। यदा च समानदेशता तदा न तेन तस्यावरणं शक्यं कर्त्तुमिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ॥

तेनैवावरणं नाम न तस्यैवोपपद्यत इति ॥ 236.

समानदेशत्वात् स्वात्मस्वरूपस्येव स्वात्मना नास्त्यावरणमिति अहङ्कारविषयत्वं परात्मनोपि प्रसज्यते। तेनैवं भवतीति न सर्व्वगत आत्मा। एवं तावदुभयमतेप्यात्मनोस्तित्वं अयुक्तमिति प्रतिपाद्य गुणानामपि सकल[३]जगत्कर्त्तृत्वासम्भवेनायुक्तरूपतां प्रतिपादयन्नाह ॥

येषां गुणानां कर्त्तृत्वमचैतन्यञ्च सर्व्वशः।
तेषामुन्मत्तकानाञ्च न किञ्चिद्विद्यतेऽन्तरम् ॥ 237.

सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि त्रयो गुणाः तेषां साम्यावस्था प्रधानं प्रसवावस्था प्रकृतिः। सेदानीं त्रिगुणात्मिका प्रकृतिरचेतनापि सती, पुरुषस्य विदितविषयोपभोगौत्सुक्यात् पुरुषेणाभेद्यं प्रतिपद्य सक[४]लं विकारग्रामं प्रसूते। तत्र चायं क्रमो, यदुत, प्रकृतेर्महान् महानिति बुद्धेः पर्य्यायः महतोऽहङ्कारः स च त्रिविधः। सात्विको राजसस्तामस इति। तत्र सात्विकादहङ्कारात् पञ्चबुद्धीन्द्रियाणि श्रोत्रं त्वक् चक्षुः रसनं घ्राणमिति। पञ्चकर्म्मेन्द्रियाणि वाक् पाणि पाद पायूपस्थाख्यानि। उभयात्मकं च मनः इत्येकादश प्रवर्त्तन्ते। राजसादहङ्कारात् [५] पञ्चतन्मात्राणि शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धाः। तन्मात्रेभ्यो भूतानि आकाश-वायु-तेजो-वायु-जल-पृथिव्याख्यानि। तामसस्त्वहङ्कार उभयोरहङ्कारयोः प्रवर्त्तक इत्येवं प्रकृतिविकाररूपत्वात् सकलस्य विकारग्रामस्य त्रयो गुणाः प्रवर्त्तका इत्येवं येषां वादिनां गुणानां कर्त्तृत्वमचैतन्यञ्च इति अभिप्रायः। वस्तुतत्वविचक्षणाः तेषामुन्मत्त[६]कानाञ्च न किञ्चिद्विद्यतेऽन्तरम् इति पश्यन्ति। उन्मत्तको हि नाम

विपर्य्यस्तविज्ञानसन्ततिः। स हि विपर्य्यस्तेन विज्ञानेन, यथार्थं न प्रतिपद्यते, विपरीतञ्चावधारयति असदर्थञ्च प्रलपति, तथा चायमपि सांख्यः। अचेतनानां गुणानां कर्तृत्वं शास्त्रेण प्रतिपादयन् यथार्थो व्यवस्थापितः तथा न प्रतिपद्यते, विपरीतञ्चावधारयति, असदर्थं [७] प्रलपतीति तुल्य एवोन्मत्तकैः स भण्यते। अपि चास्यायं पुरुषो विकारग्रामस्याकर्त्ता च भोक्ता च। गुणास्तु कर्त्तारो न तु भोक्तारः तदयं कर्त्तृत्वमभोक्तृत्वञ्च निरुपपत्तिकं गुणानामावेदयन् अत्यन्तायुक्ततामेवात्मनः प्रकटयतीति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ॥

कर्त्तुन्नाम विजानन्ति महादीन् सर्व्वथा गुणाः।
भोक्तुञ्च न विजानन्ति किमयुक्तमतः परम् ॥ 238.

युक्तिविरुद्धत्वात् लोकासम्मतत्वा[८]च्चास्य मतस्य नातःपरमयुक्ततरमस्तीत्यभिप्रायः। इत्येवं तावद्गुणानां कर्त्तृत्वमयुक्तं।

यस्याप्यात्मैव कर्त्ता धर्म्माधर्म्मयोः फलस्य चोपभोक्तेति मतन्तस्याप्यात्मनो नित्यत्वमयुक्तं॥ यस्मात् क्रियावांश्छाश्वतो नास्ति ॥ इह करोतीति कर्त्ता तस्य क्रियानिबन्धनं कर्त्तृत्वं। नह्यकिञ्चित् कुर्व्वाणो निर्हेतुकः कश्चित् कर्त्तेति युज्यते। सति च क्रियावत्त्वे; नियतन्तु क्रियाप्रागव [२५]

[1]स्ति। तथाहि तस्यानागतभावव्युत्या[८]हेतुप्रत्ययैर्वर्त्तमानता भवति। न चैवमसंस्कृतं स्वरूपात् प्रच्यवत इति नास्य संस्कृतवन्नित्यत्वमिति। एवमपि कल्प्यमाने।

विनापि जन्मना भङ्गादनित्यो यद्यनागतः। 253.

एवं तर्हि॥

अतीतस्य न भङ्गोऽस्ति स नित्यः किं न कल्प्यते।

यदि स्वरूपप्रच्युतिसद्भावादनागतस्य नित्यत्व + + + + + + तीतस्य तर्हि स्वरूपप्रच्युतिर्नास्तीति स नित्य इति कल्प्यतां।

कस्य वा पदार्थस्य शक्यमनित्यत्वं कल्प[२]यितुं। यदा च न शक्यते तदा सर्व्वपदार्थानामनित्यत्वस्यासम्भवान्नित्यतैव सम्भाव्यते। तत्र तावत्॥

अनित्यो वर्त्तमानोयमतीतस्य न जायते। 254.

यस्तावदयं वर्त्तमानः पदार्थः तस्य तावदनित्यत्वं नास्ति। स हि वर्त्तमानत्वात् स्वभावादच्युतेर्वर्त्तमान इति व्यपदिश्यते। यस्य चानित्यत्वं स वर्त्तमान एव न भवत्यभावेनाभिसम्बन्धात्। भावाभावयोश्च युगपदसम्भवात्। वर्त्तमानस्यानित्यत्वं न सम्भवति। अतीतस्या[३]प्यनित्यत्वं न सम्भवति। विनष्टो ह्यतीत उच्यते। न च विनष्टस्य पुनरपि विनाशो न्याय्यो निःप्रयोजनत्वात् आश्रयाभावात् अनवस्थाप्रसङ्गाच्च। एवं तावत् अनित्यो वर्त्तमानोयमतीतस्य न जायते। न च वर्त्तमानात्यतीतौ मुक्त्वा तस्यानित्यत्वस्य तृतीयोवकाशो युज्यत इत्याह॥

ताभ्यामन्या तृतीयापि गतिस्तस्य न विद्यते॥ 255.

उत्पन्नस्य यदा नित्यताश्रयस्यानि[४]त्यत्वमसम्भाव्यं तदोत्पत्तिशून्यस्यानागतस्याकाशादेरिव तत्स्यादित्यत्यन्तमसंगतम्। न चानित्यतारहितस्याकाशादेरध्वत्रयकल्पना युक्तिमती तद्वत् सस्वभावभाववादिनो न युक्तं अध्वत्रयम्। अत्राहास्त्येव अनागतो भावस्तस्य सत्सु प्रत्ययेषु जन्मदर्शनात्। नह्यसतः पूर्व्वं, पश्चात् जन्म युज्यते बन्ध्यापुत्रादेरिव। ततश्च जन्मदर्शनात् अस्त्येवानागतो भाव इति। एवमपि कल्प्यमाने। [५]

यः पश्चाज्जायते भावः स पूर्व्वं विद्यते यदि।
न मिथ्या जायते पक्षस्तेषां नियतिवादिनाम्॥ 256.

य उत्पादात् प्रागवस्थो भावो हेतुप्रत्ययैः पश्चात् जायते स यदि उत्पादात् पूर्व्वं स्वरूपतोऽस्तीति कल्प्यते एवं सति नियतिवादिनां प्रतिनियतस्वभावं निर्हेतुकं पुरुषकारशून्यं उपपत्तिविरुद्धं जगद्वर्णयतां नाभ्युपगमो मिथ्या स्यात्। न च न [६] मिथ्या तेषां वादस्तत्पक्षस्य दृष्टादृष्टविरोधात् पुरुषकारानपेक्षत्वात् तेषां जगत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादाभावस्तदभावाच्च खरविषाणवत् सर्व्वं जगदग्राह्यं स्यादित्ययुक्तो नियतिवादः। यदि चास्यानागतसद्भाववादिनो न्याय्यः स्यात् तदा नियतिवादिनामपि वादो न्याय्यः स्यादित्ययुक्तो नागतार्थसद्भाववादः। इतश्चायुक्तो यतः॥

संभवः क्रियते यस्य प्राक्सो[७]ऽस्तीति न युज्यते।
सतो यदि भवेज्जन्म जातस्यापि भवेद्भवः॥ 257.

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[1] [Leaf 23 of the MS.]

यस्यार्थस्य हेतुप्रत्ययैरुत्पादनं सम्भवः क्रियते, स जन्मनः पूर्व्वमप्यस्तीति न युज्यते। यदि हि तस्यास्तित्वं स्यात् तदा सतो विद्यमानस्य पुनरपि जन्म स्यात् न च सतः पुनरपि जन्म न्याय्यं, निःप्रयोजनत्वात् अनिष्टप्रसङ्गात्, आसंसारमेकस्यैवार्थस्य पुनरुत्पादेनापरिसमाप्तोदयस्य सतः तत्पदार्थान्तराप्रवृत्तेर्हेतुफलभावव्याघातः स्यात् [८] अस्ति चेयं हेतुफलभूतानां पदार्थानां सन्तानानुवृत्तिरिति न युक्तो नागतपदार्थसद्भावस्य वादः। अत्राह॥ यदि अनागतं न स्यात् यदेतदनागतार्थालम्बनम् योगिनां प्रणिधिज्ञानं यथार्थं न स्यात्। अस्ति चैतद्यथार्थं योगिनां ज्ञानं, यथार्थानागतार्थव्याकरणात्, तस्य च तथैव भावात् न ह्यसत्सु बन्ध्यातनयादिष्वेतत्सम्भवति, तस्मादस्त्येवानागत इति। उच्यते। तात्त्विकया कल्पनया [२३क] दृश्यतेऽनागतो भावः। केनाभावो न दृश्यते। उत्पादात् प्रागवस्थायामनागतो भावो नास्ति स्वरूपत इति प्रतिपादितम्। यदि चाविद्यमानः पदार्थो योगिभिर्दृश्येत बन्ध्यापुत्रादयोपि दृश्येरन्। द्वयोरपि तुल्यं स्वभावासत्त्वं तत्रैको दृश्यते नेतर इति न युज्यते। किं पुनः योगिनो नागतं नेक्षन्ते। यथा भवान् परिकल्पयति तथा नेक्षन्ते। यथाभूतेनानागतेनार्थेन वर्त्तमानावस्थेन भवितव्यम्। तेषां प्रणिधिबलाच्चित्तसमाधिविशे[२]षात्तु ज्ञानमुत्पद्यमान-तथा-पदार्थाकारं परिकल्पयदुत्पद्यते। नतु वर्त्तमाननीलालम्बनविज्ञानवत् तु तज्ज्ञानं सन्निहितवस्त्वाकारानुकारि जायते तत्तस्य ज्ञानार्थस्य वर्त्तमानत्वप्रसङ्गात्। वस्तुसत्पदार्थवादिनो हि यावत्तस्य वस्तुनोऽस्तित्वं तावत्तथास्वरूपस्यैव पदार्थस्वरूप[न]धिगमस्तदास्य तद्वस्तु सर्व्वथाभावात् खरविषाणप्रख्यमिति द्वयवादानतिक्रमात् अस्य सर्व्वमेवाभिसमीहितं दुर्घटं जायते। [३] निःस्वभाववादिनस्तु सर्व्वथा वस्तुस्वरूपस्यासम्भवात् भावकल्पना दूरोत्सारिता। येन ह्युत्पत्तव्यं न तस्य नास्तित्वं, यदि ह्यस्य नास्तित्वं स्यात्तदास्य खरविषाणादिवदुत्पादो न स्यात्। अथास्यास्तित्वं स्यात्तदा वर्त्तमानस्येवोत्पादो न स्यादस्ति चास्योत्पाद इति सिद्धोयमद्वयवादः। यत एवास्य नास्तित्वं नास्ति तत एवानागतदर्शनमविरुद्धं यतश्चास्तित्वं नास्ति तत [४] एवानागतव्यपदेशोपि सिध्यति। एष च लौकिको व्यवहारो न परमार्थ इति नात्रैकान्तेनोपपत्तिरवतार्य्यते। बुद्धानां भगवतां यदनागते ज्ञानं तत् पूर्व्वप्रणिधानाधिष्ठानाच्चित्तयथार्थप्रतिपादकशब्दश्रुतिबलाधानात् तथाविधधर्म्मश्रवणसम्वर्त्तनीयकर्म्मविशेषप्रभावपरिणतविज्ञानसन्तानाः तथाकारानुविद्धविज्ञानोदयास्तथागताधिष्ठानात् तमर्थं प्रतिपद्य[५]माना यथार्थं प्रतिपद्यन्ते। कालान्तरेण च तमर्थं वर्त्तमानीभूतं तथैवावगच्छन्तीत्येवमनागते बुद्धानां ज्ञानं व्यवस्थाप्यते। न तु पूर्व्वधर्म्मस्वभावव्यवस्थितास्ते किञ्चित् पश्यन्त्युदाहरन्ति चेत्यलं प्रसङ्गेन। एवं तावदनागतपदार्थसद्भाववादिनो नागतदर्शनासम्भवः। अपि च। यस्यानागतोर्थः स्वरूपतोऽस्ति, तस्य न तद्दूरे स्यात्, अस्ति चास्य दूरत्वं। दूरं धर्म्माः कतमे अ[६]तीतानागताः। अन्तिकं धर्म्माः कतमे प्रत्युत्पन्नाः इत्यभ्युपगमादनागतमस्य दूरे, तच्चास्य दूरत्वमयुक्तमिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह।

विद्यते नागतं यस्य दूरं तस्य न विद्यते। 258.

वर्त्तमानस्य विद्यमानत्वादित्यभिप्रायः। यश्चानेन कल्याणमित्रसम्पर्कधर्म्मश्रवणेन्द्रियपरिपाकादिकाद्भाविनः प्रत्ययाद्दानशीलाद्यात्मको धर्म्मः सोप्यनागतार्थसद्भाववादित्वाद[७]स्त्येवेति। तदा।

धर्म्मो यद्यकृतोप्यस्ति नियमो जायते वृथा।

यद्र्यमस्य कायवाङ्मनसां संयमः स धर्म्मोऽस्याकृत एवास्तीति तदुपार्ज्जनाय नियमश्रमोऽस्य वृथा। तेन विनिपातस्यासम्भवात्। अथास्य तेन नियमेन तस्य धर्म्मस्य कश्चिद्विशेषो निष्पाद्यते, स एव विशेषः पूर्व्वमसन्(त्)त् पश्चात् क्रियते इति व्याहन्यतेऽस्य तर्हि सद्भाववादित्वमिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह—

अथ स्वल्पोऽपि कर्त्तव्यः सत्कार्य्यस्य न सम्भवः। 259.

अपि च। यस्यानित्याः संस्कारा इत्यभ्युपगमस्तस्याध्वत्रयेऽप्यव्यभिचारादनित्यताया यदनित्यत्वं तस्य पूर्व्वापरयोर्भागयोर्नियतमसत्त्वेन भवितव्यं; एवं ह्यस्यानित्यत्वं सिध्यति। अथोदयात् पूर्व्वापरयोरप्यवस्थयोरस्यास्तित्वं स्यात्तदास्य+++चापद्यते। अथानेनानित्यत्वमङ्गीक्रियते तदास्य अनित्ये सति सत्कार्य्यं कथं नाम [२३]

[1]वृत्त्या मोक्षावाप्तिरिति निश्चयः। यदा चैवं सर्व्वत्यागेन सर्व्वपाषण्डिनां निर्व्वाणमभिमतं तदा न किञ्चित् मयात्रापूर्व्वमुपचरितम् यद्वैमुख्यकारणं भवेत्। येषामेव हि पदार्थानां निर्व्वाणे पुनरप्रवृत्त्या निवृत्तिरभिसमीहिता तेषामेव मया नैःस्वाभाव्यप्रतिपादनपरेण शास्त्रेणासद्दर्शनकटा + + + + + + + + निर्व्वाणनगरगामिमार्गपरिशोधनमनुष्ठितं, तत्किमिति हृदि भयमसदालिख्य भवान् विभे[२]ति। आधीयतां मनःपरितोषः, क्रियतां आत्मसादयं धर्म्मो, निवेश्यतां चेतसि सांक्लेशिकवस्तुनिवारणकथा। ननु च यदि सर्व्वपाषण्डिनामप्ययमेवाभिप्रायः यदुत सर्व्वत्यागेन निर्व्वाणमिति; कः पुनर्भवतस्तीर्थिकानाञ्च विशेषः। अयं विशेषो यत्तीर्थिकानां सर्व्वत्यागाभि[प्राय]मात्रं न तु पुनः सर्व्वत्यागोपायाख्यानमनुपदिष्टे च सर्व्वत्यागोपाये

किं करिष्यति स त्यागं त्यागो[३]पायं न वेत्ति यः।

सर्व्वत्यागाशयेऽपि स्थिततीर्थिकमतावलम्बी त्यागोपायानभिज्ञः किं त्यागं करिष्यति। यन्न जानाति सर्व्वधर्म्मस्वभावशून्यतालक्षणं सर्व्वत्यागोपायं परमार्थसत्यम्। अतएव।

शिवमन्यत्र नास्तीति नूनं तेनोक्तवान् मुनिः। 265.

इहैकः प्रथमश्रवण इह द्वितीयो यावच्चतुर्थः। शून्याः परप्रवादाः श्रवणैरित्यमुनैवाभिसन्धिना मुनिनैवमु[४]क्तमिति निश्चीयते अस्मादेव च सर्व्वत्यागोपायसमाख्यानात् सर्व्वत्रैव भगवतो बुद्धस्य ज्ञानप्रवृत्त्यव्याघातेन यथार्थशास्तृत्वं प्रतीयते। तीर्थिकानां च सर्व्वत्यागोपायसमाख्यानसामर्थ्यवैकल्येनेतरत्रापि पदार्थजाते विपर्य्यस्तविज्ञानता सिद्धत्वान्न साध्या (marginal note अनिष्ट सिद्धेः)। ननु च तत्रापि अपर्य्यन्तत्वात् ज्ञेयस्यातीन्द्रियेष्वर्थेषूपदिष्टेषु असमक्षत्वात् ते[५]षां संशय एव जायते किमसावर्थो यथोपदिष्टस्तथैवाहोस्वित् अन्यथेति। न हि तद्विषयं निश्चयकारणमस्तीति। तत्राप्युच्यते॥

बुद्धोक्तेषु परोक्षेषु जायते यस्य संशयः।
इहैव प्रत्ययस्तेन कर्त्तव्यः शून्यतां प्रति॥ 266.

न हि सर्व्वे भावाः प्रत्यक्षज्ञानगम्या अनुमानगम्या अपि विद्यन्ते। शक्यं चात्रानुमानं कर्त्तुं दृष्टान्तसद्भावात्। इह त्या[६]गोपायः सर्व्वधर्म्मस्वभावशून्यता। सा चाशक्या केनचिदन्यथात्वमासादयितुं; सूक्ष्मश्चायमर्थो नित्यसन्निहितोऽपि सर्व्वजनासमक्षत्वात् तस्य चोपपत्त्या सर्व्वधर्म्मस्वभावग्राहविनिवारणमुखेनोपपादिता यथावत्ता। अत्रैव तावदास्थीयतां निश्चयः। किमेवमेवैतत् उताहोऽन्यथेति अथात्रास्ति किञ्चिदनिश्चयकारणं तदुपदिश्यतां यदि तन्न निराकृतं [७] उक्तवक्ष्यमाणप्रकरणप्रतिपादितनिश्चयेन। न च शक्यमनेन स्वल्पमप्यनिश्चयकारणं किंचिदभिधातुमिति सिद्ध एवायं दृष्टान्तः ततश्चान्यदप्यसमक्षार्थप्रतिपादकवचनं भगवतो यथार्थमिति प्रतीयताम् स्वनयेनैव तथागतोपदिष्टत्वात् स्वभावशून्यतार्थाभिधायकवचनवदिति कुतो बुद्धोक्तेषु परोक्षेषु संशयावकाशः। न च तथागतवत्तीर्थिकानामपि शक्यम[८]विपरीतार्थाभिधायित्वमवसातुं तेषां दृष्ट एव विपर्य्यस्तत्वात्। तथाह्यस्य लोकस्य तैर्न्नित्यकारणपूर्व्विका प्रवृत्तिरुपदिश्यते। सा चाशक्यप्रतिपाद्या दृष्टविरुद्धा चोपपत्तिविरुद्धा चेत्येवम्।

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[1] [Leaf 24 of the MS.]

लोकोयं येन दृष्टो मूढ एव परत्र सः ।

न हि सम्पूर्णं चन्द्रमसि व्याहतदर्शनसामर्थ्यो भ्रमरन्ध्रतौं वापश्यतीति सम्भाव्यं । तद्वदयं तीर्थिको लोकस्य सत्त्वभाजनाख्यस्य हे[२४ क]तुफलस्यामूढत्वात् स्थूलमेवार्थं तावद्यदा न सम्यगीक्षते, तदा कथमयमतिसूक्ष्मं विदूरदेशकालव्यवहितं सप्रभेदमर्थं ज्ञास्यतीति स[म्भा]वयितुं शक्यम् । तदिमं तीर्थिकं स्वयमत्यन्तविपर्य्यासितदर्शनं मृगतृष्णाजलवदनुपासनीयम् तत्त्वदर्शनामलजलपिपासवः संसाराध्वपरिश्रमक्लमापनोदाय ।

वञ्चितास्ते भविष्यन्ति सुचिरं येऽनुयान्ति तम् । 267.

अपर्य्यवसानापरकोटिके संसारे ते वत वञ्चिता भविष्यन्ति ये यथार्थशास्तारं [२] बुद्धं भगवन्तमवधूय दृष्टादृष्टपदार्थस्वभावव्यामूढं मोक्षकामतया तीर्थिकमनुयास्यन्ति । कस्मात् पुनरेते मोक्षकामा[स्त]मेवं विपर्य्यस्तदर्शनं तीर्थिकमनुगच्छन्ति । स्वभावशून्यताधर्म्मोपदेशश्रवणभयात्तद्वयं[1] नास्त्यहं न भविष्यामि न मेऽस्ति न भविष्यति इत्यालम्ब्योत्त्रासात् । तत्रायं सुचिरमहंकारममकाराभ्यासादत एव कल्याणमित्रपरिग्रहात् सुचिराभ्यस्तमपि भावस्वभावाभिनिवे[३]शं मलवत् त्यक्त्वा ।

स्वयं ये यान्ति निर्व्वाणं ते कुर्व्वन्ति सुदुष्करम् ।

बुद्धो भगवान् स्वयं भूत्वा स्वयमेव निर्व्वाणपुरमुपयाति तस्येत्थं दुष्करकारिणः ।

गन्तुं नोत्सहते नेतुः पृष्ठतोऽप्यसतो मनः ॥ 268.

न केवलमसतां अहङ्कारममकारव्यवस्थितानां स्वयमेव निर्व्वाणं गन्तुं मनो नोत्सहते ; अपि खलु यथोपवर्णितस्य नेतुः पृष्ठतोऽप्यस्यासतो निर्व्वा[४]णं गन्तुं मनो नोत्साहं प्रवेदयते । कस्मात् पुनरन्यस्य नेतुः पृष्ठतोप्यसतः पुद्गलस्य निर्व्वाणं गन्तुं मनो नोत्सहते शून्यतायां त्रासात् । कस्य पुनरस्यां त्रासो भवतीति यस्य भवति तं प्रति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

त्रासो नारभ्यतेऽदृष्टे दृष्टेऽपैति स सर्व्वशः ॥
नियमेनैव किञ्चित्ज्ञे तेन त्रासो विधीयते ॥ 269.

अव्युत्पन्नशास्त्रसंकेता हि गोपालादयः शतशोऽप्युपदिश्यमानायां शू[५]न्यतायां सर्व्वथा तदनुप्रवेशाभावे सत्यदृष्टत्वात् शून्यतार्थस्य तेषां त्रासो नोत्पद्यते । तस्मिन् क्षणभङ्ग इव तद्व्यामूढस्य नारकाग्नाविव मिथ्यादर्शनोपस्तब्धसन्तानस्य दृष्टेऽपैति सर्व्वशः । दृष्टे हि शून्यताख्ये धर्म्मे स सन्त्रासस्तत्पण्डितानां सर्व्वथापैति भयनिमित्तात्मात्मीयाभिनिवेशविगमात् । रज्ज्वामुपयातसर्पविपर्य्यासस्य रज्जुदर्शने सति सर्पभयापगमवत् । य[६]स्तु किञ्चिज्जानाति तस्य नियमेनावश्यंभावितया त्रासो विधीयते । न हि सुशिक्षितो मत्तगजावाहको हस्तिन्युत्काल्यमानस्ततो विभेति नापि तत्वाहनोत्सुकोऽत्यन्तमूर्खो ग्रामीणः । स हि तत्पातादिदोषादर्शनाद्वाहनमेव बहु मन्यमानो न ततो विभेति । किञ्चिज्ज्ञस्त्वतितरां विभेति, आत्मनस्तदासनापरिजयं

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[1] A later hand cuts out द्व and writes on the top रा, retaining the "ya" inserted between द्व and श by the original writer of the MS., making the whole o. भयातुरायशास्तौहं which gives no meaning.

मन्यमानः । अपि खलु सर्व्वकार्य्येष्वेवं प्रवृ[७]त्तौ किञ्चिज्ज्ञस्य नियतं त्रासो भवति । न विदिततत्त्वस्य वैशारद्यात्, नाप्यत्यन्तानभिज्ञस्य मोहसञ्चारितत्वात्, किञ्चिद्विज्ञस्तु त्रस्यति, किमेतच्छक्यं न शक्यमिति विमर्शोत्पादात् । किमर्थं पुनरमी किञ्चिज्ज्ञा उत्तरं पदं न पर्य्येषन्ते, यावत्तेषां ज्ञातव्यपरिसमाप्तिर्भवतीति । उच्यते, त्रासात् । किं पुनस्त्रासस्य कारणम् । आदानभ्यासस्तस्य पुनः किं कारणम् विपरीताभ्यासस्तदेव प्रतिपाद[८]यन्नाह

एकान्तेनैव बालानां धर्म्मेऽभ्यासः प्रवर्त्तके ।
धर्म्मान्निवर्त्तकात्तेषामनभ्यासतया भयम् ॥ 270.

संसारप्रवृत्त्यनुकूलो हि धर्म्मः प्रवर्त्तकः पृथग्जनपर्य्यापन्नायाञ्च भूमौ स्थितानां पृथग्जनानां प्रवर्त्तक एव धर्म्मेऽभ्यासः । स्वभावशून्यता हि निवर्त्तकोधर्म्मः संसारनिवृत्त्यनुकूलत्वात् + + + + स्य परिपन्थी आत्मस्नेहस्तदनुगतचित्तसन्तानत्वात् पृथग्जनास्तत्व्यावर्त्तकाद्धर्म्मात् सुत[२४][1]रां बिभ्यति । स्वभावशून्यतां प्रपातमिव मन्यमाना न तां यथावत् प्रतिपत्तुमुत्सहन्ते । तदेवमविद्यासान्द्रान्धकारप्रच्छादितपदार्थतत्त्वेऽनुपलभ्यमानापरकोटिके संसारमहाटवीकान्तारे प्रनष्टसन्मार्गस्य कस्यचिन्नाम पुद्गलस्य भवति स्वभावशून्यताकथायां चेद्भक्तिः स तदनुकूलप्रत्ययोप + + + + + + + चीयमानप्रसादः शून्यतायां भवति, तथा कार्य्यं करुणावता कृतज्ञेन च भ[ग]वति तथागते । सद्ध[१]र्म्मान्तरायनिमित्तं च कर्म्मात्मनो महाप्रपातहेतुं परिजिहीर्ष[द्भिः] संकटमप्यवगाह्य दुर्द्देयमपि दत्त्वा संग्रहवस्तुचतुष्टयेण संगृह्य सद्धर्म्मोऽयं सद्धर्म्मभाजनेभ्य उपदेष्टव्यः । यस्तु न केवलं यथोपदिष्टं न बहु मन्यते । अपि तु

विघ्नन्तत्त्वस्य यः कुर्य्यात् वृतो मोहेन केनचित् ।
कल्याणाधिगतिस्तस्य नास्ति मोक्षे तु का कथा ॥

मोहेन केनचिदिति ईर्ष्या-मात्सर्य्य-कौसीद्य-भय-ओहविद्वेषादिना तत्त्वोपदे[३]शभाजने जने यस्तत्त्वदेशनश्रवणादिविघातकं करोति । तस्य सुगतेरपि तावदेव मनुष्यात्मिकाया नास्ति सम्भवो नियतमपागमनात् किमुतास्य मोक्षकथावकाशः स्यात् । किं ह्यनेन स्वपरसन्तानयोर्नापकृतम् । तेन हि निःशेषाशामुखव्यापिनः स्फुटतरालोकस्याध्वत्रयाप्रतिहतप्रभावृत्तेः प्रतिदिनमविद्यान्धकारोपघातायोपचीयमानालोकनिचय[४]स्याशेषजगदाशयावभासनसमर्थस्य प्रज्ञाप्रदीपस्य सन्तानेन समुपजायमानस्य विघातोऽनुष्ठितः । एवमेव परात्मनोरत्यन्तापकारितां संपश्यता भगवता तथागतेनोक्तम् ।

"शीलादपि वरं स्रंसो नतु दृष्टेः कथञ्चन ।" इति ॥

सूत्रे उक्तम्, वरं शीलविपन्नो नतु दृष्टिविपन्न इति । तदस्य तथागतस्य वचसः सोपपत्तिकतामुद्भावयन्नाचार्य्य आह ।

"शीलेन गम्यते स्व[५]र्गो दृष्ट्या याति परं पदम्" इति ।

शीलविपत्ति र्हि सूपचीयमानमृदुमध्याधिमात्रक्रमाणां प्रेततिर्य्यङ्नरकोपपत्तिफला विपाकेयत्ता-

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[1] [Leaf 25 of the MS.]

परिच्छेदेन प्रवर्त्तते यद्याक्रान्तसम्यग्दर्शनेष्वार्य्येषु न व्यापद्यते। शीलविशुद्धिस्खलनाक्रान्तसम्यग्दर्शनानां पृथग्जनानां प्रकर्षेण स्वर्गफला। दर्शनविपत्तिस्तु मृदुतरा चेत् साप्यसंख्येयशतसहस्रैरपि शीलविपत्तीनां अशक्या[६]विपाकमहत्तया समीकर्त्तुमपि प्रागेव जेतुम्। अथ चेदस्य पुद्गलस्य कथमपि प्रत्ययात् सम्यग्दर्शनसम्पत्तिराजायेतार्य्यमार्गोत्पादात्। तदायमवश्यमवधूयानादिसंसारप्रवृत्तमविद्यान्धकारमशेषसत्त्वधातुपुरस्कृतो निर्व्वाणमुपयायादित्येवमतिमहार्घतामस्य तत्त्वदर्शनस्यावेत्यैतदविघाताय विदुषा यतितव्यम्। न चानेन तद्विघातभयद[७]र्शिना सता सर्व्वत्रैव अनवधार्य्य पात्रविशेषं एतन्नैरात्म्यदर्शनं उपदेष्टव्यमपात्रेषु। अपात्रे हि तदुपदेशोऽनर्थायैव स्यात्। अतएव च।

अहङ्कारो [ऽ]सतः श्रेयान्नतु नैरात्म्यदर्शनम्।

नैरात्म्यधर्म्माधिमुक्तिविरहितो ह्यात्मग्राहाभिनिविष्टोऽसद्धर्म्मसमाश्रयाद्दृष्टिगहनानुचारी असन्नित्युच्यते। तस्यासतो वरमात्मदेशना दुश्चरितनिवृत्त्यनुकूलत्वात् तस्याः। तथाह्यसावात्मस्नेहानुगमाद्धि [८] तमात्मनाभिवाञ्छन् दुश्चरितनिवृत्तिं बहु मन्यते। निवृत्तपापस्य चास्य सुगतिगमनं भवति सुलभम्। नैरात्म्योपदेशस्तस्य प्रतिक्षेपविपर्य्यासबोधाभ्यां कायचित्तसन्तानं नियतमुपहन्ति। तदेवं

अपायमेव यात्येकः शिवमेव तु नेतरः।

नैरात्म्यदर्शनविप्रतिपन्नो ह्यविद्वान् अपायमेव याति न शिवं। यस्तु नेतरः स शिवमेव याति नापायम्। इतरशब्दोऽयमनुत्कृष्टवाची। कस्मा[२५ क]नुत्कृष्टो विपरीतं शून्यतार्थमधिगच्छति प्रतिक्षिपति वा तत्प्रतिषेधेन नेतरः। नेतर इत्युत्कृष्ट इत्यर्थः। यतएव शून्यतोपदेशादितरोऽपायनिविष्टस्ततएव शून्यतोपदेशान्नेतरो निर्व्वाणनिष्ठो जायते। शून्यतादर्शनप्रत्ययः (यं) सर्व्वत्र सङ्गपरित्यागान्निहतक्लेशकर्म्मगणो नियतं निर्वृत्तिमुपयाति। किं पुनरिदं नैरात्म्यन्नाम यदसत्सु नोपदेष्टव्यं सत्सु चोपदेष्टव्यमिति तत्प्रतिपादयन्नाह॥

अद्वितीयं शिवद्वारं कुदृष्टीनां भ[२]यङ्करम्।
विषयः सर्व्वबुद्धानामिति नैरात्म्यमुच्यते॥

यत् अद्वितीयं शिवद्वारं तन्नैरात्म्यं यत् कुदृष्टीनां भयङ्करं तत् नैरात्म्यम्। यो[विष]यः सर्व्वबुद्धानां तन्नैरात्म्यमुच्यते। तच्चात्मा नाम भावानां यदपरायत्तस्वरूपस्वभावः। तच्च धर्म्मपुद्गलभेदात् द्वैतं प्रतिपद्यते। धर्म्मनैरात्म्यं पुद्गलनैरात्म्यञ्चेति। तत्र पुद्गलो नाम यः स्कन्धपञ्चकस्योपादानाख्यस्योपादाता स्कन्धानुपादाय प्रज्ञप्यते। स च स्कन्धेषु पञ्चधा [३] मृग्यमाणो न सम्भवति। धर्म्मास्तु स्कन्धा घनधातुसंशब्दिताः पदार्थास्तदेषां धर्म्माणां पुद्गलस्य च यथास्वं हेतुप्रत्ययाधीनजन्मत्वात् उपादाय प्रज्ञप्यमानत्वाच्च स्वायत्तमपरायत्तं निजमकृतकरूपं नास्तीति पुद्गलस्य धर्म्माणाञ्च नैःस्वाभाव्यं व्यवस्थाप्यते। यस्य चार्थस्य स्वरूपसिद्धिर्नास्ति तस्य केनान्येनात्मनास्तु सिद्धिरिति। सर्व्वथा असिद्धस्वलक्षणा ए[४]व पदार्थाः मूर्खजनस्य विसम्वादकेनात्मना प्रतीत्य चोपादाय वा वर्त्तमाना मूढधियां सङ्गास्पदं सम्भवन्ति ; यथास्वभावन्तु सम्यग्दर्शनैः प्रतिभाव्यमाना धर्म्मपुद्गलयोः सङ्गपरिक्षयस्य निर्व्वाणावाप्तिकारणं। नैरात्म्यमद्वितीयं शिवद्वारं भवति। निर्व्वाणपुरप्रवेशाय एकमेवासहायमेतत् द्वारं। यद्यपि शून्यतानिमित्ताप्रणिहिताख्यानि त्रीणि विमोक्षमुखानि।

तथापि [५] नैरात्म्यदर्शनमेव प्रधानम्। विदितनैरात्म्यस्य हि भावेषु परिक्षीणसङ्गस्य न क्वचित् काचित् प्रार्थना कुतो वा निमित्तोपलम्भ इत्यद्वितीयमेव शिवद्वारमेतत् नैरात्म्यम्। तच्चैतत् कुदृष्टीनां भयङ्करं कश्मिना दृष्टयः। नैरात्म्ये हि वस्तुनः सर्व्वथानुपलम्भात् कुदृष्टीनां वस्तुस्वरूपपरिकल्पसमाश्रयनात् अत्यन्तविनाशदर्शनात् भयङ्करमेतन्नैरात्म्यम्। विषयः सर्व्वबुद्धा[६]नां नैरात्म्यं। सर्व्वबुद्धानामिति श्रावकप्रत्येकबुद्धानुत्तरसम्यक्सम्बुद्धानां ज्ञानविशेषविषयत्वेनावस्थानात् विषयः सर्व्वबुद्धानामित्युच्यते धर्म्मशरीराव्यतिरेकवर्त्तितां वा सर्व्वेषां सम्यक् सम्बुद्धानामावेदयन्नाह विषयः सर्व्वबुद्धानामिति। विशेषणमालयनैरात्म्यमुक्तमाचार्य्येण एतच्च नैरात्म्यं सता मन्दधियो नोपदेष्टव्यम् यस्मात्॥

अस्य धर्म्मस्य ना[७]म्नोऽपि भयमुत्पद्यतेऽसतः॥ 271.

असतो ह्यस्य धर्म्मस्यातिदुर्गाधगम्भीरत्वात् नैरात्म्यशब्दश्रवणादपि भयमुत्पद्यते। तथा हि॥

बलवान् नाम को दृष्टः परस्य न भयङ्करः॥

बलवन्नैरात्म्यदर्शनं सर्व्वासद्दर्शनोन्मूलनसमर्थत्वात्॥ दुर्व्वलमसद्दर्शनमुन्मूलनीयत्वात्। नियतञ्चैतत् यद[ब]लवान् सबलाद्वि[भे]तीति। तस्मान्न दुर्व्वलस्य कुदर्शनेनात्मीकृतचित्तसन्तानस्यायं धर्म्मः उपदेष्टव्यो भयहेतुरिति कृत्वा। ननु [८] च उपदेष्टव्य एवायं धर्म्मः सकलकुदर्शनप्रमाथित्वात्। तथाह्य[व]श्यं परप्रवादिनः सह धर्म्मेण निग्रहीतव्याः। ततश्च वादार्थिना सता परमतविजिगीषुणायं धर्म्मोऽपात्रेष्वप्युपदेष्टव्य इति। उच्यते नैतदेवं यस्मात्

वादस्य कृतशो धर्म्मः नायमुक्तस्तथागतैः। 272.

यदि चायं धर्म्मः वादस्य कृते++++स्यात् स्यादेतदेवं न त्वयं वादार्थ उपदिष्टो विमोक्षमुखेनोपदेशात्॥ यद्यप्येवं [२५]

[1]स्थः पश्येत्तद्रूपं पश्येद्विषयदेशं वा गत्वा पश्येदगत्वा वा उभयथा [च] दोष इति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

पश्येच्चक्षुश्चिराद्दूरे गतिमद्यदि तद्भवेत् ।
अत्यभ्यासे च दूरे च रूपं व्यक्तं न तच्च किम् ॥ 288.

यदि चक्षुषः प्राप्तकारित्वात् विषयदेशं गच्छेत् । तदोन्मिषितमात्रेण न चन्द्रतारकादीनर्थान् गृह्णीयात् । + + + + + + + + +

तुल्यकालं विप्रकृष्टविषयग्रहणयुक्तं गतिकालस्य भिन्नत्वात् । पश्यति च चक्षुरुन्मि[२]षितमात्रेण समीपस्थवत् विदूरदेशस्थमपि इत्ययुक्तमे[त]त् । यदि [च] प्राप्तकारि चक्षुः स्यात् तदात्यभ्यासेऽपि पश्येत् अक्षिस्थ[ा]मञ्जनशलाकां वा दूरे च व्यक्तदर्शनं स्यात् न चैतत् सम्भवतीति अयुक्तमेतत् । अपि च यदि चक्षुर्गत्वा विषयं पश्यति तत् किं विषयं दृष्ट्वा विषयदेशं गच्छति उत अदृष्ट्वा । उ[भ]यथापि दोष इ[ति] प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

गतेन न गुणः कश्चित् रूपं दृष्ट्वाक्षि याति चेत् ।
द्रष्टव्यं नियमेनेष्टमिति वा जायते वृ[३]था ॥ 289.

यदि रूपं दृष्ट्वा रूपदेशं चक्षुर्यातीति कल्प्यते । गतेन तेन गमनेन चक्षुषो न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनं । विषयदर्शनार्थं हि चक्षुषो गमनं स च विषयः पूर्व्वमेवेहस्थेन दृष्ट इति [न] किञ्चिद्गमनस्य प्रयोजनम् । अथादृष्ट्वा गच्छति तदा दिदृक्षितविषयदर्शनं नियमेन न प्राप्नोति । अदृष्ट्वा ह्यन्धस्येवानभिलक्षितदेशगमनाद्द्रष्टव्यस्य नियमेन दर्शनं न प्राप्नोति । अ[४]थैतद्दोषपरिजिहीर्षया यदि,

गृह्णीयादगतश्चक्षुः पश्येत् सर्व्वमिदं जगत् ।
यस्य नास्ति गतिस्तस्य नास्ति दूरं न चावृतम् ॥ 290.

यो हि मन्यते चक्षुः श्रोत्रमनोऽप्राप्तविषयमित्यागमादप्राप्तवि[ष]यमेव चक्षुरिति तं प्रति उच्यते । प्राप्तकारितामात्रप्रतिषेधपरत्वात् आगमस्य तावदविरोधः । क्वचित् विधेः प्राधान्यं, यत्र तस्याविरोधः । क्वचित् प्रतिषेधस्य प्रा[५]धान्यं यत्र तद्विरोधः । तदत्र विधेरसम्भवात् प्राप्तकारिताप्रतिषेधमात्रेणाप्राप्तविषयत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यते । विधिमुखेन त्वप्राप्तविषयत्वे कल्प्यमाने इहस्थमेव चक्षुः सर्व्वं जगत् पश्येत् । यस्य हि गतिर्नास्ति तस्य कुतो दूरं । समीपस्थोपि हि अनेनार्थोऽगत्वा द्रष्टव्यो विदूरस्थेऽपीति दूरकृतोपि विशेषो न स्यात् । यदा चागत्वा पश्यति तदिहस्थमिव [६] विदूरमपि पश्येत् । गतौ हि सत्यां आवृते गतिविघातादावृतं नेक्षत इति युक्तम् । यदा त्वगत्वा द्रष्टव्यं तदावृते गतिप्रतिबन्धाभावादनावृत इव दर्शनं स्यात् । यदि च दर्शनस्वभावं चक्षुः स्यात् तदा स्वभावस्य सर्व्वत्रैवाव्याघातात् स्वरूपमपि पश्येत् । तथा हि लोके,

स्वभावः सर्व्वभावानां पूर्व्वमात्मनि दृश्यते ।
ग्रहणं चक्षुषः केन चक्षुषैव न जायते ॥ 291.

यथा [७] चम्पकमल्लिकादिषु सौगन्ध्यं पूर्व्वं स्वाश्रय एवोपलभ्यते, पश्चात् तत्सम्पर्कात्तैलादिष्वपि । यथा चाग्नेरौष्ण्यं, स्वतोव्यवस्थितं तद्योगात् परतोप्युपलभ्यते । एवं यदि चक्षुषोर्दर्शनस्वाभाव्यं स्यात् तदा

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[1] [Leaf 26 of the MS.]

स्वात्मन्येव तावद्दर्शनं स्यात्। कस्मात् पुनश्चक्षुषो ग्रहणं चक्षुषैव न भवति। भावानां स्वभावस्य च स्वात्मन्येव प्रथमतरं विद्यमानत्वाच्चक्षुषैव चक्षुषो ग्रहणं न्याय्यं। न चक्षुः स्वात्मानं पश्यतीति [८] लोष्टादिवत् परदर्श[न]मप्यस्य न सम्भाव्यते। यस्तु मन्यते न केवलस्य चक्षुषो रूपदर्शनसामर्थ्यमस्ति अपि तु त्रयाणां चक्षूरूपचक्षुर्विज्ञानानां सामग्र्यां सत्यां रूपदर्शनं भवतीति तदप्यसारं यस्मात्,

चक्षुषोस्ति न विज्ञानं विज्ञानस्य न दर्शनं।
उभयं नास्ति रूपस्य तै रूपं दृश्यते कथम्॥ 292.

चक्षुषस्तावत् विज्ञानं नास्ति न हि चक्षुर्विषयं विजानाति अविज्ञानस्वरूपत्वात्। भौतिकं हि चक्षुस्तस्य ज[२६क]ड़त्वात् विषयबोधो न सम्भाव्यत इति एवं चक्षुषोऽस्ति न विज्ञानम्। नापि विज्ञानस्य दर्शनमस्ति। विज्ञानं हि विजानाति न तु पश्यति। यदि तु विज्ञानं पश्येत् तदा तस्यापि रूपदर्शनं स्यात्, विज्ञानसद्भावात्। रूपस्य तूभयमपि नास्ति; न विज्ञानमवबोधस्वरूपत्वात्, नापि दर्शनं रूपालोचनाभावात्। यदा चैवमन्योन्यार्थविकलानीन्द्रियविषयविज्ञानानि तदा तत्सामग्र्यामपि सत्यां नैव तै रूपं दृश्यते इति सम्भावयितुं शक्यम्। रूप[२]दर्शनाङ्गविकलत्वात् अन्धसमुदायवदित्यभिप्रायः। यदा चैवं रूपस्या(।?)दर्शनासम्भवः; तदा को नामार्हति तत्त्वविद् रूपं दृश्यते इति वक्तुं द्रष्टुं वा। यथा च तत्त्वविन्नार्हति रूपं द्रष्टुं एवं शब्दमपि श्रोतुं नार्हति रूपदर्शनवत् शब्दश्रवणस्यासम्भवात्। इह यदि शब्दः श्रूयते। स श्रवणदेशं संप्राप्तो वा श्रूयेतासंप्राप्तो वा? यदि तावत् संप्राप्तः श्रूयते, स श्रवणदेशं व्रजन् शब्दं वा कुर्व्वाणो व्रजन् निःशब्दो वा? त[३]त्र यदि पूर्व्वः कल्पस्तदा,

न वक्ता जायते केन शब्दो याति ब्रुवन् यदि।
अथ यात्यब्रुवंस्तस्मिन् प्रत्ययः केन जायते॥ 293.

ततश्च वक्तृत्वात् देवदत्तवत् शब्दोऽसौ न भवति। अथाब्रुवन् याति तदा तस्मिन् शब्दे निःशब्दे व्रजति शब्दोऽयमिति कस्यावसायो भवेत्। न चागृहीतस्यास्यास्तित्वमिति न युक्तमेतत्। किञ्चान्यत्।

प्राप्तश्चेत् गृह्यते शब्दः तस्यादिः केन गृह्यते।
न चैति केव[४]लः शब्दो गृह्यते केवलः कथम्॥ 294.

यदि श्रोत्रेन्द्रियस्थानं प्राप्तः शब्दो गृह्यते प्राप्तग्राहित्वाच्छ्रोत्रस्य, शब्दस्यादेर्ग्रहणन्नास्ति न चान्यदिन्द्रियं तस्य ग्राहकं सम्भवतीति। नैव केनचिदस्यादिर्गृह्यते, ततश्चागृह्यमाणत्वाच्छब्द एवासौ न भवतीत्यभिप्रायः। नवद्रव्यकत्वाच्च शब्दपरमाणोः। न च एति केवलः शब्दः। भवता च शब्दमात्रमेव श्रोत्रेण गृह्यते न गन्धादय इति न [५] युज्यते। यदा शब्दस्याग्रहणमस्तु यदा गन्धादयोपि गृह्यन्ताम् न चैतदेवमिति न प्राप्तविषयत्वं शब्दस्य। अथ यदेतदुक्तं

प्राप्तश्चेत् गृह्यते शब्दस्तस्यादिः केन गृह्यते। इति

यदि तस्यादिर्न गृहीतस्तदा को दोष इति; अयं दोषो यदस्य शब्दत्वमेव विशीर्य्यते तथा हि।

यावन्न श्रूयते शब्दस्तावच्छब्दो न जायते।
अशब्दस्यापि शब्दत्वमन्ते तच्च न युज्यते॥ 295.

यो न श्रूयते [६] सोऽश्रूयमानत्वात् गन्धादिवत् शब्द एव न भवति। अथ मन्यसे यदा श्रूयते तदा शब्दो भविष्यतीति। एतदप्यसम्भाव्यम्। न हि गन्धादेः पश्चात् शब्दत्वं दृष्टं तद्वदेवास्यापि शब्दस्य पश्चात् शब्दत्वमयुक्तमिति। एवं तावदिन्द्रियाणां विषयग्रहणसामर्थ्यमुद्भाव्य मनसोऽपि विषयग्रहणसामर्थ्यमुद्भावयन्नाह।

वियुक्तमिन्द्रियैश्चित्तं किं गत्वापि करिष्यति।

यदि चित्तं विषयदेशं [७] गत्वा विषयं परिच्छिनत्तीति कल्प्यते तदयुक्तम्। इहेदं चित्तं इन्द्रियसहितं वा विषयदेशं गच्छेत् केवलं वा न तावदिन्द्रियसहितं याति इन्द्रियाणां देह एव सदा सन्निधानात्। गमने च सति देहस्य निरिन्द्रियत्वप्रसङ्गात्। अथ केवलं गच्छति, तदापि

वियुक्तमिन्द्रियैश्चित्तं किं गत्वापि करिष्यति।

न हि चक्षुरादीन्द्रियद्वारतिरस्कृतस्यास्य रूपादिदर्शनसामर्थ्यमस्ति अन्धादीनामपि दर्शनादिसद्भावप्रसङ्गात्। अ[८]थापि कथञ्चित् विषयदेशगमनेनार्थोपलब्धिरस्य परिकल्प्यते तदाप्यपर्य्यवसानत्वात् अर्थबोधस्यानिवृत्तौ सत्यां।

एवं सतीह जीवोयममनस्कः सदा न किम्॥ 296.

अचिन्तक एवात्मा सर्व्वकालं प्राप्नोति न च अचिन्तकस्यात्मकत्वं सम्भावयितुं युक्तम् स्तम्भादिवदचिन्तकत्वात्। तदेवं युक्त्या विचार्य्यमानानां इन्द्रिय + + + + + + + + सम्भवात् स्वरूपसिद्धिरसती। यदि ह्येषां स्वरूपसिद्धिः स्यात् तदोपपत्त्या विचार्य्यमा[२६][1]णा यथास्थितेन स्वरूपेण स्फुटतरमुपलभेरन्; न चोपलभ्यन्ते। तस्मात् स्वभावशून्या इति सिद्धम्। यदि, तर्ह्येषां स्वभावो नाम नास्ति तत्कथमेषा विशेषपरिच्छेदात्मिका संज्ञा पदार्थविशेषव्यवस्थाहेतुत्वेनोपदिश्यते। उच्यते। सत्सु पदार्थेषु तद्विशेषपरिच्छेदात्मिका संज्ञा स्यात्। तेषाञ्च पदार्थानामसत्त्वं प्रि + + + + + + + + + + स्वरूपसिद्धिः स्यात् किं खल्वेष विषयपरिच्छेदः सर्व्वथा नास्ति, न नास्तीति स्वभाव[२]स्य विद्यमानत्वात्। तथाहि

मनसा गृह्यते योऽर्थः पूर्व्वदृष्टो मरीचिवत्।
सर्व्वधर्म्मव्यवस्थासु स संज्ञास्कन्धसंज्ञकः॥ 297.

इह चक्षुः प्रतीत्य रूपञ्च, चक्षुर्विज्ञानमुत्पद्य, निरुध्यमाणं, सहेन्द्रियविषयैर्निरुध्यते। तस्मिन्निरुद्धे पूर्व्ववद्दृष्टो योर्थः स एव पश्चान्मनसा गृह्यते, कथं पुनरसन्निहितस्य ग्रहणं संभाव्यत इत्याह। + + + + + + + + चिकायां जलमस्ति। अपि च हेतुप्रत्ययवशात् प्रवर्त्तत एव जलाकारसंज्ञा एवमविद्यमा[३]नस्वरूपेपि पूर्व्वगृहीतेऽर्थे मरीच्यामिव यद्विकल्पकं विज्ञानमुत्पद्यते तत् सर्व्वधर्म्मव्यवस्थाकारणम्। सर्व्वधर्म्मव्यवस्थाकारणत्वाच्च स एव संज्ञास्कन्ध इत्युक्तः तथाविधसंज्ञाविशेषसंप्रयोगात् संज्ञावशन च सर्व्वधर्म्मव्यवस्था विज्ञातव्या, न पुनः पदार्थस्वरूपनिबन्धना, स्वभावस्य सर्व्वथाऽयुज्यमानत्वात्। यद्येवमस्ति तर्हि स्वभावतः संज्ञास्कन्धः। न हि तस्मिन्नसति सर्व्वधर्म्मव्यव[४]स्था शक्या कर्त्तुमिति। उच्यते। सापि हि

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[1] [Leaf 27 of the MS.]

संज्ञा विज्ञानसंप्रयुक्तत्वात् विज्ञानव्यतिरेकेणासती । तदपि च विज्ञानं संज्ञाव्यतिरेकेनासिद्धत्वात् स्वरूपतो नास्ति। यस्मात्

चक्षुः प्रतीत्य रूपञ्च मायावत् जायते मनः ।

न हि तद्विज्ञानमुत्पादात् प्रागस्ति यदुत्पत्तिक्रियाश्रयत्वेन प्रवर्त्तेत, सत्स्वपि चक्षुरादिषु प्रत्ययेषु विज्ञानस्य स्वरूपासम्भवात् । उत्पत्तिक्रियाया अप्रवृत्तेरुत्पादो [५] न युज्यते । उत्पद्यते चैतद्विज्ञानमित्यतः किं निश्चेतुं पार्य्यते, अन्यत्र मायाधर्म्मतायाः । उक्तं हि भगवता, तद्यथा भिक्षवः मायाकारो वा मायाकारान्तेवासी, चतुर्म्महापथे विविधं मायाकर्म्म विदर्शयेत्तद्यथा हस्तिकायं रथकायं पत्तिकायं तं चक्षुष्मान् पुरुषः पश्येत् निध्यायेत् योनिशश्चोपपरीक्षेत तस्य तं पश्यतो निध्यायतो योनिशश्चोपपरीक्षमाण[६]स्य असतोऽप्यस्य ख्यायात् रिक्ततोऽपि तुच्छतोऽपि असारतोपि । तत्कस्य हेतोः ? किमस्मिन् मायाकृते सारमस्तीति । एवमेव यत्किञ्चिद्विज्ञानं अतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नम् आध्यात्मिकं वा वाह्यम्वा औदारिकम्वा सूक्ष्मं वा हीनं वा प्रणीतम्वा यद्वा दूरे यद्वा अत्यन्तिके तद्भिक्षुः पश्येत् निध्यायेत् योनिशश्चोपपरीक्षेत तस्य तत् पश्यतो निध्यायतो योनिशश्चोपपरीक्षमाणस्य अ[७]सतोऽप्यस्य ख्यायात् रिक्ततोपि तुच्छतोपि असारतोपि रोगतोपि गण्डतोपि शल्यतोप्यघतोपि अनित्यतोपि दुःखतोपि शून्यतोप्यनात्मतोपि अस्य ख्यायात् । तत्कस्य हेतोः ? किमस्मिन् विज्ञानस्कन्धे सारमस्तीति । यथोपलभ्यते विचार्य्यमाणस्य तथा स्वरूपासम्भवात् मायायुवतिप्रख्यं विज्ञानमिति शक्यमवसातुं । ततश्च सूक्तमेव तच्चक्षुः प्रतीत्य रूपञ्च मायावज्जायते मन इति । य[८]दि पुनरस्य स्वरूपं स्यात् तदा स्वरूपतो

विद्यते यस्य सद्भावः स मायेति न युज्यते ॥ 298.

न हि लोके स्वभावात् शून्या सम्भूता स्त्री मायेति युज्यते । एवं विज्ञानमपि स्वरूपतो विद्यमानत्वात् मायोपमं न स्यात्, उपदिश्यते च मायोपमं विज्ञानमतो निःस्वभावं विज्ञानं, यदा च निःस्वभावं विज्ञानं, तदा निःस्वभावविज्ञानसंप्रयुक्ता संज्ञा निःस्वभावा इति स्थितम् । अत्राह । आश्चर्य्यमेतच्चेन्द्रियाणां कथ-[२७क]मपि विषयग्र[ह]णं सम्भाव्यते उत्पद्यते चक्षुः प्रतीत्य रूपाणि च विज्ञानमिति । उच्यते किमेतदेवाश्चर्य्यं त्वया दृष्टं इदं किं नाश्चर्य्यं यन्न निरुद्धान्नानिरुद्धात् वीजादङ्कुरोदयो युज्यते, उत्पद्यते च वीजं प्रतीत्याङ्कुरः । तथा कृतस्योपचितस्य कर्म्मणो निरुद्धस्य न क्वचिदवस्थानं सम्भवति । कल्पशतसहस्रान्तरितनिरोधादपि कर्म्मणः साक्षादुत्पद्यत एव फलं । घटादयश्च स्वकारणात्तत्त्वान्यत्वेन विचार्य्यमा[२]णा न सम्भवन्ति तथाप्युपादाय प्रज्ञप्त्या मधूदकादीनां सन्धारणाहरणादिक्रियानिष्पादनयोग्या भवन्ति । तदेवं

यदा न किञ्चिदाश्चर्य्यं विदुषां विद्यते भुवि ।
इन्द्रियाणां गतावेवं तदा को नाम विस्मयः ॥ 299.

कार्य्यं हि स्वकारणमनुविदधद् दृश्यते; गो गौः, अश्वादश्वः, शालेः शालिरित्यादीनां भूतानां रूपशब्दादीनाञ्च विधिरेष न दृश्यते । तथा हि कायेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् महाभूतान्यचा[३]क्षुषानि अश्रावणानि तेभ्यश्चाक्षुषं रूपं श्रावणः शब्द उत्पद्यत इति; परमेतदाश्चर्य्यं । एवं घ्राणादिविषये चक्षुरादिषु च योज्यं । अथवा नैवेयमिन्द्रियाणामर्थगतिर्विस्मयकारणम् यदि हीन्द्रियाणामेव केवलमर्थगतावेतत् वैचित्र्यं

स्यात् तदैतद्विस्मयस्थानम्। यदा तु सर्व्वमेव यथोदितेन न्यायेन जगद्विदुषां विस्मयकरं इन्द्रजाल[४]मिव तदा नेदमाश्चर्य्यं। प्रदेशवृत्तिर्हि किञ्चिदसम्भावनीयमुपलभ्यमानं विस्मयकरं जायते, न सर्व्वदैव तुल्यरूपं। न ह्यग्नेरौष्ण्यं विस्मयायेति। अतएवानियतस्वरूपत्वात् यथाप्रत्ययं तथा तथा विपरिवर्त्तमानत्वाद्विदुषां।

अलातचक्रनिर्म्माणस्वप्नमायाम्बुचन्द्रकैः।
धूमिकान्तःप्रतिश्रुत्कामरीच्यभ्रैः समो भवः॥ 300.

यथा सजलस्येन्धनस्याशु[५]भ्राम्यमानस्य तद्गतदर्शनविपर्य्यासनिबन्धनत्वाच्चक्राकारोपलब्धिर्भवति। न च तत्रास्ति चक्रस्वरूपलेशोपि। यथा च निर्म्माणानि समाधिविशेषप्रत्ययसम्भूतानि विचित्रक्रियाविशेष निष्पादनात् सद्भूतयोगिसंज्ञादर्शनमनोविपर्य्यासादुत्पादयन्ति; ते तु चित्तचैत्तेन्द्रियरहितत्वात् न सद्भूता योगिनाम्। यथा च सिद्धसंप्रयुक्तविज्ञानसमा[६]युक्तात्मभावप्रत्ययः स्वप्नात्मभावो जाग्रदात्मभाव इव आत्मनि स्नेहविपर्य्यासनिबन्धनः; स चासद्भूतः प्रबुद्धस्य तथा दर्शनाभावात्। यथा च मायाकारयन्त्रनिबन्धना मायाकृतयुवतयस्तत्स्वरूपानभिज्ञानां चित्तमोहनपरा एव सद्भूतस्त्रीशून्या जायन्ते। यथा च जलचन्द्रः सद्भूतचन्द्रशून्यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादवलात् तथोत्पद्यमानः चन्द्रवि[७]पर्य्यासनिबन्धनो भवति वालानां। यथा च प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादवलादेव तथाविधकालदेशनिमित्तानि प्रतीत्य धूमिका जाता विदूरस्थानां सद्भूतधूमविपर्य्यासनिबन्धना भवति। यथा च गिरिगह्वरोदरादीनां अन्तः प्रतिश्रुत्का प्रतीत्य जायमाना सद्भूतशब्दाभिमानं जनयत्यविदुषाम्। यथा च मरीचिका देशकालविशेषसन्निहितादित्यरश्मिप्रत्यया जलस्वरूपविविक्ता विदूरस्था[८]नां जलविपर्य्यासं जनयति। यथा चाभ्राणि विदूरतः पर्व्वताद्याकारं विपर्य्यासमुपजनयन्ति; एवमविदुषां यथावत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्वभावाकुशलानां अविद्याविपर्य्यासाचित्तकर्म्मप्रत्ययो विज्ञानादिजन्मसागरः स वाह्येन भाजनेन + + + + + + + + + + + मृषामोषधर्म्मकः स्वभावशून्य एव सन् वालजनविसम्बादकः प्र[१७][1]तिभाति। विदितधर्म्मस्वभावाश्च सर्व्वत्रैव सङ्गपरि + + + + + + + भवन्तीति। स्थितमेतत् अलातचक्रादिवत् निःस्वभावः संसार इति।

बोधिसत्त्वयोगाचारे चतुःशतके इन्द्रियार्थप्रतिषेधोनाम त्रयोदशं प्रकरणं समाप्तम्।

अत्राह यदि प्रतीत्य समुत्पन्नत्वात् अलातचक्रादिवन्निःस्वभावो भवः कस्य तर्हीदानीं स्वभावोऽस्तु। न कस्यचित् पदार्थस्य स्वभावः शक्यः कल्पयितुम्। तथाविधस्य पदार्थस्य सर्व्व[२]थानुपलभ्यमानत्वात्। तथा हि॥

आयत्तं यस्य भावस्य भवेन्नान्यत्र कुत्रचित्।
सिध्येत् तस्यास्तिता नाम क्वचित् स च न विद्यते॥ 301.

यदि हि कस्यचित् पदार्थस्य निष्पत्तौ क्वचित् किञ्चिदायत्त न स्यात् तदा अस्य अपरायत्तस्य, स्वतन्त्रस्य स्वत एव व्यवस्थितत्वात् स्वभावतोऽस्तित्वं कल्पयितुं युक्तं। न त्वेष सम्भवोऽस्ति यद्धेतुप्रत्ययायत्तजन्मनां परायत्तता न स्यात्। अहेतुको वा पदार्थः कश्चित् सम्भवेदिति। यतश्चैवं निर्हेतु[३]क[त्व]प्रसङ्गात्

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[1] [Leaf 28 of the MS.]

कस्यचित् पदार्थस्य क्वचित् स्वरूपन्नास्ति। तस्मात् नास्ति कस्यचित् स्वभावः, स्वभावाभावात् च अलातचक्रवत् नास्ति स्वभावसिद्धिरिति स्थितम्। यदि च अमी पदार्था अलात-चक्रादिवत् विसम्वादकाः विसम्वादकत्वादवस्तुका न स्युस्तदा नियतमुपपत्त्या विचार्य्यमाणा जातरूपादिवत् स्पष्टतरमुपलभ्यमानस्वरूपाः स्युः। न चैते विचाराग्निसन्तापिता विपर्य्यासनिवन्धनत्वात् स्वरूपा[४]भावं नासादयन्ति। न हि वस्तूपपत्त्यापि युज्यते, सर्व्वथा तस्य विसम्वादकत्वात्। अत एवाचार्य्यो वस्त्वभिनिवेशशिथिलीकरणाय अतःपरं यथा च घटादीनां स्वरूपं न सम्भवति तथोपपत्तिमाह।

रूपमेव घटो नैक्यं घटो नान्योस्ति रूपवान्।
न विद्यते घटे रूपं न रूपे विद्यते घटः ॥ 302.

इह यदि घटो नाम कश्चित् पदार्थः स्यात्, स दर्शनेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् रूपाद्भेदेन वा परिकल्पि[५]तोऽभेदेन वा, तत्र तावत् रूपमेव घटो नैक्यं न यदेव रूपं स एव घटः इति रूपघटयोरैक्यं न भवति। यदि हि रूपघटयोरैक्यं स्यात् तदा यत्र यत्र रूपं तत्र तत्र [घट इ]ति सर्व्वत्रैव रूपे घटः स्यात्। पाकजगुणोत्पत्तौ रूपविनाशे घटविनाशः स्यात्। न चैतत् सम्भवतीति रूपमेव घट इति नास्त्येकत्वम्। अथैतद्दोषपरिजिहीर्षया रूपादन्यो घटो रूपवान् प[६]रिकल्प्येत। तत् यथार्थान्तरभूतै र्गोभि र्गोमान् देवदत्त इत्येतदप्ययुक्तम्। यस्मात् घटो नान्योस्ति रूपवान् यदि रूपादन्यो घटः स्यात् स्वरूपनिरपेक्षो गृह्येत, न हि गोभ्यो व्यतिरिक्तो देवदत्तो गोव्यतिरेकेण न गृह्यते तद्वत् घटोपि रूपनिरपेक्षो गृह्येत। न च गृह्यते इत्यतो रूपव्यतिरिक्तो घटो नास्ति। यदा च नास्ति तदा कथमसम्विद्यमानस्तद्व[७]त्तया गृह्येत। न ह्यविद्यमानो वन्ध्यातनयो गोमानिति व्यपदिश्यते। एवं रूपवान् घट इत्यपि न युज्यते। अन्यत्वासम्भवादेव च रूपघटयो राधाराधेयकल्पनाया अपि नास्ति सिद्धिरिति "न विद्यते घटे रूपं न रूपे विद्यते घटः।" रूपघटयोरन्यत्वे सति घटे रूपं इति स्यात् कुण्ड इव दधि, रूपेऽपि घट इति स्यात् कट इव देवदत्तो, न चैतत् सम्भवतीति नास्ति [७] घटः स्वभावतः। यस्य च नास्ति स्वभावः, उपलभ्यते च तदलातचक्रादिवत् स्वभावशून्यं। अपि च यथा आत्मा स्कन्धा न भवति कर्त्तुरात्मनः कर्म्मणश्चोपादानस्यैकत्वप्रसङ्गात् स्कन्धवच्चोदयव्ययभाक्त्वप्रसङ्गात्, आत्मवहुत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च। एवं घटोपि रूपं न भवति। उपादानोपादात्रोरेकत्वप्रसङ्गात्। + + + + + + घटवहुत्वप्रसङ्गात्। यथा च आत्मा स्कन्धेभ्योऽन्यो न भवति पृथग्ग्रहणप्रसङ्गात् निर्हेतु[८]कत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च। एवं घटोपि रूपव्यतिरिक्तो न भवति पृथग्ग्रहणप्रसङ्गात् निर्हेतुक[त्व]प्रसङ्गाच्च। यथा चात्मा स्कन्धेभ्यस्तत्त्वान्यत्वकल्पनाभावात् स्कन्धवान् आत्मेति न व्यपदिश्यते। तद्वदेव रूपघटयोस्तत्त्वान्यत्वकल्पनाभावात् रूपवान् घट इति न व्यपदिश्यते। यथा च स्कन्धेभ्यो + + + + + + + + + + स्कन्धेष्वात्मा इति द्विधापि न युज्यते, एवं घटे रूपं रूपे घट इत्यपि कल्प[२८ क]नाद्वयं नोपपद्यते। यथा च रूपापेक्षया घटे कल्पनाचतुष्टयं न सम्भवत्येवं सर्व्वप्रज्ञप्तिकारणापेक्षं चतुष्टयं न सम्भवतीति नास्ति स्वरूपतो घटः। यथा च घटः स्वभावतो नास्ति तथा सर्व्वभावा अपि स्वभावतो मृग्यमाणाः न सन्तीति सिद्धा भवत्यलातचक्रादिप्रख्यता भवस्य। अत्राहुरेके यद्यपि रूपघटयोः + + + + + + + + + + [घ]टयोरन्यत्वमस्ति यस्मादन्य एव घटोऽस्माकमन्यथैव

च सत्ता। सत्ता हि नाम महासामा[१]न्यं घटस्य विशेषो द्रव्यं सत्तायोगात् सदिति व्यपदिश्यत इति तान् प्रत्युच्यते।

वैलक्षण्यं द्वयो दृष्ट्वा भावादन्यो घटो यदि।
घटादन्यो न भावोपि किमेवं न भविष्यति ॥ 303.

घटादिद्रव्याणामनुप्रवृत्तिलक्षणत्वात् सामान्यो भावः। व्यावृत्तिलक्षणत्वाच्च घटो विशेषलक्षणः इति। यदि तयो र्वैलक्षण्यं भावघटयोर्दृष्ट्वा भावादन्यो घटो भवति। एवमेव वैलक्षण्यात् घटादपि किमर्थं भावोऽन्यो न भवि[२]ष्यति। ततश्चान्यबुद्धिध्वनिप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तमन्यत्वमपरमनुप्रवृत्तिलक्षणं न कल्पयितव्यम्। वैलक्षण्यादेव अन्यबुद्धिध्वनिप्रवृत्तिसिद्धेः कल्प्यते चापरमन्यत्वं इति नास्ति। तर्हि भावघटयोर्वैलक्षण्यापेक्षमन्यत्वम् ततश्च यदुक्तं।

वैलक्षण्यं द्वयोर्दृष्ट्वा भावादन्यो घट इति

तन्न यथा च भावोऽनुप्रवृत्तिलक्षणत्वाद्घटादन्य एवमन्यत्वमप्यनुप्रवृत्तिलक्षणत्वात् घटा[४]दन्यत् स्यात्। न च तस्यान्यत्वस्यापरमन्यत्वं अन्यबुद्धिध्वनिप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तमस्ति। यदि स्यादन्यत्वानामपर्य्यवसानदोष स्यात्। अथ विनैवान्यत्वेन अन्यबुद्धिरन्यत्वे भवति तद्वदेवान्यत्रापि सम्भाव्यतामित्यलमन्यत्वेनाकिञ्चित्करेण-परिकल्पितेन। असति चाऽन्यत्वे नास्ति कुतश्चित् कस्यचित् अन्यत्वमिति सिद्धम्। अपि चेदं चिन्त्यते किम्भूतायाः सत्ताया अन्यत्वेन योगो[५]ऽस्तु। किमन्यभूताया अनन्यभूताया वा। यद्यन्यभूतायास्तदा व्यर्थोऽन्यत्वेन योगः। अथानन्यभूताया एवमपि विरुद्धेन अन्यत्वेन योगात् अन्यत्वेन योगो न प्राप्नोति। अन्यत्वाभावाच्च घटादन्यो भाव इति न युज्यते। ततश्च लोके विपर्य्यासं प्रमाणीकृत्य घटत्वरूपमेव सद्बुद्धिध्वनिप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तत्वात् भाव इति व्यवस्थाप्यते। तस्य च [६] रूपाच्चतुर्धाविचार्य्यमाणस्य नास्ति स्वभाव इति तत्त्वविदपेक्षयालातचक्रादिवत् स्वभावशून्यो घट इति सिद्धम्। अत्राह। विद्यत एव घटो गुणाश्रयत्वात् न ह्यसत् गुणाश्रयो दृष्टः। भवति च गुणाश्रयो घटः एको घटो द्वौ घटाविति। एकत्वादयो गुणपदार्थसंगृहीता घटाश्च द्रव्यम्। द्रव्याश्रयित्वञ्च गुणानां सम्भवतीति [७] अतो गुणाश्रयत्वादस्त्येव घट इति। अत्रोच्यते। त्वन्मतेन॥

एको यदि घटो नेष्टो घटोप्येको न जायते।

पदार्थभेदात् यदि एको घटो न भवतीति मन्यसे घटोपि तर्ह्येको न भवति यथैकत्वं एकसंख्या घटो न भवति एवं द्रव्यत्वेनैकसंख्यायाः पृथग्भूतत्वात् घटोप्येको न भवति। द्वित्वादिति भावः। अपि च अस्य घटस्य एकरूपस्य च एकसंख्यापरिकल्पे वा[८]नेकरूपस्य वा? यद्येकरूपस्य तदा व्यर्थैवैकत्वकल्पना। अथानेकरूपस्य तदापि विरुद्धत्वादयुक्तैव। तस्माल्लोके घटस्वरूपस्यैव असन्निहितार्थान्तरस्य एककल्पना विज्ञेया। अथ द्रव्याश्रयिणो गुणा इति कृत्वा एकत्वयोगात् घट एवैको भवति न ह्येकत्वं व्यार्थ भवति। अत्रोच्यते॥

न चायं समयोर्योगः तेनाप्येको न जायते ॥ 304.

योगो नाम समयोरेव भवति, [२८] [1]न विषमयो स्तत्रैकगुणो दृष्टो घटश्च द्रव्यं द्रव्यगुणयोश्च समता यस्मान्न भवति तस्मात् तयोर्योग एव न भवति योगाभावात् तत्र यदिष्टमेकत्वयोगात् घट एवैको भवतीति तन्न। यदि चात्र योगो दृष्टः तदा एकेनापि घटस्य योगः स्यात् घटेनाप्येकस्य। स च नैवं भवतीति योग एवानयोर्नोपपद्यते। योगाभावाच्च नैवैको घटो भवतीति न घटोप्येक इति। तदत्र पूर्व्वार्द्धेन कारिकाया यो[१]गमभ्युपेत्य दूषणमुक्तं, उत्तरार्द्धेन तु योगासम्भवे दूषणमुक्तं। अपिशब्दश्च दूषणकारणसमुच्चयार्थो द्रष्टव्यः। अपि चेदमयुक्ततरं परसमये दृश्यते यत् द्रव्याश्रयिणो गुणा व्यवस्थाप्यन्ते न गुणाश्रयिणो विशेषगुणाः। युज्यते च गुणानामपि गुणाश्रयित्वम्। इह यत्परिमाणो घटस्तदाश्रयेणापि रूपेण तावतैव भवितव्यम्। ततश्च द्रव्यवद्रूपस्यापि महत्त्वं प्राप्नो[२]तीति।

यावद्द्रव्यं यदा रूपं तदा रूपं महन्न किम्।

यदा यावद्द्रव्यं यावान् द्रव्यस्यायामविस्तारात्मकः सन्निवेशः तावत् रूपं रूपस्यापि तावानेवायामविस्तारात्मकः सन्निवेशः इति परेणाभ्युपगम्यते। तदा नियतमणुमहति द्रव्ये रूपेणापि तत्राणुमहता भवितव्यम्। तत् किं न खल्वत्र कारणम् यत् द्रव्यरूपस्य अणुमहत्वे नेष्येते। अथ स्यात् रू[४]पं गुणोऽणुत्वं महत्वमपि च गुण एव न च गुणे गुणस्य सन्निवेशो भवतीति समय एषोऽस्माकम्। ततश्च यद्यपि यावद्द्रव्यं रूपमपि तावदेव, तथापि सिद्धान्तविरोधभयात् रूपस्याणुत्वमहत्वे न स्त इति। उच्यते॥

समयो जायते वाच्यः प्रतिवाद्यपरो यदि॥ 305

यदि हि तव स्वयूथ्य एव प्रतिवादी स्यात् तन्निवर्त्तयितु युक्तं तव सिद्धान्ताभिधानम् तस्य तद्बाधि[५]तुमसामर्थ्यात्। यदा तु प्रतिवादी परस्तं प्रति सिद्धान्तविरोधोद्भावनमकिञ्चित्करम् सिद्धान्तनिराकरणप्रवृत्तत्वात्तस्य। युक्तिलोकविरोधोद्भावनन्तु तं प्रति न्यायः, तद्द्वारेण तस्य निवारयितुं शक्यत्वात्। तस्मादपरिहार एवायं यदिदमागमविरोधोद्भावनमिति स एवाविचलो दोषः। इति नास्ति भावघटयोरन्यत्वम्। तदत्र, [६] सत्तान्यत्वप्रतिषेधेन अन्येषामपि घटत्वादीनां सामान्यविशेषाणां प्रतिषेधो विज्ञेयः। संख्यावत् सामान्यगुणानां महत्ववद्विशेषाणामिति। अत्राह। उक्तो भावस्य पटादिभ्योऽन्यत्वप्रतिषेधः घटस्य तु स्वभावाप्रतिषेधादस्त्येव स्वरूपतो घटाख्यो भाव इति। अत्रोच्यते—

लक्षणेनापि लक्ष्यस्य यत्र सि[७]द्धिर्न विद्यते।
संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण तत्र भावो न विद्यते॥ 306.

इह घटसत्वयोर्व्यावृत्त्यनुवृत्तिलक्षणं ब्रुवता घटस्य व्यावृत्तिलक्षणं व्यवस्थापितं परेण। तदमुना लक्षणेनापि लक्ष्यस्य नास्ति सिद्धिः। नहि व्यावृत्तिमात्रेण शक्यं वस्तुस्वरूपं निर्द्धारयितुं यल्लक्ष्यतया सेत्स्यति। एकस्तावत् गुणत्वाद्घटो न भवति। अणुर्महदिति रूपादयश्च गुणत्वादेव घटा[८]ख्या न भवन्ति। सत्तापि द्रव्यगुणकर्म्मसु सामान्यात् घटो न भवति। तदयं संख्याणुमहद्रूपादिभ्यो व्यावर्त्तमान इत्थंस्वभाव इति न शक्यं व्यवस्थापयितुं। तदेवं। यत्र परवादिपक्षे लक्षणेनापि लक्ष्यस्य घटस्वरूपस्य नास्ति सिद्धिः तत्र पक्षे संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण सिद्धस्वरूपेण घटाख्यो भावो न विद्यते। ततश्च स्वभावशून्यो घट इति सिद्धम्। [३०क]

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[1] [Leaf 30 of the MS.]

अथवा संख्यारूपादयो घटस्य लक्षणम्। तैर्लक्ष्यमाणत्वात् घटो लक्ष्यस्तस्य लक्षणेनापि पृथक् स्वरूपसिद्धिरशक्या कर्त्तुम्। संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण तत्स्वरूपस्यानुपलभ्यमानत्वात् यदि हि तल्लक्ष्यं स्वरूपं लभते तदा नियतं संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण गृह्येत इदं तत् संख्याव्यतिरिक्तं घटस्वरूपमिदम्। पुनरस्य संख्यादिकं लक्षणमिति न चैतदेवमित्यतः।

लक्षणेनापि लक्ष्यस्य यत्र सिद्धिर्न विद्यते।
संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण तत्र भावो न विद्यते॥

इ[२]ति नास्ति स्वभावतो घटः। उक्तस्तावल्लक्ष्यलक्षणयोरन्यत्वप्रतिषेधः। येषां तु रूपादिभिर्घटस्यैक्यमिति सिद्धान्तः, तत्प्रतिषेधायेदमुच्यते॥

घटस्य न भवत्यैक्यमपृथक्त्वाद्धि लक्षणैः।
एकैकस्मिन् घटाभावे बहुत्वं नोपपद्यते॥ 307.

रूपादीनि खलु नानालक्षणानि। येषां तैः पृथक्त्वं घटस्येष्ट तेषां रूपादिभिर्लक्षणैरपृथक्त्वं घटस्यैक्यं नोपपद्यते बहुभिरनन्यत्वात्। स्यात्तत्र मतं यदि घटस्यैक्यं न भवति [३] हन्त बहुत्वं प्राप्तमिति। अत्रोच्यते। यस्माद्रूपादिष्वेकैकस्मिन् घटस्याभावो दृष्टस्तस्माद्बहुत्वमपि नास्तीति। अत्राह। यदि रूपादिभिर्लक्षणैरपृथक्त्वात् घटस्यैक्यं नास्ति, तेषां परस्परसंयोगाद्घटस्यैक्यं भविष्यतीति। अत्रोच्यते।

न ह्यस्पर्शवतो नाम योगः स्पर्शवता सह।
रूपादीनामतो योगः सर्व्वथापि न युज्यते॥ 308.

तत्र स्पृष्टिः स्पर्शः कायेन्द्रियग्राह्यता स्पर्शोऽ[४]स्यास्तीति स्पर्शवत्। स्पृष्टव्यमेव कायेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् स्पर्शवत्। तेन स्पर्शवता स्पृष्टव्येन रूपगन्धरसानामस्पर्शवता योगः संयोगः संस्पर्शो न सम्भवति। यथा घटस्याकाशेन। यत एतत् एवं रूपादीनामतो योगः सर्व्वप्रकारं न सम्भवति। यदा च न सम्भवति तदान्योन्यसंस्पर्शकृताद्रूपादीनां विशेषात् समुदायनिबन्धनो घट इति यदुक्तं तन्न युक्तम्। अथ विना[५]प्यन्योन्यसंस्पर्शेन तत्समुदाय एव घट इति स्यात्, एतदपि नास्ति। यस्मात्॥

घटस्यावयवो रूपं तेन तावन्न तद्घटः।
यस्मादवयवी नास्ति तेन नावयवोपि तत्॥ 309.

रूपादिसमुदायरूपस्य घटस्य प्रत्येकं रूपादयोऽवयवभूतत्वात् घटव्यपदेशभाजो न भवन्ति। घटोऽवयवी, अवयवाश्च रूपादयः इति रूपन्तावत् अवयवत्वात् घटो न प्राप्नोति। यथा च रूपं एवं [६] गन्धादयो वाच्याः। ननु च रूपस्यावयवत्वादस्ति तर्ह्यसाववयवी नाम कश्चित्। न ह्यवयविनिरपेक्षा अवयवा युज्यन्त इति। उच्यते इह रूपादीनां प्रत्येकं घटत्वाभावे कुतः कश्चिदवयवी। न हि रूपादिव्यतिरेकेण अवयवी नाम परिच्छेत्तुं पार्य्यते। न चापरिच्छिद्यमानस्वरूपस्य सत्त्वमास्थातुं शक्यमित्यसन्नवयवी। यस्माच्चावयवी नास्ति तस्मात् रूपं अवयवत्वेनापि न सम्भाव्यत इ[७]ति न स्त एवावयवावयविनौ। इतश्च रूपादिसमुदायो न घटः। यस्मात्,

सर्व्वेषामपि रूपाणां रूपत्वमविलक्षणम् ।
एकस्य घटसद्भावो नान्येषां किन्न कारणम् ॥ 310

सर्व्वेषामपि रूपाणामिति रूपस्कन्धसंगृहीतत्वात् रूपगन्धादयो रूपाणीत्युच्यन्ते । तानि रूपाणि घट इव पटादिष्वपि सन्ति । न च तानि घटादिभेदेऽपि स्वलक्षणं व्यभिचरन्ति, सर्व्वत्रैव तुल्यलक्षणत्वात् । [८] तत्र यथैकस्य रूपस्य घटत्वेनावस्थानं तथान्यस्यापि घटादिसम्बन्धिनो रूपस्य कस्मात् घटत्वेनावस्थानं नेष्यते । युज्यते तु तस्यापि घटत्वेनावस्थानम् लक्षणाभेदात् घटावस्थितरूपादिवत् । एवं त्वनभ्युपगमे करणमेव न सम्भवति । ततश्च सर्व्वेषामेव घटत्वं प्राप्नोति । यद्वा घटस्यापि घटत्वं न प्राप्नोति । यथा च घटादीनामभेदप्रसङ्गः । एवं रूपगन्धादीनामप्यभेदः प्राप्नोति ए[९]कस्मात् घटादनन्यत्वात् । अथ मन्यसे यद्यपि घटादन्यत्वमेषां रूपस्य रसादिभ्यो भेदोस्ति, तस्मादभेदप्रसङ्गाभावः इति । एतदप्ययुक्तमिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

रूपमन्यद्रसादिभ्यो न घटादिति ते मतम् ।
स्वयं यस्तैर्विना नास्ति सोऽनन्यो रूपतः कथम् ॥ 311.

यदि भिन्नेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वाद्रसादिभ्यो रूपमन्यद्व्यवस्थाप्यते । घटादपि तद्रूपमन्यत् इति किं न व्यवस्थाप्यते । रूपादन्येभ्यो रसादिभ्यस्तस्य व्यतिरि[३०][1]क्तत्वात् रसादिस्वात्मवत् रूपादन्य एव प्राप्नोति । न चान्यत्वमिष्यत इति अयुक्तमेतत् । यदा चैवं रूपादीनां घटकारणत्वं न सम्भवति तदा नियतं

घटस्य कारणं नास्ति ॥

न च कारणरहितस्य स्वत एव निर्हेतुकं कार्य्यत्वं सम्भवतीति ।

स्वयं कार्य्यं न जायते ॥

यत एव चास्य निर्हेतुकं कार्य्यत्वं न सम्भवति ।

रूपादिभ्यः पृथक् कश्चित् घटस्तस्मान्न विद्यते ॥ 312.

रूपादिव्यतिरेकेण कार्य्यभूतस्य घटस्यानुपलभ्यमानत्वात् नास्ति रूपादिव्यतिरिक्तो [२] घट इति सिद्धं । अथ मन्यसे नैव हि रूपाद्युपादानो घटः किं तर्हि स्वावयवानि कपालानि कारणान्यपेक्ष्य घटस्य कार्य्यत्वं कपालानां च कारणत्वमिति, एतदप्ययुक्तमित्युद्भावयन्नाह

घटः कारणतः सिद्धः सिद्धं कारणमन्यतः ।
सिद्धिर्यस्य स्वतो नास्ति तदन्यत् जनयेत् कथम् ॥ 313.

यदि घटकारणानि कपालानि प्रतीत्य घटः सिध्यति, तानीदानीं कपालानि किमपेक्ष्य सिध्यन्ति । न हि तावत् तानि स्वभावसिद्धा[३]नि, निर्हेतुक[त्व]प्रसङ्गात् । अथ तेषामप्यन्यत् कारणमिष्यते, न तर्हि कपालानां स्वरूपसिद्धिरस्ति, तेषामपि कारणान्तरशर्करिकापेक्षत्वात् । येषां च कपालानां स्वतः सिद्धिर्न भवति कथं तान्यन्यत् स्वरूपतः साधयिष्यन्ति इत्यतोऽप्यसन् घटः । यतश्चायं घटप्रतिषेधको विधिरेष एव सर्व्वकार्य्याणामसिद्धौ योज्यः । अत्राह । समुदितानां रूपादीनां घटाभिधा[४]नात् न रूपादिवद्बहुत्वेऽपि घटबहुत्वप्रसङ्ग इति । तदप्ययुक्तं, समूहस्यैव असत्वात् तथा हि ॥

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[1] [Leaf 31 of the MS.]

समवायेऽपि रूपस्य गन्धत्वं नोपपद्यते ।
समूहस्यैकता तेन घटस्येव न युज्यते ॥ 314.

समुदिता अपि रूपादयो न समुदायावस्थाः स्वं स्वं लक्षणं विजहति, ततश्च समुदायावस्थायां रूपस्य स्वरूपापरित्यागात् गन्धत्वं न सम्भवति। एवं अनेकाश्रयस्य समूहस्यैकत्वं न सम्भाव्यते। [५] स हि समुदायो रूपादिभ्यो न व्यतिरिक्तस्ते च रूपादयः परस्परतो भिद्यन्ते, रूपादिभ्यश्चाव्यतिरिक्तसमुदायः कथमेकः स्यात्। दृष्टान्तमाह घटस्येवेति, यथा

घटस्य न भवत्यैक्यमपृथक्त्वात् विलक्षणैरित्याद्युक्तं।

तवेहापि

समूहस्यास्ति नैकत्वमपृथक्त्वादिलक्षणैः ।

इत्येवम्—

समूहस्यैकता तेन घटस्येव न युज्यते ।

ततश्च समूहस्यासम्भवात् रूपादिसमूहेऽपि घटकल्पना न युक्ता यथोपवर्णितेन च विचारेण।

रूपादिव्यमिरेके[६]ण यथा कुम्भो न विद्यते ।
वाय्वादिव्यतिरेकेन तथा रूपं न विद्यते ॥ 315.

रूपादिव्यतिरेकेण यथा कुम्भो न सिद्धः एवं कुम्भप्रज्ञप्त्युपादाना अपि रूपादयो वाय्वादिमहाभूतचतुष्टयव्यतिरेकेण न युज्यन्ते निर्हेतुकत्वप्रसङ्गात्। यथा च वाय्वादिव्यतिरेकेण रूपगन्धादेरसम्भवः। एवं महाभूतानां अन्योऽन्यव्यतिरेकेण सिद्ध्यभावात् रूपादिसिद्ध्यभावमु[७]द्भावयन्नाह ॥

अग्निरेव भवत्युष्णमनुष्णं दह्यते कथम् ।
नास्ति तेनेन्धनं नाम तदृतेऽग्निर्न विद्यते ॥ 316.

इह अग्निर्दग्धा भूतत्रयं दाह्यं, तदेतदिन्धनाख्यं भूतत्रयं अग्निरेव दहति नान्यः। इन्धनमेव च दह्यते नान्यत्। तच्चेन्धनं यदि अग्निरुष्णं दहति तदा अग्निरेव तदुष्णं भवति, नेन्धनम्। अनुष्णस्यापि दाहासम्भवात्, अनुष्णमपि नेन्धनम्। तदेवं सर्व्वथापि दाह्यस्यासम्भवान्नास्ति तेनेन्धनं नाम यद्भूतत्रयात्मकं स्या[८]त्। यदा चैवमग्निव्यतिरेकेणेन्धनं नापरं सम्भवति तदा इन्धनाभावे निर्हेतुकोऽप्यग्निर्न सम्भवतीति तदृतेऽग्निर्न विद्यते। अत्राह। अनुष्णात्मकमेवेन्धनं काठिन्यादिरूपत्वात्। तच्चोष्णस्वभावेनाग्निनाभिभवादुष्णं भवति। उष्णं च सद्दह्यत इति। एवं अपि कल्प्यमाने इन्धनाख्यो अर्थः ॥

अभिभूतोऽपि यद्युष्णः सोऽप्यग्निः किं न जायते ॥ 317.

यद्यग्निनाभिभूतः इन्धनाख्योऽर्थोऽनुष्णस्वभावोऽप्युष्णो भवतीति कल्प्यते। [९] सोऽप्यग्निरस्तूष्णरूपत्वात्। ततश्च स एवेन्धनाभावः ॥

अथानुष्णपरोऽप्यग्नौ भावोऽस्तीति न युज्यते ॥

अथाभिभूतोऽप्यसावर्थोऽनुष्ण एवेष्यते। स तर्ह्यग्नेः परोऽपि भावः इन्धनाख्यं भूतत्रयमुष्णविरुद्धत्वात् अनुष्णस्वभावं अग्नावस्तीति न युज्यते। ततश्च भूतत्रयरहितमग्निमात्रमेव स्यात्। न चैषां महाभूतानामन्योन्यं

विनाभावः। यदि स्यात्, सिद्धान्तविरोधश्च स्यात् अग्नौ चापरस्य पदार्थस्यैन्धनाख्यस्या[३१क]भावात् निर्हेतुकत्वञ्चाग्नेः स्यादित्ययुक्तमेतत्। अथ मन्यसे तेजोद्रव्यपरमाणौ भूतत्रयस्याभावात् विनापीन्धनेनास्ति एवाग्निरिति। उच्यते॥

इन्धनं यद्यणोर्नास्ति तेनास्त्यग्निरनिन्धनः॥

ततश्च स एव निर्हेतुकदोषः, अतएव चाहेतुकदोषप्रसङ्गात् वैशेषिकाणामिव स्वयूथ्यानामयुक्तो द्रव्यपरमाण्वभ्युपगमः। वैशेषिकपरमाणुवादश्च नवम एव प्रकरणे निषिद्धत्वात् न पुनर्निषिध्यते यथा अग्नेरहेतुकत्वप्रसङ्गभीत्याणावि[२]न्धनस्वभावः परिकल्प्येत॥

अणुरेकात्मको नास्ति स्यात्तस्यापीन्धनं यदि। 318.

यद्यणोरिन्धनमस्तीति कल्प्यते न तर्हि तेजोद्रव्यपरमाणुरेकरूपोऽस्ति इत्यभ्युपेयं। न च केवलं परमाणोरेवैकात्मकस्याभावः। अष्टानां द्रव्याणां सहोत्पादनियमादपि खलु तदन्यस्यापि पदार्थस्य॥

तस्य तस्यैकता नास्ति यो योभावः परीक्ष्यते।

यथा भूतानामेकात्मकत्वं नास्ति, तदितरस्मिन्नितरसद्भावात्; एवं भौ[३]तिकमपि केवलं नास्ति भूतेर्विनाऽहेतुकत्वप्रसङ्गात्। एवं चित्तेन विना चैत्ता न सम्भवन्ति। नापि चैत्तैर्विना चित्तम्। तथा लक्षणेर्जात्यादिभिर्विना लक्ष्यं रूपादिकं नास्ति, नापि लक्ष्येण विना निराश्रयं लक्षणं सम्भवति। यतश्चैवमेकस्य पदार्थस्य कस्यचित् सिद्धिर्नास्ति, तदा एककाणां समुदायाभावे सति अनेकसिद्धिरपि दूरोत्सारितैवेत्याह॥

न सन्ति तेनानेकेऽपि येनैको[४]ऽपि न विद्यते। 319.

एकस्यापि सिद्धौ सत्यां समुदितानामपि नास्ति सिद्धिः। अथ स्यात्? स्वयूथ्यं प्रत्येव एतद्दूषणमुपपद्यते। सहोत्पादनियमाभ्युपगमात् परं प्रति तु नेदं दूषणम् नित्यानां पृथिव्यादिपरमाणूनां तदितरभावसद्भाववियुक्तानां अस्तित्वेनाभ्युपगमात्। इति तत्राप्ययुक्ततामुद्भावयन्नाह॥

भावास्त्रयो न सन्त्यन्ये तन्नैकोस्तीति चेत् मतम्॥

एतदप्यसम्यक्। [५] किं कारणम्॥

त्रित्वं येनास्ति सर्व्वत्र तेनैकत्वं न विद्यते॥ 320.

परस्यापि हि न कश्चित् एको नाम पदार्थोऽस्ति। यस्मात् तत्रापि पृथिवीपरमाणौ द्रव्यत्वमेकत्वं सत्त्वम् चेत्येतत् त्रितयमस्ति। तथा गुणे गुणत्वं सत्त्वमेकत्वञ्चेति यस्मात् त्रितयमस्ति तस्मात् न कश्चित् एको नाम पदार्थोऽस्ति। तथा साङ्ख्यस्य त्रिगुणात्मकं सर्व्वमित्येकः कश्चित् पदार्थो ना[६]स्तीति न कश्चिदुक्तं दूषणं इति वर्त्तते। अपि चायं दूषणमार्गः सर्व्वेषामेव वादिनां पक्षनिराकरणाय विदुषा प्रयोक्तव्य इति शिक्षयन्नाचार्य्य आह॥

सदसत् सदसच्चेति सदसन्नेति च क्रमः।
एष प्रयोज्यो विद्वद्भिरेकत्वादिषु नित्यशः॥ 321.

एकत्वं अन्यत्वं उभयं नोभयं इत्येकत्वादयः। एतेष्वेकत्वादिषु पक्षेषु वादिना व्यवस्थितेषु स[७]दसत्त्वाद्युपलक्षितो दूषणक्रमः स्वधिया यथाक्रममवतार्यः। तत्र सत्कार्य्यवादिनः कार्य्यकारणयोरेकत्वमिति

पक्षः। तस्य हि कारणात्मना तत्कार्य्यं व्यवस्थितमेव सत्कार्य्यात्मना विपरिणमते। न ह्यसत् शक्यं कर्त्तुं। यदि ह्यसन्नुत्पद्येत तदा सर्व्वतः सर्व्वसम्भवः स्यान्न च सर्व्वतः सर्व्वसम्भवो दृष्टः क्षीरादेरेव प्रतिनियतदध्यादिदर्शनात्। तदस्य वादिनः कार्य्यकारणयोरेक[८]त्वाभ्युपगमात् सदेव कार्य्यमुत्पद्यत इत्येवमेकत्वपक्षः। तस्मिन्नेकत्वपक्षे सत्कार्य्यवादपरामर्शेन नित्यं दूषणमभिधेयम्। तच्चोक्तम्॥

स्तम्भादीनामलङ्कारो गृहस्यार्थे निरर्थकः।

सत्कार्य्यमेव यस्येष्टमित्यनेन। तथा

सम्भवः क्रियते यस्य प्राक्सोऽस्तीति न युज्यते॥
सतो यदि भवेज्जन्म जातस्यापि भवेद्भवः।
धर्म्मो यद्यक्ततोऽप्यस्ति नियमो जायते वृथा॥

अथ,—[२१]

म्भवः[1] ।
जायमानो न तस्यास्ति स्यात्तस्याप्यन्तरं यतः ॥ 348.

यस्य वादिनोऽन्तरेण विना मध्यं विना अतीतानागतस्य द्वयस्य नास्ति सम्भवः । + + + + + + जायमानो नास्ति । कथं कृत्वा "स्यात् तस्याप्यन्तरं यतः" यथा जायमानस्यातीतानागतान्तर्व्वर्त्तित्वं । एवं तस्यापि जायमानस्य जाताजातरूपस्य मध्येन भवितव्यम् । यदपेक्ष्य जाताजातव्यवस्थानं स्यात् तच्चैतदशक्यम् । जाताजातयोरन्तरा तृतीयं जायमानं नाम व्यवस्थापयि[२]तुं सर्व्वत्रैव जाताजातयोरन्तरा जायमानकल्पनानवस्थाप्रसङ्गात् । अत्राह । नैवार्द्धजातो जायमानो यतो यथोपवर्णितदोषप्रसङ्गः स्यात् । किन्तर्हि यस्य निरोधे जातः पदार्थो भवति स जात(तः) प्रागवस्थारूपोर्थो जायमान इत्युच्यत इति तदेव प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

जायमाननिरोधेन जात उत्पद्यते यतः ।
ततोऽन्यस्यापि सद्भावो जायमानस्य दृश्यते ॥ 344.

यस्माज्जायमाननिरो[३]धेन जातः पदार्थो भवति । तस्मादर्द्धजातव्यतिरेकेणापि अस्त्येव जायमानः पदार्थ इति । अत्रोच्यते ।

जातो यदा तदा नास्ति जायमानस्य सम्भवः ।

यदा तावदयं पदार्थो जात इत्युच्यते तदा जायमानं नास्ति । जायमानासम्भवाच्च जात इत्येवं नास्ति । अतो जातेन जायमानोऽनुमीयेत । अथ जातोऽपि जायमानः स्यात् । तस्य तद्युत्पादासम्भवो जा[४]तत्वादिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

जात उत्पद्यते कस्मात् जायमानो यदा तदा । 345.

यदा जात एवार्थो जायमान इत्युच्यते । तदा स जायमानोऽर्थः कस्मादुत्पद्यत इति परिकल्प्यते । सिद्धत्वादुत्पादपरिकल्पोऽस्य न युक्त इत्यभिप्रायः । ततश्च जायमानो जायत इति न युज्यते, अत्राह । जन्माभिमुखत्वादजातोऽपि जायमानो जात इत्युच्यते । ततश्च जात एव जाय[५]मानो न चास्योत्पादवैयर्थ्यमिति । एवमपि यदि ॥

अजातो जात इत्येवं जायमानः कुतः किल ।

यद्यजात एव जायमानः पदार्थो जन्माभिमुख्यात् परेण जात इति कल्पितः । जाताजातयोः

भेदाभावात् घटाभावः तदा किं न विकल्प्यते ॥ 346.

जातावस्थ एव हि पदार्थो घट इत्यभिधीयते । जाताजातयोस्त्वैक्यात् प्रागभावेन जातोऽपि घटो अभा[६]व एवेति स्यात् न चैतत् सम्भवतीत्ययुक्तमेतत् । अथापि स्यात् । नैव जायमानाजातयोर्भेदाभावः । उत्पत्तिक्रिययाविश्यमानो हि पदार्थो जायमान इत्युच्यते । स च ॥

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[1] [Leaf 33 of the MS.]

अनिष्पन्नोप्यजातात्तु जायमानो बहिष्कृतः । 347.

यद्यप्यनागतात् अनिष्पन्नरूपोऽपि पदार्थो जायमानो बहिर्व्यवस्थापितः ।

तथापि जायते जातो यतो जाताद्बहिष्कृतः ॥

य[७]था अजाताज्जायमानो बहिष्कृतः क्रियावेशात् एवं जातादपि बहिष्कृत एवानिष्पन्नरूपत्वात् ततश्चाजात एव जायत इत्यापन्नमिति नास्ति जायमानं नाम। न च केवलं जाताद्बहिर्भूतत्वादजात एव जायते । इतश्चाजात एव जायते । यस्मात् परस्य ॥

नासीत् प्राग्जायमानोऽपि पश्चाच्च किल विद्यते । 348.

तेनापि जायतेऽजातः आसीच्छब्दश्चिरानुक्रान्ताभिधायी नासीन्नाभूदि[८]त्यर्थः। योऽसाविदानीं जायमानत्वेन व्यपदिश्यते स नासीत् प्राक्शब्दस्त्ववधिवचनः। वर्त्तमानावस्थायाः प्रागतीते काले स जायमानोऽर्थोऽविद्यमानोऽपि पश्चात् किल जायमानो भवति। अतोऽप्यजात एव जायमानो भवति जनिक्रियावेशकाले। ततश्चास्याजातत्वेनाभूतत्वं न चाभूतस्यालब्धात्मभावस्य निराश्रया जनिक्रिया प्रवर्त्तितुमुत्सहते। इत्याह ॥

नाभूतो नाम जायत इति ॥ [३३क]

अपि च ॥

जायतेऽस्तीति निष्पन्नो नास्तीत्यकृत उच्यते ।

अस्तीत्यनेन निष्पन्न उच्यते, निष्पन्न एव हि पदार्थोऽस्तीति। जायतेऽस्तीति भवतीत्यर्थः। नास्तीत्यनेनाप्यकृतोऽनिष्पन्न उच्यते। तदेतदवस्थाद्वयं विरहय्य।

जायमानो यदा भावस्तदा को नाम स स्मृतः । 349.

इत्थमयं पदार्थो भवतीति जायमानावस्थो भावो यदा न शक्यते व्यपदेष्टुं तदासावनिर्द्धार्य्यमाणस्वरूपत्वादसन्नेवेति युक्तमवसातुम्। तदेवं यथोपवर्णितेनवि[२]चारेण जायमानस्यासम्भवात्।

कारणव्यतिरेकेण यदा कार्य्यं न विद्यते ।
प्रवृत्तिश्च निवृत्तिश्च तदा नैवोपपद्यते ॥ 350.

यदा कारणात् पृथग्भूतं कार्य्यं विचार्य्यमाणं न सम्भवति। तदा निराश्रया प्रवृत्तिः कार्य्यस्योत्पादो निवृत्तिश्च कारणस्य विनाशश्च न विद्यते। तदेवं परीक्ष्यमाणा भावा स्वभावसिद्धा न भवन्तीति सैवं मायोपमता गलावशिष्यते भावानाम्। तदेनां बाललापिनीं मायां व्यामूढजनसम्मो[३]हनीं अमूढजनविस्मयकरीं अवेत्य विधूयेदंसत्याभिनिवेशसमुत्थां पदार्थतृष्णां सकलजगदनुग्रहाय महाकरुणाबोधिचित्ताद्वयज्ञानत्रयं अनुत्तरज्ञानोदयबीजभूतमभिमुखीकृत्य यथावदवसितसंसारस्वभावः क्लेशदुःखाग्निज्वालावलीढभुवनत्रयागारमध्यगतमत्राणं जगदीक्षमाणः पिण्डीकृताशेषजगद्व्यसनसम्पातैः क्षणे क्षणेऽन्यथा वान्यथा वा [४] संसारमपि कायचेतसोरुपनिपतद्भिरप्यकातरो युगपत्पिण्डीकृताशेषजगद्दुःखोपनिपातैरासंसारं समु-

त्साहितैकैकवीर्य्यक्षणः सकलस्य जगतः सर्व्वाकारज्ञताज्ञानरत्नधननिचयोदयकारणं विदुषो भवोत्पत्तिरित्यवेत्य सर्व्वाकारज्ञताज्ञानोदयेन सकलस्य जगतः संविभागं चिकीर्षता पुनरपि युक्तं भवमुपात्तुमिति ।

बोधिसत्त्व [५] योगाचारे चतुःशतके संस्कृतार्थप्रतिषेधो नाम पञ्चदशं प्रकरणम् ।

समनुक्रान्तैः पञ्चदशभिः प्रकरणैः शास्त्रकार्य्यं परिसमापय्य शास्त्रारम्भप्रयोजनं कृत्वान्यशेषपरिहारं चोपदर्शयन् षोड़शं प्रकरणमारभते ।

केन चिद्धेतुना शून्यमशून्यमिव दृश्यते ।
तस्य प्रकरणैः सर्व्वैः प्रतिषेधो विधीयते ॥ 351.

नानवधार्य्य यथा[६]र्थां शून्यतां कश्चिच्छक्तः संसारे सङ्गमवधूय निर्व्वाणस्पृहामुत्पादयितुम् ? स च शून्यतार्थो जगतामतीवोत्रासकरत्वादप्रियावेदननिपुणपुरुषेण राज्ञः प्रियभार्य्यामरणक्रमावेदनसौमनस्योत्पादनवत् कयापि युक्त्या विदुषावतार्य्यः । अहङ्कारममकारस्नेहविपर्य्यस्तो हि लोकोऽनित्य एव वस्तुनि क्षणभङ्गदर्शनात् संस्कारमात्रप्रवाहस्य स[७]म्यगर्थानवसायात् शून्यतादर्शनविबन्धभूतां नित्यतामवधार्य्य प्रत्यवतिष्ठमानो जगत् अशून्यमेव प्रतिपन्नः । तदस्याशून्यताप्रतिषेधाय प्रथमप्रकरणप्रारम्भ इत्यादि योज्यम् । स्वभावविरहितार्थश्चात्र शून्यतार्थ इत्यसकृदावेदितम् । तदेवं केनचिद्धेतुना स्वभावरहितमपि वस्त्वेवाशून्यं येषां ख्याति तेषां तस्यासद्ग्राहहेतोः सर्व्वैः पञ्चदशभिरपि प्रकरणैः प्रतिषेधो विधीयते । यद्येवमर्थमे[८]षां प्रकरणानामारम्भो नन्वतएवाशून्यत्वं सिद्धं भावानाम् । तथाह्येषां प्रकरणानां वक्ता तावत् भवानस्ति प्रकरण + + + + + हेतुव्यावर्त्तको हेतुरस्ति । वचनञ्चेदं प्रतिविशिष्टार्थकृतावधिध्वनिसमुदायरूपं पञ्चदशप्रकरणात्मकमस्तीति वक्तृवाच्यवचनानां सद्भावात् सिद्धमशून्यत्वं भावानामिति व्यर्थ एव भवतः सर्व्वप्रकरणप्रारम्भपरिश्रमायास इति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

यदा वक्तास्ति वाच्यञ्च न शून्य- 352. [२३]

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EDITED BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

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OR

THE FIRST JESUIT MISSION TO AKBAR

BY

FR. ANTHONY MONSERRATE, S.J.

(LATIN TEXT).

BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL HISTORY

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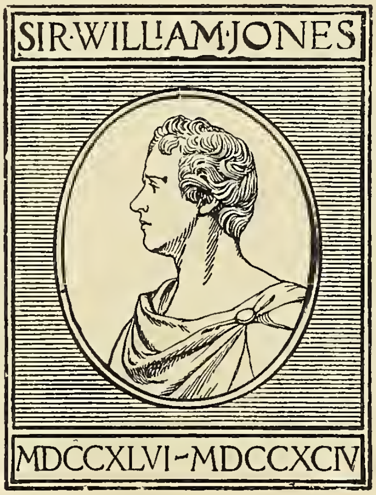

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Facsimile of the Map facing fol. 4*b*. to be placed at the end.

Errata.

At p. 523, l. 1 from top, read 140*b* for 104*b*.

At p. 531, l. 18 from top: The building with a gable roof near Bībī Mariam's *koṭhī* is not the only one of its kind at Fatehpur Sīkri.

INTRODUCTION.

In 1909, the Rev. Father A. Van de Mergel, S.J., submitted for my inspection an old MS. volume, the title of which ran thus:—

ANTONÍÍ, MONSERRATI, SACERDOTIS, E, SOCIETATE, JESV:
Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius.

"A commentary of the Embassy to the Mongol, by Anthony Monserrate, Priest of the Society of Jesus;" in other words, Monserrate's account of the first Jesuit Mission to Emperor Akbar, under Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva (1580-1583).[1]

In 1907, I pointed to the existence of an anonymous account referring to this subject, and fathered it on Monserrate;[2] but, of all places, I little expected that what turns out to be the original of a much more valuable document than I had anticipated would have been discovered in Calcutta.

With its faded red cloth over the cardboard covers, its grey leather round corners and back, the binding looks quite modern. On the back near the top, appears in gold: MONSERRATI | SACERDOTISE | covering a similar inscription older in date and now scarcely traceable.

"Monserrati Sacerdotise."—It is not the binder who was responsible for this Latin, but the Librarian, as the brackets in blue pencil on the title-page testify to this day.

Below: XVI L 27, in black, on a strip of paper pasted to the back. These figures recur in blue pencil on the recto of the fly-leaf between the title and the cover, and I find them a third time stamped in printer's ink almost right in the centre of the title-page. This is the press-mark of the Metcalfe Hall Collection or Calcutta Public Library, as appears from the Catalogue of that Library, Edn. 1898, p. 9.

In the centre of the title-page have been drawn with a pair of compasses sets of concentric rings: three sets of two, the outer one of three. Within the smallest circle: the monogram of the Society of Jesus, I†S, with three nails below. Between the second and third set of circles we read: *Jesus pars hæreditatis meæ, Ps.* 15, and again, between the third and fourth sets: *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris, Ps.* 15.[1]

---

[1] Monserrate was born at Vic de Ozona (Catalonia) in 1536. His father, who had known St. Ignatius of Loyola at the Universities of Spain, related such marvellous things about him that, from early childhood, young Anthony felt an attraction towards the Society of Jesus. Admitted in January 1558 at Barcelona, he professed the Humaniora, and became Prefect of Studies at Lisbon. During the "great plague" of 1569, he devoted himself with uncommon zeal to the care of the sick, and, when the scourge had abated, he begged help for waifs and orphans, and founded the famous convent of St. Martha. In 1574, he embarked for India with the glorious band of 39 Missionaries headed by Fr. Alexander Valignani. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, S.J., *Biblioth. de la C. de J.*; E. DE GUILHERMY, S J., *Ménol. de la C. de J., Assistance d' Espagne*, vol. I. 384. A full account of his life is to be found in Fr. Anth. Franco's (S.J.) *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado . . de Lisboa*, Coimbra, M.DCC.XVII, pp. 278-301.

[2] Cf. my brochure: *Jesuit Missionaries in North India and inscriptions on their tombs at Agra* (1580-1803). Calcutta, Catholic Orphan Press. 3 and 4, Portuguese Church Street, 1907, p. 7.

Below this: *Ad P. Claudium Aquauiua totius Societatis Præpositum.*

In pencil, and in a different hand: *Sanaæ, 7 Idibus Januarii* 1591.[2] The year, first written in pencil, was traced again with ink. Close by, in the right margin, by Fr. Monserrate apparently, but in a different ink, a microscopic note: *Expeditio ad Chabul* | 6 *Id. Feb.* | 1581 | 44*b.* | [3]

In the right margin, at the top, near Fr. Monserrate's name in the title, a pencil mark: *Missionarius* | *cum P. Rodolfo* | *Aquaviva* | *A. S. H.* 1582.

I turn to the verso of the title-page and learn that the MS. was at one time in the Library of Fort William College (Calcutta),[4] whence it must have passed into the Metcalfe Hall Collection, and thence into the Imperial Library; for, at the bottom of the page occurs a red quadrangular seal with the words: *Transferred from Imperial Library, 7 Apr.* 1903.

Transferred, and whither? To St. Paul's Cathedral Library (Anglican), Calcutta, where the Rev. W. K. Firminger discovered it in 1906.

Mr. W. Corfield suggested the following explanation for the curious blunder which brought the MS. into St. Paul's Cathedral Library. When the Metcalfe Hall Collection was, a few years back, merged into the Imperial Library and stock taken, the Librarian must have considered the work as "one of purely theological interest."

"It is with propriety," he added, "that the book has become the property of the Cathedral Library, for it passed from Lord Wellesley's Collection of Fort William to the Metcalfe Hall Collection, and was most probably given to the College by its Vice-Principal, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, the man to whose strenuous and successful efforts was due the creation of the See of Calcutta in 1813." [5]

Whatever may have been Dr. Buchanan's connections with the See of Calcutta, the fact that he presented the book to Fort William College is, I am afraid, a mere assumption of Mr. W. Corfield's.

There can be little doubt that the MS. was originally a precious heirloom of the Jesuits in India. Considering the extreme rarity of the work and its importance for the history of the Society, it would have been guarded with jealous care. What then brought it to Calcutta? I shall try, further on, to answer this query as well as the present state of our knowledge allows.

For the present let me continue the description of the MS. and point out that on the recto of the title-leaf, just above the title, I read: "IP46" in printer's ink.

---

[1] Evidently an allusion to Monserrate's six and a half years' captivity in Arabia.

[2] "At Sanaa, on the 7th before the Ides of January, 1591."—Of course, it ought to be 7 *Idus*.

[3] Kābul in Afghanistān.—"44*b*" refers to fol. 44 verso.

[4] This college was founded by Marquis Wellesley on May 4th, 1800.

[5] Cf. *Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta, 1908, No. 2, p. 184. In his lecture on the Bengal District Records before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, January 18th, 1912, the Rev. W. K. Firminger gives 1906 as the date of his discovery. Cf. *The Englishman*, Calcutta, February 6th, 1912. The discovery was announced at the time in the Calcutta newspapers.

Another library mark this, which had been covered with a strip of white paper. To the left of "IP46" are three letters in pencil, almost faded: E. 93. This is a press-mark again, the explanation of which I have been able to ascertain with the help of Pandit Gobin Lal Banerjee of the Board of Examiners, Park Street. It occurs against No. 1017 of the printed *Catalogue of the books in the Library of the College of Fort William.* The catalogue bears no date, but a note added in the volume by Colonel G. S. A. Ranking, and referring to *Proc.* vol. xv., p. 393, tells us that it was prepared in 1818. The entry under No. 1017 (p. 73) is as follows: "*Monserrati Sacerdotis e Societate Jesu, Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*: an octavo MS. in Latin, 1581. Written on the cover: Monserrat's Mogul Embassy. E. 93." This inscription on the cover is no more to be seen. The book must have been rebound since. From a MS. catalogue of the books transferred from Fort William College Library to the Calcutta Public Library Society on January 30th, 1836, we learn that Monserrate's MS. was one of them.[1]

We can account, therefore, for all the library-marks, except IP46, and can trace the history of the MS. as far back as 1818. IP46 is the oldest mark of all. Did it not belong to one of the former houses of the Jesuits in Goa? It is scarcely possible to establish this in India. Most of the books of the Jesuit houses in Goa were shipped off to Lisbon, to the "Torre do Tombo," under Pombal,[2] and the late events in Portugal make it still more difficult to compare notes. We suggest, however, that if the catalogues of our Goa libraries have been kept, the Monserrate MS. will be found entered in them.

I come to a closer inspection of the volume.

On the verso of the title-page we have a list of Monserrate's authorities, which goes far to prove that he approached his subject with most of the geographical and historical lore of the ancients at his fingers' ends. The Bible, Commentaries of the Bible, the Jewish historian Josephus, St. Jerome, Trogus Pompeius, Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Apollodorus, Solinus, Lucanus the Poet, Diodorus of Sicily, Paul Jovius, Bishop of Nocera, Æneas Silvius (later Pope Pius II), St. Antoninus (Archbishop of Florence), the *Speculum Historiarum* of Vincentius, Anthonius Coccus Sabellicus, Raphael Volaterranus, and João de Barros had all been examined. Among his authorities of "inferior" rank, Monserrate mentions Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo and Peter Mexia, the latter of whom derived his knowledge of the wars of Timur "from

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[1] These catalogues are in the Archives of the Board of Examiners, Park Street.

[2] Mr. J. A. Ismael Gracias, of Pangim (Goa), writes to me that the Bibliotheca Nacional of Goa contains only two or three insignificant and damaged books formerly belonging to the Jesuits of Goa. In 1776, he adds, one Mr. Diancour, of the Paris Academy, came to Goa and bought some of the MSS. formerly in the Jesuit Archives. —Sir J. Emerson Tennent in the introduction to his *Ceylon* (Vol. I, xxviii) writes: "Within the last few years, the Trustees of the British Museum purchased from the library of the late Lord Stuart de Rothesay the diplomatic correspondence and papers of Sebastião Jozé Carvalho e Mello (Portuguese Ambassador at London and Vienna, and subsequently known as the Marquis de Pombal) from 1738 to 1747, including sixty volumes relating to the history of the Portuguese possessions in India and Brazil during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Amongst the latter are forty volumes of despatches relating to India entitled *Collecçam Authentica de todas as Leys, Regimentos, Alvarás e mais ordens que se expediram para a India, desde o establecimento destas conquistas. Ordenada por proviram de 28 de Março de 1754.* MSS. Brit. Mus., No. 20,861 to 20,900"

Baptista Egnatii, Fulgosus, Platina, Matthew Palmeyro, and Cambinus, the Florentine." As may be seen, it is no easy matter, in a place like Calcutta, to check the references to this host of writers. Several of the authors quoted are not to be found even in J. C. Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire* (Paris, 1863, 6 vols.).

Below this catalogue, Monserrate takes as his motto: "*In pondere, numero et mensura.*"

There is a preface to the work. Monserrate's preface will repay reading. At first it took no small amount of pains to decipher the three centuries old writing. The text, though written as a whole in a uniform hand, is full of deletions and additions made at a later period. These notes often run down the margins and have sometimes been badly mauled by the knife of the binder.

F. 1a. "Anthony Monserrate, of the Society of Jesus, to Father Claudius Aquaviva, General of the whole Society. Greeting.

"Such was the diligence of the ancients that they would note down most carefully the every-day occurrences of their travels. When Alexander the Macedonian undertook his expedition into Asia, he entrusted Eratosthenes with the care of this matter. Antiochus Nicator, son of Seleucus Nicator, commissioned Artemidorus to do the same. Julius Cæsar took this labour upon himself, when he wrote the *Commentaries* of his wars. The Kings of Persia, as we read in Esdras, were not less careful; for the "Chroniclers," who were said to record the "events," were ordered to omit nothing of what happened.[1] In later times, many who journeyed either by land or sea imitated this diligence, and by their devotion to the excellent studies of Geography, History and Nautical matters, they added not a little to the treasures of the Republic of Letters.

"For this and many other reasons, ever since the days of our Father Ignatius of happy memory, who was the first to prescribe it, it has become customary in the Society of Jesus to write down whatever occurs. Roderic Vincentius,[2] the Superior of the Province of the Society in India, what time we set out to go to Zelaldin Equebar, King of the Mongols, charged me to record whatever would happen both on the way and during our stay with the King. The nature of my calling and the rule of the Society imposing on me the obligation of obeying to the letter, I so conformed to his order that, every day, at night, for full two years and a half, I committed to writing the events of that day. In this daily labour of a chronicler, I have described
F. 1b the various particulars which my travels and circumstances brought under my notice. These are: rivers, towns, countries, the customs and manners of peoples, temples, religions, the leanings—simulated leanings, it is true,—which the King, when we had come to his court, manifested towards the religion of Christ, as also the kindness which, from mere self-interest, he affected towards Rodolf, to whom had been confided

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[1] "*Nam, qui ab accidentibus appellabantur, et scribere accidentia dicebantur, regum imperio nihil quod accideret praeteribant, quin litteris commendarent.*" There is a reference in the left margin to *Esdras* 3, 2. The reference is to III Esdras 2, vv. 17 and 25: "Rathimus *ab accidentibus*," and "Rathimus, *qui scribebat accidentia.*" The Greek has: τὰ προσπίπτοντα.

[2] Ruy Vicente.

this weighty Mission, and towards his companions; again, Rodolf's zeal, consummate prudence and remarkable erudition, and our disputations with the Agarenes;[1] next, the Chabul war, which was marked by great tenacity of purpose and superior statesmanship on the part of Zelaldin, and ended successfully by the flight of Hachim; finally, the joyful ovations that signalized this triumph.

"When, after my return, some of the Fathers of our Society, men commendable for their age, prudence and literary accomplishments, heard me read my notes, rough and incomplete as they were, considering that they had been taken down on the tramp (*cursim*), they urged me warmly and in no common terms to write them out in full, in what manner and order I might judge best. And, as in other matters of greater moment, I had made it my practice to defer to their enlightened opinion and judgment, I scrupled to differ from them in what was ultimately to be submitted to your examination and would stand or fall on the strength of your opinion.

"It is now eight years since I put my hand to the task. The sixth year after I had started with it, Peter Martinius,[2] the Superior of the Indian Province, sent me to Ethiopia, and the time for taking ship being at hand, I was forced to desist from my literary pursuits. Nor did I find again favourable time or place to return to the work, save when, in the neighbourhood of Dofar,[3] a town of Arabia (that is, Sabæa), close to Atramis[4] (where frankincense is collected), I was captured by our enemies the Agarenes and sent on to Eynan, where King Ommar, an Agarene, granted that my books and my scanty and modest furniture should not only not be destroyed, but returned to me. He kept me in honourable confinement; for he gave me four months' leisure to correct my writings and add to them what was still wanting. By a
F. 2a. singular favour of God, my captivity brought me no other bodily sufferings than the restraints of my prison. What consoled me was the society of Peter Paes, a priest,—which allowed me to make my confession—the reading of sacred books, and my breviary,[5] wherewith I could pay to God night and day my tribute of prayer. But, when those four months were spent, I was once more compelled to lay down my literary weapons; for, I was told to leave for Sanaa, where lived the Turkish Viceroy, an Epirote by birth. The Turks commonly call him Arnaut,[6] after the chief town of his country; ours call it Alessio[?].[7] He affected to treat me with the same kindness, and ordered my books to be restored to me. Consequently, I returned to my writings, corrected and enlarged them, and freed them from erasures.

"Whether the work is written in a manner worthy of the Society and will afford any utility to the reader, I must leave to your judgment. For my part, unless selflove blind and deceive me, I am of opinion that it will not prove useless to the students of Geography and Antiquity, especially to those of Ours, who apply themselves to the classics, when they come across historical matters concerning India.

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[1] "Agarenes," *Agareni*, in Monserrate means "Muḥammadans." We find the word applied by him to the people of Arabia and Morocco. Fr. L. Delaunoit, S.J., offers the very likely suggestion that the word is not derived from Agra, Akbar's capital, but from Agar, the mother of Ismael.

[2] Peter Martius or Martinez.

[3] Dhafar. Cf. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. (Jarrett's transl. III, 51.)

[4] "*Juxta Atramitem.*" Hadramaut.

[5] *Sacrorum epitome.* He had written first: *sacrorum breuiarium.*

[6] Dr. J. Honigberger in his *Thirty-five Years in the East*, London, 1852 (2 vols. in 1), p. 1, speaks of "seventeen Arnauts" or Albanian-Turkish soldiers.

[7] "*Allanesium.*"

"Whatever pertains to the Mission of our Priests, to their sojourn at the King's Court, and the issue of the Chabul war, I wrote down truthfully, as it all happened and I saw with my own eyes. [As to the particulars concerning Cinguiscan, Temurbeg, the Scythians and the Mongols, which I have, so to say, borrowed and inserted after my narrative, at the end of this first book, I learned them, in the first place, from King Zelaldin himself; then from a journal containing an account of the travels of a certain ambassador of Henry IV, King of Castille, to Temur;[1] finally, from many writers of no mean authority.

"I have divided the work into two books: this, the former one, is an account of the first Mission to the King of the Mongols; the latter contains, by way of appendix and scholium to the former, what appertains to the Geography and Natural History of India *intra Gangem*, the customs of the ancient aborigines and the present-day
F. 2b. natives.][2] In two other books, which I have added to the two former ones, I describe on the same plan, in the first, my departure for Ethiopia; in the second, the Geography and Natural History of Arabia.[3]

"In these writings—I say it without presumption—I have endeavoured, for the sake of the Professors of our schools, to correct, clear up and conciliate, as modestly and temperately as possible, not a few passages of the Geographers and Historians who deal with matters Indian or Arabian.

"Would to God that my labour redound to the glory of God's name and to the advancement of knowledge, which we must not only ardently wish, but strive after with all our might. If, in your wisdom, you judge that this double object has been attained in my two-fold study, I believe that it will amply commend itself to you. Farewell.

"At Sanaa, the 7th before the Ides of January, in the year of the Lord one thousand five hundred and ninety-one." [Jan. 7, 1591.]

Several passages in this preface call for comment.

It is plain, first, from the many deletions and accretions, which the author alone could have introduced into the text, that the Calcutta MS. is not a copy, but Monserrate's original MS., such as it came from his pen in his prison of Sanạa.

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[1] Allusion to the *Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timur*, of which C. Markham gave an English translation in 1859. Hakluyt Society, London.

[2] The passage in [ ] is a later improvement by Monserrate on the following: "As to those particulars concerning Cinguiscan, Temurbeg, the Scythians and the Mongols, which, for the sake of Zelaldin, I added by way of parergon at the end of the work, I learned them, in the first place, from King Zelaldin himself; then, from a diary of the travels of an ambassador of Henry IV, King of Castille, to Temur; finally, from Strabo, Q. Curtius, Pliny, Ptolemy, Diodorus, Justinus, Sabellicus, Antoninus of Florence, Pius II, and Paul Jovius of Nocerra, authors of no mean authority. I finished the work at Sanaa and added another work—[at first: "another small work, a kind of small appendix or scholium." Then, after changing the word "*opusculum*"="small work" to "*librum*," Monserrate erased: *a kind of small appendix or scholium*] in which I described what appertains to Natural History and to the customs of the ancient aborigines and indigenes, customs which agree with those of the present-day natives."

The last words have been partly cut away by the binder. We reconstitute the sense, as best we can.

[3] The reference to his two books on Ethiopia and Arabia was written at a later date, as appears lower down by his allusion to his "two-fold" study, where his two books on India are alone meant.

This, in brief, is the earlier history of the volume. After his return from Fatehpūr to Goa, at the end of August (?), 1582,[1] Monserrate prepared to go to Portugal and Rome in company with Abdul, Akbar's Ambassador,[2] the same who had come to Goa in 1579 and invited the Jesuits in Akbar's name to Fatehpūr. But, as only one ship was to set sail for Portugal that year, and it was deemed below the dignity of Akbar's representative to go to Lisbon without a suitable escort, Abdul and Monserrate were requested to wait till the next year. Monserrate lost no time in sending to Europe a report of his late experiences at Fatehpūr and of his journey to Kābul. Prince Frederic von Schleswig-Holstein (Graf von Noer) wrote in 1880:

"An excellent report (anonymous) dated from Goa, Nov. 26, 1582, is in my hands. It describes the state of things at Akbar's Court, and is a copy from the Spanish Archives obtained by the good offices of Don Pascual de Guayangos."[3]

Count von Noer's copy may be still in existence; but, that of the Spanish Archives seems to have met with a different fate. "When I was at Madrid," writes Clements Markham, "Don Pascual de Guayangos gave me a copy of a very interesting Spanish Manuscript by an anonymous missionary (probably Aquaviva) who describes the personal appearance and habits of Akbar. It was left at the Asiatic Society, before Mr. Vaux's time, and was mislaid. Don Pascual has also mislaid the original, so that the loss is irremediable."[4]

From the quotations made by Count von Noer regarding the Gujarāt and Kābul campaigns I concluded in 1907 that the "excellent anonymous report" was the work of Monserrate.[5] On better grounds now than then am I justified in concluding the same.

Through the kindness of a confrère in Europe, I received in 1910 a photographic facsimile of the "anonymous report" from Goa, November 26, 1582. It is in Portuguese, covers pp. 7¼ foolscap, and was sent '*2a via*,' *i.e.*, it was a duplicate. How many copies were made of it at Goa, or how many in Europe, we do not know. The copy before me is not in Monserrate's own hand, though evidently it is one of his lucubrations. Excellent as it is, it is a very inferior document compared with the Calcutta MS. At best, it is a rapid character-sketch of Akbar, an abstract of Monserrate's diary.[6] Between September (?) and November 26, 1582, Monserrate had little time, and, besides, what he could not write then, he expected to be able to relate by word of mouth the next year in Portugal. The next year all was changed. In February 1583, Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva left Akbar's Court. There was no hope of Akbar's conversion. The first Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court had come to an end, and the projected embassy was allowed to lapse.

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[1] Monserrate had arrived at Surat, on his way back to Goa, on August 4th, 1582. Cf. fol. 103*b*. 3.

[2] Cf. MS. fol. 104*b*. 1.

[3] Cf. COUNT VON NOER, *The Emperor Akbar*, translated and in part revised by Annette S. Beveridge, Calcutta, Thacker, 1890, vol. I, pp. 331-2.—von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar* had appeared in 1880.

[4] Cf. *Akbar, An Eastern Romance*, by Dr. P. A. S. Van Limburg-Brouwer. Translated from the Dutch by M. M. with notes and an introductory life of Akbar by Cl. R. Markham, London, Allen, 1879, p. xxxi.

[5] Cf. VON NOER, *Kaiser Akbar* (1880), Vol. II, pp. 11-12; 77-78; 81-82; 97-98. Cf. also *Jesuit Missionsto Emperor Akbar*, by E. D. MACLAGAN, C.S., from notes recorded by the late GENERAL MACLAGAN, R.E., *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, p. 47.

[6] I have published it in *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 185-221.

During the next six years (1582–88), Fr. Monserrate was employed in or near Goa, and, as he tells us, he utilized his leisure hours in drawing up a methodical relation of his stay in North India. Then came the order to proceed to Ethiopia. Captured at Dhafar in Arabia, in December 1588, or January 1589, he was sent on to "Eynan" (Ainad), to "King" Omar.

If we combine, at this place, the information contained in the preface with the notes at the end of the book, we gather that he spent the four months of his captivity at Eynan in correcting and adding to his notes. "I finished this commentary," he writes, "at Eynan in Arabia, on the day of St. Anthony of Padua in the month of June of the year 1590."[1] During the subsequent march on Sanạa, he was robbed of his MSS. by the Turks, but the Turkish Viceroy had them restored to him. "My copy (*exemplar*) was taken by the Turks; but I received it back at Sanaa, on the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, in the month of October of the same year."[2] Again, he tells us that he finished making a fair copy of the original on December 11th, 1590. "*Finem describendi et ab exemplaris litturis vindicandi feci Senaa in Arabia, ferijs D. Damasi PP. mensis Decembris anni* 1590."[3] Finally, the preface is dated from Sanạa, January 7th, 1591, and insists on the fact that the work was free from erasures.

In fact, the Calcutta MS., which appears to have been written with a quill, is in a uniform hand from fol. 1 to fol. 140 verso. The suppressions, corrections, and additions were made at a later date, as is plain from the different kinds of ink employed and the nature of some changes introduced into the text or marginally.

Some additions were made after his return from captivity in Arabia. Monserrate was six years and a half a captive in Arabia. Ransomed thence with Father P. Paez, he returned to Goa (December 1596). An old man now, he was posted to Salsette to recover his health "*tanquam in asylum quietis causa*," and died there on March 5th, 1600. Evidently, the note introduced into the preface about his account of the journey to Ethiopia and about his MS. on the Geography and Natural History of Arabia could have been written only at the end of his captivity in Arabia, when a long sojourn had made him thoroughly familiar with the country. Judging from the writing, I conclude that that note was not penned till after Monserrate's return to Goa. At fol. 105*a*., there is an allusion to the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court, under Fr. Jerome Xavier. This Mission had left Goa only on December 3rd, 1594, and Monserrate could hardly have heard of it before his return to Goa. Besides, at fol. 138*a*. 3 we have an allusion to the death of 'Abdullah Khān, king of Samarqand and Bukhārā, who died on Febr. 12, 1597.[4]

We can recognize at least six stages in the composition of the MS.: the 1st, the text from fol. 6*a* to fol. 104*b*; the 2nd, the preface, the list of geographical names, and the map; the 3rd, a few corrections, mostly marginal, written more boldly and in a blacker ink than the previous two writings; the 4th, the Index written at one stretch with a very sharp quill. The remarks added at the third stage have been embodied in the Index. The 5th, corrections and additions written with a bad spluttering pen; the ink is oxidized and has left in many places a metallic lustre of gold and silver; most of the remarks in Portuguese belong to this period. The 6th, the greatest number of the additions and corrections; these are written in a very small hand, and the ink is oxidized. I judge that the 5th and 6th periods are posterior to Monserrate's return to India. The 6th certainly is. While editing the text, I have not drawn attention to these different stages, except in one or two cases, where it helped to understand the meaning.

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[1] *i.e.*, June 13th, 1590. Cf. fol. 140*b*.

[2] *i.e.*, October 21st, 1590. Cf. *ibid.*

[3] "I finished this copy, and freed it from the erasures of the original, at Sanaa in Arabia, on the day of St. Damasus, Pope, in the month of December 1590." (December 11th).

[4] Cf. Keene-Beale's *Orient Biogr. Dict.*, s.v. 'Abdullah Khān.

There are 140 folios, numbered on the recto only and 14 folios (unnumbered) of Index. References to the foll. are marked, *e.g.*: 6*a*. 4, 6*b*. 3, where 6 means the leaf, *a* and *b* the recto and verso, 4 and 3 the subdivisions of the text on each page. There are on an average twenty-five lines to a page. Leaf 5*a* and 5*b* are missing; but there is a separate leaf containing a map and marked 5 on recto, blank on verso. At verso of fol. 14 of the Index, we find the oval library seal of Fort William College Library having an Urdu, Hindi and Bengali inscription. The Hindi inscription runs: किताब कालिज फोर्ट वलियम [Book of the Fort William College]. Size between covers ($0^{m}.21 \times 0^{m}.15$).

We may notice further that the MS. was divided into fascicles of 32 pages, each fascicle bearing a different letter of the alphabet, thus: B (fol. 27*a*), C (fol. 33*a*), D (fol. 49*a*), E (fol. 65*a*), F (fol. 81*a*), G (fol. 97*a*), H (fol. 113*a*), I (fol. 129*a*).

There are also traces of an attempt at dividing the work into four books. Monserrate gave up the idea, however, and cancelled these divisions. At fol. 39*a*. 4, opposite *Hæc regis benevolentia*, he wrote Lib. 2; at fol. 105*a*. 3, opposite *Fuit vero Rodolfus*, Lib. [3 ?]; at fol. 106*b*. 4, opposite *Jamvero ad Zelaldinum*, Lib. 3; finally, at fol. 140*a*. 4, Lib. 4, cancelled with the note: *Ac cum Zelaldini genus, &c.*

The Calcutta MS, as is evident from the preface and an inspection of the contents, constitutes only a small portion of Monserrate's writings.

Monserrate tells us in his preface that to the volume now before us—let us call it Bk. I—was added a "short appendix" with geographical, historical and ethnological observations. Later, he altered the word *opusculum* to *liber*. I can account in some way for this correction and the fact that the "short appendix" grew to the size of a "volume." A large proportion of the pages of Bk. I. has been cancelled or bracketed by Monserrate. The information in them is mostly of a geographical and antiquarian character. The conclusion is this: Monserrate must have considered that his description of cities, tombs and ruined temples, his excursions into the history of the past, and his considerations on Indian manners and customs broke too often the thread of his narrative of the Mission. He wanted to do away with these *hors-d'œuvre*, as he considered them, and worked them out with other materials in Bk. II, his "appendix." Unfortunately, Bk. II remains to be discovered. Sometimes, Monserrate warns us in a marginal note that he has changed his mind as to the extent of the passages to be transferred elsewhere. *Isto se ha de escrever*, "this is to be written," he notes, meaning: "This must remain as part of this first Book, my history of the Moghul Mission." The note of warning implies, also, I believe, that, as the MS. of Bk. I had, after so many changes, taken again the form of a rough copy, he intended to write it out again, in the abridged form he contemplated. Did he ever do so? I note that at fol. 97*a*. he writes "tudo esta trelladdo," which would mean: "all is transcribed." But are there in existence copies of this abridged form? Probably not. If we have to trust our bibliographers, neither Bk. I, the Calcutta MS., nor Bk. II is known in Europe. Fr. C. Sommervogel, S.J., (cf. the last edition of *Biblioth. de la C. de J.*) and Monserrate's biographers knew nothing of them.

The Calcutta MS. is, therefore, all the more valuable. For, supposing Bk. II to have been lost, much of its contents is still preserved in our MS., and whatever Monserrate may have thought of his *hors-d'œuvre*, the descriptions of towns and ruins interspersed in the narrative are of paramount interest to the historian and antiquarian, and detract little, if at all, from the continuity of the story.

Concerning Monserrate's other writings, it would seem that no copies of his account of a journey to Ethiopia and his captivity in Arabia [Bk. III], nor of his Geography and Natural History of Arabia [Bk. IV] have yet been discovered. Fr. C. Beccari, S.J., who is now editing, at the expense of the Italian Government, some sixteen volumes of old Jesuit records regarding Ethiopia, is not aware of them. He mentions only two letters of his: one dated Sanaa, 22nd July 1593, and indicating to the General in Rome how it would be possible to free him and his companion from captivity; the other, a short letter in Portuguese, dated from Goa, December 7th, 1596, and addressed to the General of the Society, in which he announces his liberation from captivity.[1] There is another letter on the same subject by Fr. Peter Paez, S.J., dated Goa, December 17th, 1596.[2]

If Monserrate's Bks. III and IV be lost, we have, at least, as a compensation for the loss of Bk. III, Fr. P. Paez' *Storia d'Etiopia*, of which Bk. III (chh. 15–22) gives a long account of Paez' and Monserrate's captivity. Fr. Emmanuel d'Almeida touches on the same subject in his *Historia de Ethiopia a alta* . . . Bk. V, chh. 1–7.[3]

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[1] I have a photographic facsimile of this letter.. It covers little more than a page. The signature and address are clearly in Monserrate's handwriting. He signs "Monserrate," not "Monserrat."—See in *J. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 76, what happened at Akbar's Court at Lahore, when a letter of Monserrate's about his captivity was read before the Emperor by Fr. Jerome Xavier.

[2] These letters have appeared in Fr. C. Beccari's *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptores*, Vol. X, Romae, C. de Luigi, 1910, Nos. 126, 139.

[3] Cf. C. BECCARI, S.J. *Notizia e Saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardante la storia di Etiopia durante i secoli xvi, xvii, e xviii* . . . Roma, 1903, p. 11, and s.v. Monserrate. I have no means of discovering to what work the following extract from Monserrate's Menology alludes: "Travelling with Fr. Peter Paez from Mascat to Zeila, in order to penetrate into Ethiopia, Monserrate was cast by a violent tempest upon the coast of Dafar, laden with chains and taken across the sands through the desert of Hadramaut as far as the town of Ainad, where the King of that country resided. *We have still the account of the captivity of these two apostolic men*, first at the court of the petty King of Ainad, next at the court of the Turkish Pasha of Yemen, who claimed them as slaves of the Grand Seignior and ordered them to be brought to the prisons of Sana, finally on the hulks of Mocha, where they were chained to the oars with the galley-slaves . . . " Cf. E. DE GUILHERMY, S.J., *Ménologe de la C. de J., Assist. d'Espagne*, Vol. I, p. 384. The

To return to Monserrate's *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*, what do we know of the earlier vicissitudes of the volume? I am sorry to say that I can ascertain very little with certainty. So much is sure, that none of our bibliographers was acquainted with the work, and that none of the biographers of Bl. Rudolf Aquaviva utilized it. It is not mentioned, for instance, in the long list of Bartoli's authorities at the beginning of his *Missione al Gran Mogor*, and though I have addressed myself to three of the best authorities on Jesuit bibliography in Europe, H. Hafner (Holland), C. Beccari (Rome), and the Editor of the *Monumenta Historica S.J.* (Madrid), no information has been elicited.

In 1907, I wrote that a report of the Provincial of Goa, dated November, 1590, contained a reference to Monserrate's MS.[1] The passage is as follows: "Father Anthony Monserrate states that when the Emperor took him on an expedition [to Kābul] which he at one time made, he had with him five thousand elephants, exclusive of those used for baggage, and that in the whole Empire there are 50,000 elephants stationed for warlike purposes at various centres."[2] The latter part of this statement about the 50,000 elephants does not occur in the Calcutta MS., and it is evident that the Provincial did not quote from the Calcutta MS., since in 1590 Monserrate was still at work on it in Arabia. Nor is the passage found in the abstract made by Monserrate in 1582, to which I alluded above.[3]

Even Father Francis de Sousa, S.J., who wrote his *Oriente Conquistado* at Goa from materials "da nossa secretaria de Goa," does not seem to have been acquainted with Monserrate's *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*. It is true, de Sousa acknowledges openly his indebtedness to Monserrate's MSS. in his *Oriente Conquistado*,[4] and most of the incidents related by him concerning the journey of the three first Jesuits to Fatehpūr are, indeed, to be found in our MS., but there are so many details not traceable in it that I must conclude he was in possession of letters written by Monserrate and his companions from the various stages of their journey to Fatehpūr. de Sousa may have had Monserrate's Bk. II. As for his remarks on the Tibetans,[5] they do not seem to be taken either from Bk. I. or from Monserrate's report of November 26th, 1582, alluded to above. If de Sousa had had Bk. I, the MS. before us, the wonder is that he should not have made greater use of it. We do not detect any *ad litteram* quotations. None the less, we have reasons enough to assert that Monserrate had brought back his MSS. from Arabia, and we may well suppose that

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reference must be to one of the following of de Guilhermy's authorities: JUVENCIUS, *Hist. Soc.*, part 5a, lib. 22, n. 13, 15, pp. 701, 703; FRANCO, *Ann. glorios.*, 5a Mart., p. 136; TELLEZ, *Chronica S. J. na Provincia de Portugal*, t. 2, l. 4. c. 40 and 43; IDEM, *Historia geral da Ethiopia*, pp. 209—229; DU JARRIC, *Hist. des choses . . . mémorables . . . advenues . . . ès Indes . . .*, liv. 1, ch. 20, p. 322; liv. 2, ch. 9, p. 615; ch. 11, p. 630; D'OULTREMAN, *Tableaux des personnages signaléz . . .*, p. 259.

[1] Cf. my *Jesuit Missionaries in North India . . .*, *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

[2] Cf. C. D. MACLAGAN, *Jesuit Mission to Emperor Akbar*, in *J. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, p. 63.

[3] In the Calcutta MS we find at fol. 48*a*. 3, that about 500 fighting elephants and camels accompanied the Kābul expedition; at fol. 51*b*. 2 we read that Akbar kept at his *own* expense 5,000 elephants, 45,000 horse and a very large number of foot-soldiers. In time of war, his vassals were required to bring in their quota.

[4] Cf. *Oriente Conquistado*, Lisboa, MDCCX, Vol. II., C.I, D. II, §§ 43–48, 53-64. Father F. Goldie, S.J., made good use of this work in his *The First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul*, Dublin, Gill, 1897.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, C. I, D. II, § 63.

after his death, in the College of Salsette near Goa, they had found their way to the Jesuit Archives of Goa.

I come to the allusions to Monserrate's writings in Colonel Wilford's geographical and historical studies contributed to the *Asiatick Researches* of Calcutta. "The original MSS. of Monserrate's travels is in my possession," he writes.[1] (*As. Res.*, XI, 1807, p. 230, n. 1.) And again, in a paper published in 1851, but written in reality 40 years earlier, we read, after a Latin quotation from Monserrate: "The original MS. is in my possession." (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1851, p. 247). Strange that, on the ground of his hazardous theories,[2] Wilford should, in this matter too, have been disbelieved.[3] Wilford was, no doubt, very bold, but throughout his writings there is a ring of honesty which cannot be mistaken. To the quotations adduced by the Hon'ble E. D. Maclagan: *As. Res.* (1807) IX, 57, 212, 230, I can add the following: *Ibid.* (1799) VI, 496, 497; (1805) VIII, 324, 328; IX (1810), p. 73; (1822) XIV, 454; *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* (1851), 242, 247, 248, 266, 269, 271, 473, 481. In all these passages Monserrate's "MS." is openly acknowledged, and what is interesting, though very galling, is that Wilford's quotations do not refer to the Calcutta MS. at all, but to Monserrate's Bk. II now lost. This is clear from many passages, *e.g.*, from what he quotes concerning the thirteen basso-relievo figures upon a rock-temple at Gwalior, which Monserrate said looked like the figures of Our Lord and his twelve Apostles. (*As. Res.* IX, 212). That passage is, indeed, found in the Calcutta MS. It is one of the many bracketed ones which Monserrate intended (?) to transfer to Bk. II; but, whereas it occurs on the verso of fol. 17 of the Calcutta MS., Wilford—the only time that he refers to the pagination of the MS. in his possession—quotes p. 164. Again, the texts quoted in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* (1851), pp. 247, 266, and the note taken from a map by Monserrate (*ibid.*, p. 271) are not to be found in the Calcutta MS. I conclude then that Wilford had in his possession the original of Monserrate's Bk. II.[4] A clenching argument in this direction is Wilford's note in *As. Researches*, XIV (1822), p. 454, where he quotes Monserrate in connection with *Cuccurri Divá*, a place in Arakan. At foot he adds: "In an autograph MS. of the author, in my possession. The *Padre* wrote about the year 1590, in the prisons of Senna in Arabia." Now, no mention of this place occurs in the Calcutta MS., either in the text or in the map. Besides, our MS. is clearly dated (cf. end of preface), whereas Wilford's was not, it would seem.

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[1] *MSS.* is here used as a singular by Wilford.—"The original MSS. of Monserrate's *travels*" would seem to refer to the Calcutta MS. rather than to Monserrate's Bk. II; but, the text quoted does not occur in the Calcutta MS.

[2] In 1851 some of the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal requested to have Wilford's *Comparative Essay on the Ancient Geography of India* published "in the hope that the conjectures and even fallacies of such a man as Col. Wilford would not prove uninteresting." Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1851, p. 227.

[3] Cf. E. D. Maclagan, *Op. cit.*, *J. A. S. B.*, 1896, pp. 49–50.

[4] Wilford died at Benares. Over his tomb in the Old Civil Cemetery we read: "Sacred to the memory of Francis Wilford, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Engineer Service of the East India Company, aged 71 years, deceased on the 4th September 1822. Encouraged by the liberality of the Government of British India, he fixed his residence at Benares in the year 1788, devoted his life to retirement and study, eminently qualified by previous education, extensive erudition, a true intellect and indefatigable zeal. He made himself master of the classical language and literature of the Hindus, and applied his knowledge to the eradication of the dark periods of antiquity, with a success that perpetuates his own reputation and the honour of the British name in the East. In the social relations of life his merits were proportioned to his talents, and the abilities of the scholar were reflected by the virtues of the man."—We have searched in vain for Bk II in the Board of Examiners' Library, the Imperial Library, and the As. Soc. Library of Calcutta. I hoped I had traced one of Col. Wilford's descendants in Capt. A. Wilford, 5th Light Infantry, Nowgong (Central India), but he tells me on the authority of some biographical work, the reference to which was unfortunately mislaid, that Francis Wilford was a native of Hanover, who came to India in 1781, as an officer with the foreign troops sent by the British Government. E. A. H. Blunt thinks he was a Swiss. Cf. his *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs* .... Allahabad, 1911, p. 164, where some interesting facts on Wilford's career have been put together.—We have collected in App. B the texts of Monserrate quoted by Wilford.

It is not impossible that Wilford's MS. should still come to light. Judging from the extracts made by Wilford, we may say that the importance of such a discovery cannot be overrated.

How did Wilford obtain *his* MS.? He does not tell us. One of the suggestions that might be made is that Bk. II, and perhaps also the Calcutta MS., had found its way from Goa to the Jesuit College of Agra, and that Wilford obtained his volume from Father J. Tieffentaller, S.J. In the eighteenth century, the Jesuits in North India played a conspicuous part as scholars and scientists. We have all too soon forgotten the honourable position they occupied at the Court of the Moghul Emperors, what they did at the Court of Jay Singh II of Jaypur, as astronomers,[1] or again, what valuable services were rendered by them to Indian Geography, in particular by Fr. J. Tieffentaller.[2] If Monserrate's MSS. on India were not already at Agra, where they would have been more useful generally than at Goa, Tieffentaller might have procured them from Goa. He would naturally have been looked up to by his confrères as the man best fitted to utilize those materials. Then came the suppression of the Society in the Portuguese dominions in 1759 Fathers J. Tieffentaller and Francis Xavier Wendel were soon the only quondam Jesuits left in North India. Neither of them could now obtain from their brethren in Europe the assistance they would formerly have received for the publication of their valuable writings. Both addressed themselves to strangers and freely bestowed on them the fruits of their labours and those of their predecessors. Tieffentaller sent his learned geographical and historical disquisitions to Anquetil du Perron and Dr. Krutzenstein of Copenhagen.[3] Father Wendel presented Colonel Popham with a map and a MS. memoir on the land of the Rajputs and other Provinces to the S.-W. of Agra, both drawn up "in 1779 by P. Wendle."[4] If they were so liberal towards strangers with their own MSS., they may be supposed to have been not less generous with those of others. Wilford received from Fr. Wendel an account of the travels of Czernicheff, a Russian, from Bokhara to Kashmir in 1780. In the same way he obtained from Fr. Tieffentaller extracts from Otter's works which the Father had procured from Europe (cf. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1851, p. 240). He saw Fr. Tieffentaller at Lucknow in 1784, one year before "the good old man's death." (Cf. *As. Res.*, 1807, IX, p. 212). It is very tempting to suggest that somehow or other Wilford obtained Monserrate's MS.—Bk. II—from the old man at Lucknow. Tieffentaller having died without natural heirs, Wilford might have considered himself justified in keeping what no one would be able to turn to better use than himself. On the other hand, what tells strongly against this assumption is that no allusion to Monserrate's MSS. is to be found in Tieffentaller's *Beschreibung von Hindustan*, and yet both Bk. I and Bk. II would have been most useful for his geographical disquisitions. Several other theories suggest themselves: that the MSS. escaped the seizure of the Jesuit papers at Goa in 1760; or again, that they formed part of the booty seized by the Muḥammadans in the College of Agra before 1735. Fr. Emmanuel de Figueiredo, S.J., wrote in 1735 from "Mogor" that the "first and original" documents of the Agra Mission Archives had disappeared in such a raid.[1]

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[1] The Rev. Fr. S. Noti, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has published a monograph on this subject: *Land und volk des königl. Astronomen Dschaising II, Maharadscha von Dschaipur.* Berlin, D. Reimer, 1911, 8vo, pp. vii + 104, 28 illustr. in text, 8 photograv., 2 coloured maps. Mks. 8.

[2] Cf. REV. S. NOTI, S.J., *Joseph Tieffentaller, a forgotten Geographer of India*, Bombay, 1906.

[3] What became of the papers sent to Copenhagen? For the list of them, Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, S.J., *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, Bruxelles, 1898, Vol. VIII.

[4] Cf. JAMES RENNELL, *Description histor. et géogr. de l'Indostan*, Paris, Poiguée, 1800. Vol. I, pp. XXI–XXII, 198, 199; Vol. II, p. 242.

Whatever explanation be true, there remains a mystery to clear up in connection with the Calcutta MS. At some date already distant, it was diligently studied by an Englishman, a geographer, a scholar, a man with all the tastes of a Wilford, and yet I cannot determine by whom.

I alluded in the beginning to certain pencil-marks on the title-page. Similar pencil-marks, which I take to have come from one and the same hand, occur in the margins here and there. In certain striking passages, every line has been scored under. "*N.B.*" the anonymous annotator writes repeatedly. In the case of two double entries in the Index, he strikes out one. The geographical and antiquarian portions in particular caught his eye.

From fol. 2*b* to fol. 4*b* we have in the MS. a double column of names of towns, rivers, mountains and countries passed through by Monserrate in the course of his travels. The longitudes and latitudes are all given, and a quite scientific map drawn to scale—the earliest known for portions of India so far north as Lahore and Kābul, and a marvel of accuracy for the time—appears on the recto of the extra leaf marked 5.

Who but an Englishman and one interested in geography wrote *Right* near "Tanissar," (Long.) 116° 50′, (Lat.) 29° 43′; *Right* near "Sultanpur," 114° 20′, 30° 25′; *Right, I think*, near "Calanur," 115° 41′, 31° 39′? For "Panchangari" 116° 2′, 31° 30′, he corrects the minutes of latitude to 40′; for "Mancot" he corrects (Long.) 117° 30′ to 116° 30′; in the case of "Ruytas" [Rotas], he puts Lat. 33° 10′ for 33° 15′.

He was a scholar, too. In the margin of fol. 6*a*.,—the writing seems still the same—he notices in Latin that fol. 5 is missing and suggests that the loss should be made good by an examination of the Index—a search which yields good results—or by a reference to A. Botelho's *De Christiana apud Mogorem religione*.

He had a knowledge of Persian or Urdu, at all events; for he transliterates *Zelaldin* and *Akbar* into Persian characters (fol. 6*a*).

He calculates the age, the dimensions and the position (115° $\frac{1}{2}$, 33° $\frac{1}{2}$) of an obelisk, attributed to Rāmchandra, near Ruytas [Rotas], which Monserrate places in Long. 114° 1′ and Lat. 33° 23′ and describes at fol. 66*a*. 3. He notes with equal care a second obelisk also attributed to Rāmchandra and situated, according to Monserrate, in the small plain where Akbar encamped after descending the Western slope of the Khaiber Pass. (Long. 110° 43′; Lat. 34° 20′. *Monserrate.*)

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[1] Cf. Father Stocklein's *Weltbott*, No. 595.

Finally, from a note on fol. 82*b*., it is evident—for the writing seems always the same—that our anonymous annotator had consulted Monserrate's Bk. II. The note is in Portuguese: "*Vide Achegas pera o 2do Livro. Fo. 30b,*" i.e. "See Additions for Bk. II, fol. 30*b*."

Is Wilford the author of the pencil-marks? A comparison with his handwriting would readily settle the question; but, where are specimens to be obtained? On the other hand, how is it that no allusion to the obelisks is to be found anywhere in Wilford's writings, or that he did not utilize the tables of longitudes and latitudes? Is it likely, too, that Wilford would have presented the MS., and that without Bk. II to Fort William College before 1818, four years at least before his death?[1]

How did the mysterious annotator—we shall call him X.—know anything of Father Anthony Botelho's *De Christiana apud Mogorem religione*? It is worth copying his note as it stands. Of Akbar's embassy to Goa in 1579, part of which is missing in the Calcutta MS., he writes on fol. 6*a*: *Caret folium 5 ubi relatum fuit quomodo Zelaldin (seu Hacabar) terras Bisnagar, Visapor & quæcumq; Mogorem Bengalamque interjacent bello vastarit. Forte juxta Bengalam in Romanos Sacerdotes incidit. Vide Ant^o Botelho De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione, p. 1. Vide* INDEX *operis hujus. Voce* Sacerdotes. *Suppleri posset ex A. Botelho De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione incipiente ad calcem Summa memorand. Rerum quæ apud Magni Mogoris vidit & Scheda ⊕ conseq.* Copies of Fr. Botelho's little treatise *De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione* must be rare enough. There is a copy in the possession of the Society of Jesus, and another in the British Museum, *Marsden MSS.* in *Catalogue of Addit. MSS.*, Vol. I (1824-41). Compare with the title at fol. 1 of No. 9855: *Summa memorandarum rerum, quæ* [sic] *apud Magni Mogoris Regnum vidit, et obseruauit Pater Antonius Botelho* [a seal?] *Societatis Jesu Goanæ Prouinciæ Præpositus Prouincialis intra sexennium, quò illic Superior uixit, et Missionarius.* From notes sent me by Mr. W. R. Philipps I know that a new section begins at the top of leaf 14, entitled "*De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione.*" This ends at the back of leaf 16. Leaves 1–16 are in Latin; leaves 17–46 are in Portuguese: the Latin being an abridgment of the Portuguese. The writing looks the same throughout. There is no date or signature.

Fr. Botelho went to Agra as Visitor at the end of 1647, and must have arrived at his destination in the beginning of 1648. His name appears on one of our catalogues for 1648 as: Anthony Botelho (Senior), Visitor and Rector [of Agra]. His name appears again in 1649, but no longer in the next extant catalogue of Mogor for 1653. A note by the late Fr. J. B. Van Meurs, S.J., tells me that he wrote his *De Moribus et natura religionis Mogorensis* during his Provincialate, in 1670.[1]

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[1] In 1870, the question of the whereabouts of the Monserrate MS. mentioned by Wilford was mooted by R. R. W. Ellis in *Notes and Queries* (1870, Vol. I, p. 161) in answer to a question by Col. H. Yule (cf. *ibid.*, p. 59). But, Mr. Ellis' answer is as disappointing as Col. Yule's query was interesting. Col. Yule called for information about a countryman of his one George Strachan of the Merns, a Scotchman, Jesuit and Oriental traveller, temp. Jac. I. Pietro della Valle met him at Combru (Bender Abbas) in 1622, and though he enters into many details of Strachan's history, "he was to all appearances ignorant of the fact that Strachan was a Jesuit." Cf. DELLA VALLE'S *Travels* edited by Gancia (Brighton, 1843, Vol. II, pp. 50 and 437). Mr. Ellis' reference to one of Wilford's extracts from Monserrate (*As. Res.*, IX, 212) is beside the mark entirely. There is no allusion to Strachan in Monserrate, nor could there be. Monserrate had died in 1600, and Strachan did not go to the East till several years later.

How Marsden got possession of the 10 volumes of MS. Annual Letters and documents regarding Japan and China, Goa, Cochin and their Missions is more than we know. Was the Calcutta MS. part of the Goa spoils which Marsden secured apparently during his sojourn in Sumatra? But then, why was it not presented by him with his other books either to the British Museum or to King's College?[2]

My conclusion, then, is that Monserrate's Bk. I has never been made use of. The Calcutta MS. is a unique copy, nor will the epithet "excellent," which Graf von Noer applied to a much inferior composition by Monserrate, be found exaggerated. In presenting it to the learned world, I anticipate that his *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*, the earliest known account of Northern India by a European since the days of Vasco da Gama, will take rank as a first-rate authority.

My reason for publishing the Latin text in the first place is to preserve the original from further mishaps. I do not contemplate undertaking a translation. The work of the translator and annotator will be one of no ordinary difficulty. Several passages almost defy translation, for the simple reason that we are too little acquainted with the condition of many things in Monserrate's time. As a case in point, I refer to his descriptions of temples, palaces, and ruins. I believe that a translation will do justice to the text only when a host of scholars will have focussed on the original the light of research.[3] Besides, so many unpublished materials on the Jesuit Missions in Mogor, Tibet and Bengal, of which not a few will further elucidate the present work, have now accumulated under my hands that even a long lifetime will scarcely suffice to dispose of them all. I cherish, therefore, the hope that the task of translating and annotating this work will commend itself to someone better qualified and circumstanced than myself.

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[1] Cf *J. A. S. B.*, 1910, *The Marsden MSS. in the British Museum*, pp. 448, 453, sqq., and *A Jesuit Father's Account of India in the time of Shāh Jahān*, by Mr. H. Beveridge, in *The Indian Magazine and Review*, London, A. Constable, pp. 264-266.

[2] Father C. Beccari states—on what authority?—that Marsden acquired "at Goa" Fr. d'Almeida's *Historia de Ethiopia a alta*, an original autograph, and presented it to the British Museum in 1837. Fr. Botelho's *Summa memorandarum rerum* forms part of the same Marsden Collection, and the fact is that nearly all the letters in Add. MSS. Vols. 9854 and 9855, Brit. Mus., are letters from the Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor addressed to the Provincial of Goa.—I may mention that the Calcutta MS. contains a detached leaf with notes by some theologian, a sort of *promptuarium*, references to an Italian work. The writing is almost illegible. I have pasted it on, at the end of the MS.

[3] I have translated and commented on Monserrate's description of Delhi in *J.A.S.B.*, 1911, pp. 99-108. Mr. J. P. Thompson has since pointed out to me that the Aśoka pillar mentioned by Monserrate is not the "golden-pillar" of the Kotila, but the pillar of the Jahānnumā. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 100 *n.* 3. Blochmann's Persian text of the *Āīn* gives 5 kos as the length of Firoz Shāh's "third" tunnel to Old Delhi. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 104. I have returned to Monserrate's measurements (40 stadia) of Firoz Shāh's "tunnel" in *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, *Firoz Shāh's Tunnels*, pp. 279-81. The passages on Lahore and Rāmchandra's obelisks have been translated by Dr. J. P. Vogel, the archæologist; I have added a translation of fol. 83 and 84*a* on the Bedaulat caves. Both are intended for *The Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Lahore.

Finally, some passages were communicated to Mr. E. D. Maclagan, in illustration of *Fray Manrique's Travels in the Panjab*. Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 1, 2.

I refrain from analysing here more fully the contents of the MS. Suffice it to say that Monserrate's account of the Kābul campaign (1581-82), about which the Muḥammadan historians teach us very little (Cf. ELLIOT, *Hist. of India*, Vol. V, *Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. 421—427), occupies fully a hundred pages (fol. 39*b* to fol. 92*a*). And, since the subject continually crops up, I may as well announce that no revelations are to be expected about John Philip de Bourbon, or Akbar's Christian wife. Monserrate's silence in the latter instance is all the more insignificant, as he labours to explain Akbar's leanings towards Christianity from the fact that some of his remote ancestors had been Christians. Akbar appears indeed to have had a Christian wife, but this must have been later. As for the appellation of *Bībī Mariam kī koṭhī* at Fatehpūr, the reader will discover in this book (fol. 35*b*. 3—fol. 37*a*. 2) good reasons to believe it commemorates to this day the house and domestic (?) chapel which Bl. R. Aquaviva and his companions had close to the Emperor's lodgings. Monserrate states that the Fathers had only to cross a door to be within the Emperor's quarters. This is true of Bībī Mariam's *koṭhī*. Hence, the name would commemorate the fact that it contained the picture of Our Lady, "Bībī Mariam," which Akbar came repeatedly to venerate in 1580. Close to Bībī Mariam's *koṭhī*, there is a small separate building with a gable roof, the only one of its kind at Fatehpur. I failed to notice it on my visit to the place in December 1912; but, Father Felix, O.C., of Maryābād, Gujranwālā Dt., Panjab, showed me a photograph of it. It looks altogether like a European construction, and would have answered the purposes of a chapel for the few European and Armenian Catholics then at Fatehpur. A small line of low penthouses, within the courtyard of Bībī Mariam's house and built against the outer wall of the Emperor's quarters, might have contained the Fathers' kitchen. Local tradition still connects it with a kitchen.

A word or two in explanation of the editing of the text.

I have removed nearly all the abbreviations, but have imitated the spelling as closely as possible. Earlier versions of the text appear as foot-notes. In the main, the old-fashioned but systematic punctuation has been preserved. My reason for doing so was that I did not wish to obtrude any personal interpretation of the text in the case of the more difficult passages. I have, however, in many cases used full stops and capitals where the original did not. Lastly, as the text runs on without a break, I have paragraphed it to make the reading more easy and agreeable, and enable the reader to find more readily what he is in search of. With the same purpose in view, I have introduced marginally directions as to the contents. In doing so, I have adopted for proper names and place-names the orthography of the new *Imperial Gazetteer*, 26 vols. Names not identified have a mark of interrogation. Any remarks within [ ] are mine.

Finally, let me record my obligations for valuable suggestions to Revv. FF. F. Opdebeeck, S.J., Paul Lefebvre, S.J., and C. Martindale, S.J.

St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.

IP46

E 93

ANTONII, MONSERRATI, SACERDOTIS, E, SOCIETATE, IESV:

XVI L. 27

Missionarius
cum P. Rodolfo
Acquaviva
A. S. H. 1582.

Mongolicae · legationis · Commentarius.

I H S.

Ad P. Claudium Aquauiua totius Societatis Præpositum :—

Exped. ad Chabul
6° *Id. Feb.*
1581. 44*b*.

Sanáa 7 Idibus Januarii 1591

Explanations of the original Title-Page.

*IP*46: presumably a press-mark of one of the Jesuit houses in Goa.

E 93: the press-mark of the Fort William College Library. Cf. Preface, p. 3.

XVI L. 27: the press-mark of the Metcalfe Hall Collection. Cf. Preface, p. 1.

Missionarius | *cum P. Rodolfo* | *Acquaviva* | *A*[*nno*] *S*[*alutis*] *H*[*ominum*] 1582 | : pencil-note from a later hand and refreshed by myself.

Sanáa 7 Idibus Januarii 1591: pencil-note apparently from the same hand as the previous note. I refreshed it. The year '1591' had been traced out in ink.

Expeditio ad Chabul | 6° *Id. Feb.* | 1581. 44*b*. | This remark, which was in ink, was almost illegible. I traced it out again. 44*b* refers to the verso of fol. 44, where the date for the beginning of the Kābul campaign is given again.

Around the monogram of the Society of Jesus. *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris. Ps.* 15. *Iesus pars Hæreditatis meæ et calicis mei. Ps.* 15.

COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM.[1]

Celebriorum authorum nomina quibus dictorum fidem substruximus.

Biblia Sacra.
Bibliorum interpres.
Josephus Antiquitatum Judaicarum et belli Judaici scriptor.
D. Hieronymus in locis Heb.— Trogus Pompeius.
Ptholomæus · Geographiae author.
Strabo, Plinius, Apollodorus, Solinus, Lucanus poeta.
Raph. Volaterranus. Anthonius Coccus Sabellicus
Æneas Syluius qui postea Pius 2^{us} Papa, de 2^{a} Asiæ parte.
Diodorus Siculus. Paulus Jouius, Episcopus Nucerinus, in Elogijs et Commentarijs Turcicarum rerum.
D. Anthonius Florentiæ Archiepiscopus in 3^{a} parte Summæ Historiarum.
Speculum historiarum Vincentij.
Joannes Barrus Lusitanus in Asia Decade 2^{a}.

Inferioris notæ.

Petrus Mexia[2] in Sylua uariæ lectionis qui res Temuri decerpsit ex Baptista Egnatij; Collectaneis Fulgosi; parte 2^{a} Geog. Pij 2^{i}; Platina in Vita Bonifacij 9^{i}; Matheo Palmerio in Addit. Chron.; Cambino Florentino in Hist. Turc.
Rodericus Gonsaluius e Clauigijs in diurnorum itinerum ad Temurum descriptione.

In pondere, numero, et mensura.

TRANSFERRED FROM
Imperial Library, 7 Apr. 1903.

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[1] MS. note.

[2] Pencil-note by anonymous annotator: *Lib. II. Cap. XXVII*, in the margin opposite.

F. 1a.

P. CLAUDIO AQUAUIUA TOTIUS SOCIETATIS JESU PRÆPOSITO,

ANTONIUS MONSERRATUS EIUSDEM SOCIETATIS SACERDOS

S. P. D.

Ea fuit priscorum hominum diligentia ut, dum iter agerent, omnia quæ vnius cuiusque diei euentus attulisset diligentissime in aduersaria referrent. Cuius rei curam Alexander Macedo Eratostheni dedit, cum Asiaticam expeditionem instituit, *Antiochus autem Nicator, Seleuci Nicatoris filius, Artemidoro.[1] At Iulius Cæsar eum laborem ipsemet subijt, et bellorum quæ gessit commentarios conscripsit: *hoc ipsum Persiæ reges, ut in Esdra habetur, factitarunt; nam qui ab accidentibus appellabantur, et scribere accidentia dicebantur: regum imperio nihil quod accideret, præteribant, quin litteris commendarent.[1] Quorum diligentiam plerique postea tum terra tum etiam mari imitati sunt; qui Geographiæ, Nauticæ, et Historiæ optimis studijs dediti, literariæ Reipublicæ non mediocri accessione, penu cumularunt. *Esdræ*, 3. *Cap.* 2.[1]

Ac cum in Societate Iesu, hac et alijs de caussis, ut omnia quæ eueniunt perscribantur jam inde a fœlici Ignatij patris nostri memoria, qui primus ut ita fieret edixit, in mores inductum sit: ne ab optimo instituto religiosus uir Rodericus Vincentius Societatis in Indiæ prouincia præpositus discederet, quo tempore ad Zelaldinum Equebárem Mongolorum Regem proficiscebamur, mihi curam imposuit, ut singula quæ cum in itinere, tum etiam dum cum Rege uersaremur acciderent scriptis mandarem. Cui cum ad amussim parere ex meæ uitæ ratione et Societatis instituto deberem, ad eius me imperium ita comparaui, ut singulis diebus noctu biennium integrum cum dimidiato quicquid eius diei tulisset euentus litteris committerem. Quo singula perscribendi quotidiano || labore, quicquid iter ac tempus uarium dederunt, complexus sum. *A. S. H.* 1582.[2] F. 1b.

Ea uero sunt flumina, urbes, regiones,[3] hominum mores, templa, religiones. Ac posteaquam ad Regem uentum est, eius *quam præferebat[4] erga Christi religionem *simulata quidem[4] pietas. Erga Rodolfum, cui data erat grauissimi eius negotij prouincia, et erga eius socios *ambitiosa fucataque[4] beneuolentia. Tum ipsius Rodolfi ardor, multa cum prudentia scientiaque coniunctus. Ad hæc, disceptationes cum Agarenis pro Christiana religione. Bellum Chabulicum quod[1] magna cum animi constantia et miro consilio,* Hachimo[2] fugato Zelaldinus confecit: ac denique ipsius ouatio et triumphus.

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[1] Later addition.—The remarks at foot apply to the text between the * and the figure.

[2] Pencil-note by X., *i.e.*, the anonymous annotator. The date is wrong.

[3] Deleted after "regiones": agrorum amœnitates.

[4] Later addition.

Quæ omnia cum adhuc rudia et inchoata, ita uti cursim exceperam, post reditum, uiris quibusdam e nostra Societate ætatis, prudentiæ et omnis *literaturæ[3] laude præstantibus perlegissem, non paucis ac uulgaribus uerbis me uti uia et ordine quæ potiora iudicarem exscriberem sunt adhortati. Quorum præstans iudicium ac sententiam cum alijs in rebus maioris momenti sequi, iam antea consueuissem, nolui committere ut ab eis ea in re discederem quæ ad tuam tandem trutinam referenda et ex tua grauissima censura aut admittenda aut reijcienda esset.

Et iam octauus agitur annus cum operi manus admouere cœpi. Sexto vero ab inchoato opere anno,[4] me ad Æthiopiam a Petro Martinio Indiæ prouinciæ præposito missum* in scribendi studio atque opera cessare[5] tempestiuum ad nauigandum mare coegit. Nec antea tempus et locum redeundi ad opus nactus sum, quam mihi ab hostibus Agarenis ad Dofárem Arabiæ (ea est Sabæa) iuxta Atramitem (ubi thus legitur) urbem capto, et Eynanum transmisso Rex Ommaris Agarénus paruam ac tenuem supellectilem ac libros saluos esse et reddi et me in liberali custodia esse permisit. Nam datum est mihi quattuor mensium otium quo scripta corrigere et quæ *desiderabantur[6] adijcere potui. Nihil enim, *singulari Dei beneficio,[7] seruilis
F. 2a. acerbitatis || aliud *corpore[8] perferebam, *quam ergastulum.[9] Erat enim mihi solatio in primis sodalis meus Petrus *Paesius[10] sacerdos *propter exomologesim,[8] deinde sacri libri, atque ad nocturnas et diurnas preces recitandas persoluendasque sacrorum *epitome.[11] At vero, posteaquam illud quattuor mensium spatium exegi, arma litteraria ponere iterum compulsus sum. Indicta est enim mihi profectio Sánaam, ubi Turcicus pro Rege *præses[12] degit. Verum cum ille qui genere *erat Epirota[13] (Arnautem uulgus *Turcarum a principe eius gentis urbe, nostratium Allanesium[8] dicit) eadem comitate me tractare dissimulasset, et libros mihi dari iussisset, ad institutum laborem redij et purgatum auctumque opus lituris uindicavi.

Quod an ex ratione et more Societatis scriptum sit et an aliquid emolumenti legentibus sit allaturum tuum erit indicium. Equidem, nisi mihi ἡ φιλαυτία palpum obtrudat, et imponat: opinor non futurum inutile Geographiæ et Antiquitatis studiosis, nostris præcipue qui humaniorum litterarum authores uersant, si *in rerum Indicarum historiam deueniant.[1]

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[1] Deleted after "quod": 1st: pro Mahommeddica superstitione contra Christi fidem a Mahommedde, principe fratre illatum; 2ndly: pro Mahometica superstitione contra Christi fidem ab Hachimo principe fratre illatum.

[2] 1st: eo.

[3] Later marginal note by M.: literatura simplex t.

[4] Marginal pencil-note by X.: A°. 1582+6=1588.

[5] 1st: a scribendo manum referre.

[6] 1st: desyderabantur. M. added later marginally: desidero, i latinum, non vero græcum y.

[7] 1st: Dei erga me magno beneficio.

[8] Later addition.

[9] 1st: quam sacrosancto sacrificio minime potiri, et sacris alijs sacerdotij functionibus non perfungi.

[10] 1st: Pelagij;—2ndly: [8]Paysius.

[11] 1st: breuiarium.

[12] 1st: Prætor.

[13] 1st: est Panno.

Enimuero quæ ad nostrorum Sacerdotum profectionem, et apud regem moram, et belli Chabulici exitum spectant, bona fide ita perscripsi uti res habuit ac ego ipse oculis perspexi. Quod uero attinet ad illa quæ ueluti assumpta et aduentitia extra institutæ narrationis ordinem de Cinguiscano, Temurbégo, de Scythis Mongolisque ad huius primi libri calcem adieci, ea ab ipso in primis Zelaldino Rege, deinde a quadam diurnorum itinerum descriptionis ephemeride *quam Henrici quarti Castellæ Regis apud Temurum legatus quidam confecit,[2] postremo a scriptoribus quamplurimis quarum est authoritas non uulgaris accepi.[3] Tandem opus in duos libros distribui, quorum hic prior primæ ad Mongolorum regem profectionis esset commentarius, *alter[4] ipsius quasi appendix et σχόλιον, in quem ea contuli quæ ad situm et historiam naturalium rerum Indiæ intra Gangem ac priscorum ab-*[originum et indigetum][5] hominum pertinent qui memoria nostra in ea *[degunt].[5]

F 2b. *Duobus reliquis libris quos prioribus adiunxi eodem ordine profectionem in Æthiopiam priore, altero Arabiæ situs et rerum naturalium epitomen conscripsi[6] qua una et eadem opera non pauca Geographorum et Historicorum loca, qui res Indicas *et Arabicas[7] tractant, (quod sit absque arrogantia dictum) in nostrarum scholarum moderatorum gratiam quam modeste ac temperanter potui castigare, elucidare et conciliare contendi. Utinam cum ea diuini nominis laude et animorum utilitate quam par est non solum animo cupere sed etiam omnibus uiribus uestigare. Quæ duo si utrumque opus tuo grauissimo iudicio præ se ferre uideatur, satis superque tibi esse commendatum duco. Vale.

*Sanaæ[8] septimo Idus Januarij anni Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo primo. 7to Januarii 1591.[9]

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[1] 1st: in res Indicas deueniant.

[2] Later addition.

[3] Some words erased here and not decipherable.

[4] 1st: alius.

[5] Portions cut off from the margin and restored.—This paragraph from "Quod uero attinet . ." ran at first thus:

Quod uero attinet ad illa quæ ueluti parergon de Cinguiscano, Temurbego, et Scythis Mongolisque in Zelaldini gratiam ad operis calcem adieci, ea ab ipso in primis Zelaldino Rege, deinde a quadam diurnorum itinerum descriptione quam Henrici quarti Castellæ Regis apud Temurum legatus quidam confecit, tum ab Strabone, Q. Curtio, Plinio, Ptolomæo, Diodoro, Justino, Sabellico, Antonino Florentiæ, Pio secundo et Paulo Iouio Nucerino quorum est authoritas non uulgaris accepi. Tandem Sénaæ operi finem imposui et alium librum [1st: aliud opusculum quasi appendiculam et scholium] adieci in quod ea contuli quæ ad naturalium rerum et priscorum aboriginum et indigetum morumque ipsorum (qui cum huius ætatis indigenarum moribus conueniunt) historiam pertinent.

[6] Later addition—Before the * X. wrote in pencil: Æthiopica & Arabica.

[7] Later addition.

[8] 1st: Senaa.

[9] Pencil-note by X.

F. 2b.

NOMINA, LONGITUDINES ET LATITUDINES INSIGNIORUM URBIUM, OPPIDORUM, FLUMINUM, MONTIUM ET REGIONUM, QUÆ NOSTRIS SACERDOTIBUS AD EQUEBAREM MONGOLORUM REGEM EUNTIBUS AB URBE GOA AD URBEM NICOPOLIM (FATTEPUR), DEINDE NICOPOLI CHABULUM PROFICISCENTIBUS OCCURRERUNT.

		Long.		Lat.	
		G.	M.	G.	M.
	Goa	109	30	15	30
	Xeul	109	15	18	40
	Carania	109	15	18	50
	Taná (*Tanis*) in insula Salseti	109	20	19	
	Bassayn	109	21	19	20
	Daanu	109	35	19	50
	Daman	109	41	20	19
F. 3a.	Cossumba	110	30	21	30
	Vasarai	110	45	21	30
	Dayta	111	45	21	30
	Cucuramundá	112	7½	21	45
	Peaz (*Cepe*)	112	20	21	45
	Talaudá	112	7½	22	
	Sultanpur (*Basilipolis*)	112	30	22	
	Cradhá	113		21	45
	Chittiuará (*Pantherouicus*)	113	19	21	45
	Brandpur	113	40	21	20
	Rha (*Via*)	112	43	22	2
	Auazus Metrop[olis]	113	2	22	10
	Cenduá	113	45	22	6½
	Bamanque gam (*Bragmanarum oppidum*)	113	45	22	20
	Suraná	114	7½	22	20
	Mandhoum metrop[olis] Maluanorum	115	1	22	30
	Dectan	115	30	22	40
	Usen (*Usena*)	116	15	23	
	Sannareá	116	47	23	20
	Sarangpur (*Naucleropolis*)	117		23	20
	Berzeá	117	54	23	20
	Pimpildár	118	7½	23	30
	Siurange	118	7½	23	58
	Saddoá	118	7½	24	30
	Coylarazus	118	7½	25	5
	Cypirinum	118	22	25	40
	Naroár	118	7½	26	10

		Long.		Lat.	
		G.	M.	G.	M.
	Couleca	109	53½	20	26½
	Paharnera (*Mons idoli*)	110	7½	20	26½
	Balsar (*Bucephala*)	109	58	20	39
	Gandiui (*Pulipula*)	110		20	45
	Nausari (*Nusaripa*)	110	3	20	58
	Beará	110	50	21	7½
	Surate (*Comanes*)[2]	110	15	21	20
F. 3a.	Varque Sarai (*Vici diuersorium*)	118		26	23
	Goalier	118		26	42
	Commariá	117	30	26	50
	Daulpúr (*Alba urbs*)	117		26	53½
	Fattepur (*Nicea*, i.e., *Nicopolis ab Equebáre condita anno* 1571)	116	30	27	
	Agara metro[polis]	117		27	19
	Bal (*Bos*)	116	21	27	30
	Maturá	116	2	27	30
	Anumanth (*Simiorum fanum*	116	12	27	43
	Delinum Christianorum olim metropolis	115	58	28	38
	Sonipát	116	15	28	45
	Panipát	116	40	29	10
	Carnár	116	50	29	19
	Taníssar[3]	116	50	29	43
	Bad (*malum*)[3]	116	50	29	53½
	Gagaque Sarai (*Gagæ diuersorium*)	116	38	30	15
	Satcombé[4]	118	30	30	15
	Sarind (*limes Indiæ, i.e., caput*)	116	20	30	23
	Paél	115	38	30	33½
	Machiuará (*Vicus piscium*)	115	50	30	44
	Sultanpur (*Basilæa*)[3]	114	20	30	25
	Ludianá	115	23	30	23

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[1] Later marginal note by Monserrate.

[2] Minutes of latitude changed in pencil to 10′ by X.

[3] X. writes: 'Right' near these places.

[4] "The distance to Satcombé was given in common coss to him" X. writes marginally in pencil.

F. 3b.
Col 1.

	Long.		Lat.	
	G.	M.	G.	M.
Dungarí	115	37	31	10
Gandiuan	113	57	31	7½
Gouindiuar	114	10	30	40
Cancárque gam	118	42	31	15
Pachangarí[1]	116	2	31	30
Calanur[2]	115	41	31	39
Pargana Peytan	117	9	31	39
Lahor metro[polis]	113	59	31	39
Nagarcott	116		31	53½
Xergar (*domus leonis*)	114	21	31	57
Xunigacarque Sarai	114	57	32	3½
Sámba	116	19	32	19
Qhunja (*ager sanguinis*)	115	27½	32	20
Saddarí[3]	115	20	32	23
Mancot[4]	117	30	32	26½
Jamúdib	116	6	32	40
Ruytas[5]	114	59	33	15
Obeliscus Rhamchandi	114	1	33	23
Rhauadum	114	0	33	40
Gagar[6]	113	39	33	39
Nilabh	112	30	33	40
Azará	112	30	33	57
2 Saygí	111	40	33	57
1 Oppidum rixæ	111	23½	33	57
3 Pirxaur	111	20	34	
Caybarí gatte	110	59	34	15
Caybar	110	43	34	20
Bixaur	110	23½	34	30
Gelalabad	110		34	40
Sanghe cephet	109	45	35	
Albaric	109	20	35	30
Chabul metropolis	108	50	36	

Hic est ordo horum trium oppidorum, iuxta quem commutandi [sic] *sunt sed non ipsi numeri.*[7]

F. 3b.
Col. 2.

Capita seu fontes quorundam fluminum qui [sic] *in sinum Barigazenum effluunt.*

	Long.		Lat.	
	G.	M.	G.	M.
Taphi	113	16	22	3
Naruadá	118	40	22	45
Machipara	118	45	23	
Paharbati	118	45	23	20

In Gangem.

Jamona	118	30	30	20

In Indum.

Chambal	118		27	
Ambalá	118		30	45
Satanulge	119		31	19
Beà	117	20	31	45
Raoy	116	7½	32	1
Cingaro	116	7½	32	
Naní	116	57	32	33
Xenao	116	20	32	40
Behet	117	30	32	45
Ind	119	15	32	15

Commixtiones.

Jomanis et Gangis.

F. 4a.
Col. 1.

Divertigia.[8]

Jomanis ad urbem Delinum	116	2	28	38

F. 4a.
Col. 2.

Ostia.

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[1] Lat. 31° 40.′ [X.]

[2] "Right, I think." [X.]

[3] Lat.: 32° 33′. [X.]

[4] Long.: 116° 30′. [X.]

[5] Lat.: 33° 10′. [X.]

[6] Later marginal note by Monserrate: A situ Gagaris oritur discrimen in descriptionibus; quapropter ex diurnorum itinerum descriptione emendandæ sunt ut proxime ad illam mutuæ distantiæ et viæ ductus depingantur Chabulum usque.

[7] Later note by Monserrate.

[8] This column was erased by Monserrate up to: Ad Surate.

F. 4a.
Col. 1.

	Long.		Long.	
	G	M.	G.	M.
Ad Mathuranum	116	2	27	30
Ad Agaram	117		27	19
Satanulge ad Machiuara	115	51	30	45
Ad Ludiana	115	24	30	24
Bea ad Pachangari	116	1	31	29
Gouindiuar	114	8	30	38
Raoi ad Lahurum	114		31	39
Xenao ad Qhunja	115	27½	32	20
Behet ad Rhutasium	114	59	32	41
Indi ad Azara	112	30	33	58
Ad Nilabh	112	30	33	41
Coæ ad Gelalabadum	110		34	40
Samballi ad Daulpurum	117		26	53
Naruadæ ad Seunarea	116	47	23	21
Ad Bamanque gam	113	45	22	19
Taphi ad Sultanpurum	112	30	21	59
Ad Peaz	112	20	21	44
Ad Surate	110	15	21	21

F. 4b.
Col. 1.

Sanquilí	109	41	15	45
Argao	109	20	18	40
Sanguiçá Carnala, duo iuga	109	22	18	45
Camón	109	40	19	21
Assaryn	109	30	19	30
Rupes fastigiata ad ortum Danuú oppidi	109	42	19	50
Tres cumuli ad arcem Damán	109	49	20	20

Ultra Balagate.

Paharnerá	110	10	20	7½
Auazus mons, qui a Cenduá, cuius sunt	113	45	22	6½
ad Ansotum, quod habet	110	22	21	57½
recta ducitur uersus solis occasum et præfecturam unam Gedrosiæ continet, cui tres reguli imperitant, cuius medium ferme habet	112		22	
Mandhou mons	115	1	22	30
Naroar saltus	118		26	
Vindij montis frons quae Sequirino ueteri impendet, ubi condita est ab Equébar Nicea	116	30	27	
Imaus qui se a	119	30	28	

F. 4a.
Col. 2.

	Long.		Long.	
	G.	M.	G.	M.

Montes.

Balagate montes qui oræ maris Indici, a iugi Comareni fronte, quae habet	112	40	7	15
ad Daytam Sarzetae seu Birgí reguli urbem, quae habet	111	45	21	30
impendet, et Brandpurum, quod habet	113	39	21	20
diuertit ubi frontem exporrigit et metam figit.[1] Sunt uero horum montium ab urbe Goa hæc iuga notoria				

F. 4b.
Col 2.

ad	116		33	
protendit, cuius medium fere habet	118		30	30
Balnatque thile	114	40	33	
Caspus qui à	117		33	
attingit	111		36	30
cuius medium fere habet	114		34	45
Baalá mons	110	20	34	25
Caiberi iugum sea Paharueti fauces	110	59	34	15
Beedaulat	110	23½	34	30
Caucasius	108	50	36	
Paharopanísus	108	50	36	40

Regiones quarum mediæ distantiæ sic habent, in ora maris, & itinere.

Conqhan habet	109	20	16	20
Decan	109	10	18	42
Gusarat, pars	112		21	22½
Auaz	112		22	
Maluá	118		24	40
Industan	116	19	28	45
Arachosiae pars	115		32	
Both et Bothant	119		32	
Mansarüor	121		32	
Casmir	118		33	
Chabul	109		35	30

Quæ omnia proposita descriptio, in sequenti tabula ante oculos ponet.[2]

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[1] Correct to: impendent . . . diuertunt . . . exporrigunt . . . figunt.

[2] Cf. map at the end and App. C.

The loss of fol. 5 can be remedied in various ways:—

1. The index to Monserrate's *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius* contains the following entries:—

Zelaldinus, magnus Mongolorum Rex, 5*a*. 2.
Antonius Cabralius ad Equebarem legatus, 5*a*. 3.
Antonius Noronius, Indiæ pro Rege præses, 5*a*. 3.
Lusitanorum constantiam Zelaldinus periclitatur, 5*a*. 4.
Lusitanorum uirtus et fortitudo, 5*b*. 1.
Petrus Tauarius, patritius Lusitanus, 5*b*. 3.
Sacerdotes Societatis Jesu duo in Gangaride, 5*b*. 4.
Ismael Culicanus, 5*b*. 4.
Ægidius Joannides Gangaridis Archimystes, 5*b*. 4.

2. Cf. Monserrate's *Relaçam do Equebar, Rei dos Mogores.* Appendix B.

3. Cf. J. B. PERUSCHI, S.J., *Informatione del Regno e Stato del gran Re di Mogor* . . . . , Brescia, P. M. Marchetti, 1597.

This is based for the greater part on No. 2.

4. Cf. D. BARTOLI, S.J., *Delle opere del Padre Daniello Bartoli . . . Vol. XXXVIII. Delle Memorie Istoriche, Libro quarto*, Torino, Marietti, 1847, C. XXIV, pp. 347-355.

5. Cf. DANIEL BARTOLI, S.J., *Missione al Gran Mogor del Padre Ridolfo Aquaviva* . . . . Roma, MDCCXIV, pp. 7–14.

[p. 7] "There at Fatipùr, a town and Court built by himself, Achabàr often conversed with a certain Portuguese called Pietro Tavàres, a clever man, the Captain of a harbour in Bengala, who served him in the military profession. The King would sometimes discuss with him jestingly and mockingly about the Moorish religion which he [Akbar] professed, not that he discovered any truth in the Alcoran, but solely because, [8] being born and bred in that religion, his only reason for not abandoning it was that he did not know what other religion to embrace. If the disputations of his Mulas did not satisfy him, those of the Bramans, satisfied him still less. Once, in one of these conversations, he asked Tavàres what was the value and truth of the scriptures of the Christians, and how far their doctors could defend them. Tavàres started speaking, to the best of his knowledge, about the Old and the New Testament, and about the Fathers of the Society. He said what he thought would give a good opinion of their life, and added in praise of their talents that, if His Majesty were pleased to call from India some two of them, he hoped they would in a few days bring him to a knowledge of the truth, whereas he was losing his time in trying to discover it in the disputations of the Mulas and the Bramans. And as for the Fathers, he [Akbar] had come to esteem them those last three years as men of great integrity of life. This, because two of them, having come to preach in his dominions in Bengala, and finding that the Christians there defrauded his Royal Exchequer of the taxes they rightfully owed for anchorage, and of the annual imposts agreed upon between them, obliged them to make restitution. A large sum was thus recovered, and the King, wise as he was, on hearing of it from his ministers, [9] marvelled at the measure and highly commended the probity of the Fathers, as also the holiness of the Christian law, since it would not allow in its followers any disloyalty or injustice even towards foreigners and enemies. Later, he summoned to his Court from Satagan in Bengala, where he was Vicar, Egidio Anes Pereira; but, as he was a man of more virtue than knowledge, and the King cared only for curious questions and subtleties, he succeeded indeed in giving him a good opinion of the innocence of life of a Christian, wherefore the King cherished him and royally rewarded him with honours and gifts; but he would not humour the King in what he desired above all, getting him to fight and dispute with the enemies of the Christian faith, who, though at loggerheads among themselves for all the rest, were agreed and unanimous on the one point of attacking it.

Accordingly, and at Pereira's prudent advice, Achabar sent Ebadola, one of the nobles of his Court, and an escort of honour, together with an Armenian Christian named Domenico Perez, as interpreter, bearing letters for the Archbishop, the Viceroy and the Fathers of Goa. Solemn and long were the demonstrations of honour and welcome with which the Ambassador of so great a King, [10] come on so worthy a mission, was received in September 1579. In fact, the same celebrations were accorded him which were customary on the arrival of Viceroys newly come from Europe to take up the government of India. Not less—considering their zeal for the honour of God and for the propagation of the Faith—was the spiritual consolation all felt, particularly the Fathers. It was but fit, since they had for many years made every endeavour, though always in vain, to bear the name of Christ into Mogor; and now, suddenly and against all expectation, they saw the King himself open the gates to them, and not only invite them, but request them to enter. All congratulated the Fathers, and manifested in words and deeds their unfeigned joy. Some augured, others promised that their going would result, to the honour of the Church and the advantage of Portugal, in the conversion of a king and his kingdom. For, as happens on such occasions, people speculated openly and sanguinely on how King Achabar was bidding fair to become a Christian ere long. Letters from there and ocular testimony corroborated the view that the only trace of Maomettanism in him was that he was circumcised and wore to some extent the Maomettan dress; [11] but, he did not observe a whit its ceremonies and rites; nay, he detested it as a sect of vile animals, not of reasonable beings, and spoke of it with contempt all the evil he could. In the Alcoran, which is Maomet's gospel, he believed no more than in the dreams of a fool or the fables of a romancer. As a proof of it, they said that, when there was question of taking a wife, he chose a Gentoo rather than a Saracen. He fasted rigorously every Friday, a feastday according to Moorish ritual and sacred as Sunday is with us, and on those days he would send to a few Christians then with him at Fatipùr the food of his own table. On hearing of a Christian who had denied the faith and donned the turban, he had him brought before him, and rebuking him bitterly for his impiety, he said, "And what miracles have you seen Maomet perform, that you should forsake your law for his?" And as the apostate excused his action, saying that he had been driven to it merely to escape the pinch of extreme poverty, he provided him liberally with the means of subsistence, and made him resume the dress and profession of a Christian. He kept a devout image of the Queen of Heaven with the Infant Jesus in her arms, and bowed to it and worshipped it before the Barons of his Court. A coarse and impious Mulasso, who had dared to blaspheme the perpetual [**12**] virginity of Mary, had been banished from the Court, and had been within an ace of having not only his tongue pulled out, but his throat cut. Finally, he had not unfrequently said that he wished to erect for the Fathers, either in Agrà or in Lahòr, or in his own city of Fatipùr, a church which would eclipse in size and magnificence our St. Paul's at Goa. In addition to those more proximate dispositions preparing him to receive from God the light of Faith and the grace of salvation, Achabar possessed other excellent natural qualities: a keen intellect, earnestness in searching after the truth, sagacity in discerning falsehood, and those moral virtues which every Christian ought to pride on. He had a tender love for the poor, and did good to whoever had recourse to him. He was upright and impartial in the administration of justice, and when he wanted, he was so terrible that a mere glance of his eye lighting on any one meant for his attendants that they must cut him down. Withal, he was so circumspect and slow in dealing with criminals, that the death-sentence was not executed against any condemned person, until his royal "Maître des requêtes" had asked his leave three times the same day. A great admirer of all noble virtues, he was ready to honour with dignities and wealth, and admit to his familiarity and intimacy, any man, [**13**] even of the lowest pedigree, who possessed in a more than ordinary degree accomplishments for peace or war. Still, in this he took the useful precaution that those whom he raised to such eminence should have no cause for pride, as is but too often the case with such as rise from a low degree to high estate. For this, he ordained that, whatever the dignity to which any of them had been raised, some instrument of his former office should be carried before him in public. There was one distinguished for his valour; but, as he was born a poor labourer, a squire was always carrying before him on top of a lance a golden hoe, both to recall him to a sense of modesty at the thought of his humble extraction, and of gratitude for one who, in his case, had changed a peasant's hoe into a general's staff, and from a rustic had set him in command.[1] These, with not a few others of the same kind, were the worthy considerations then made in praise of Achabàr.

"The Ambassador, conducted from the S. Iago, which lay two or three nautical miles off Goa, made his solemn entrance, the whole of the Portuguese nobility welcoming him. A part of them met him as he alighted on the shore; the rest expected him at the palace. [**14**] A great train of cavaliers then accompanied him to our College of St. Paul, where he presented to the Provincial the letters of his King with the amplest patents, so that, from their first entrance into the states of his Crown up to their arrival at his Court of Fatipùr, the Fathers who were to be sent might be received, provided for and, if need be, protected, as persons belonging to His Majesty's own household, by the Viceroys and the Governors of the Provinces through which they would pass. This done, he betook himself to the Church, and, on entering, before the threshold, he and those of his suite, Maomettans like himself, removed their footgear, as they are wont to do on entering their mosques. After this token of humble reverence he proceeded to the tomb of the Apostle St. Francis Xavier. He then exposed through Perez, the interpreter, the object of the embassy and handed the King's request. The letters, translated into our tongue, run exactly thus:—

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[1] Q̣asīm Khān, Akbar's chief engineer, is meant. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, p. 201 *n.* 4.

[*Follow the translation of Akbar's well-known letter, and some particulars on the preparations for the Mission.* Cf. pp. 15-16.]

6. Cf. Francis de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado* . . . . . , Lisboa, MDCCX, Vol. II, C. I, D. II, §§ 43-48, 53-64.

We extract the following:—

43 **[146]** Equebar, the great Emperor of the Mogols,[1] wrote this year[2] to the Viceroy of India, to the Archbishop Primate, and to the Father Provincial Ruy Vicente, asking two Religious of the Society for the sake of explaining to him the Faith of the Gospel and the Law of Christ. His letter to the Provincial ran thus: * * For Father Provincial, in the name of God. Forman of Zalaldin Mahamed Equebar Xâ, by God's hand appointed. Let the chief Fathers of the Order of St. Paul know that I am their great friend. I send thither Ebadola, my Ambassador, and Domingos Pires, to ask for two learned Fathers, and let the Fathers bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, that I may learn the Law and its perfection, for I wish to be acquainted with the Law of Jesus the Nazarene. And I ask earnestly that, as soon as the same Ambassadors have arrived there, they should not fail to come with them and to bring at the same time the books of the Law. Let them know that I shall receive with all possible honour the Fathers who will come, and when I shall be informed of the Law and its perfection, as I wish, they will be free to return whenever they like, and I shall send them back with many honours and favours. And let them not fear at all to come, for I take them under my protection. Written in December of the year fifteen hundred and seventy-eight. * * The Ambassador was received at Goa with the pomp and magnificence becoming the King who sent him and the hope which his mission gave rise to. The Fathers received him with many marks **[147]** of affection and kindness. He brought two mules for the Fathers, and instructions for all the Governors of the lands through which they should pass to give them whatever would be necessary, and an escort of soldiers for their safety. The Emperor sent also a large alms for the Misericordia of Goa, and a large quantity of porcelain and plates, to feed the poor out of

[*Follows an account of the extent of Akbar's dominions and of his genealogy.*]

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[1] de Sousa notes that the word is properly *Mongals*, "not Mogols, as we say, and still less Mogors, as the Portuguese commonly say." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 148.

[2] The letter was dated December 1578, but the Ambassador reached only in September 1579.

44 [**148**] The occasion which the Mogol had for calling the Fathers, was the following:—Though King Equebar was a Moor by profession, as all the Mogols are, the sect of Muḥammad (*Mafamede*) did not satisfy him, and he felt inclined towards the Law of Christ on account of the information given him by some Portuguese; he reverenced the cross and sacred images, especially those of Christ Our Lord and of His holy Mother, and so did many grandees of his Court. Once he asked a renegade Christian what miracles he had seen Muḥammad perform that he should have become a Moor; and he ordered him to take off his turban and live like a Christian. That he might have a living, he gave him an honourable position. He banished from the Court a certain Caciz who thought ill of the purity of the Queen of Angels. These good dispositions of Equebar were greatly increased by the action of two Fathers of the Society, who had gone on a mission to Bengala. Adopting the safer and more probable opinion, where perchance the contrary opinion is probable, they refused absolution to the Christian merchants who did not pay the taxes justly due to the Mogol. Fr. Antonio Vaz, one of the two Missionaries, sought to exonerate the consciences of the Portuguese in the matter of these restitutions. Through Pero Tavares he obtained from the King a deed condoning to our merchants all the taxes of which they had defrauded the exchequer up to the present year 1579, and he wrote to this effect to the Viceroy of India. It was a case for applying our proverb:

Moor, what thou hast not rightly got,
Do give it us for love of God.

From the uprightness of the two Missionaries in Bengala, and the petition of Pero Tavares, his favourite, the King concluded to the purity and truth of the Law of Christ; and, wishing to be more fully instructed in it, he summoned a virtuous priest called Gileanes Pereyra, to know from him what he had still to learn. Pereyra possessed more virtue than letters; hence, after answering what he knew, he said to the King that he was a dunce compared with the men of letters to be found in Goa, and that His Majesty might call for some to be fully informed of all the mysteries of the Gospel. And as [**149**] the fame of the Fathers of St. Paul was flying on broad wings all over Industan, this was the reason why we were chosen to go to Equebar. We speak the truth, and do not boast of the choice. Some suspected, with much foundation, that Equebar's wish was to make a compromise between Christ and Muḥammad, to devise a new law,—a compromise between the falsehoods of the Alcoran and the truths of the Gospel,—and thus obtain from the world the title of Lawgiver; that for this he sought the aid of the Fathers, just as Muḥammad helped himself with the Monk Sergius, a Nestorian heretic. But, if such was the King's intention, he did not choose the right secretaries.

45 When the Ambassador's proposal was known, great difficulties came in the way of the Fathers' going. The Count Viceroy, who had much experience of India, was of opinion that the Fathers should not go to the Mogol. He feared that Equebar sought to keep them as hostages, and thus oblige the Captains of Damaõ, Dio, and of the armadas of the North to overlook his encroachments

(*desordems*). Fr. Ruy Vicente, the Provincial, on the contrary, asked with much insistence leave for sending the Fathers. From the information he had received such apprehensions were baseless, whilst there appeared solid hope of greater conquests to the Faith and of advantages to the State. The Viceroy entrusted the matter to the Archbishop, D. Henrique de Tavora, and asked him conjointly with D. Frey Matheos, Bishop of Cochim, D. Frey Leonardo de Sà, Bishop of China, and D. Joaõ Ribeyro Gayo, Bishop of Malaca, then at Goa, to decide what would be of greater service to God our Lord. After discussing the matter, and weighing the reasons for and against, the Illustrissime Prelates answered His Excellency as follows:—

Resolution of the Prelates of India concerning the Mission to the Mogol.

Answering to what I, Archbishop of Goa, and the Reverendissime Lord Bishops of Cochim, Malaca and China, and the Licentiate Andrè Fernandes, our Provisor, have been asked by the Senhor Count Viceroy, whether we should let go, without asking securities from the Court of the Mogol, the Religious of the Company of Jesus, whom King Equebar invites through the formans (*formoẽs*) of his Ambassador: and considering the weightiness of the matter, which, if it succeeds, imports for the conversion of so many souls: considering also the earnestness with which the King asks for the said Fathers, and for the Gospel of Christ our Redeemer, whose name he pronounces, touched it would seem by divine grace, since, [150] as St. Paul says, no man can say or name the Lord Jesus but by the grace of the Holy Ghost: considering with what freedom, danger and courage the servants of God preached the Gospel, even to enduring a glorious martyrdom, and that it would be a scandal to the infidels, if the said Fathers did not go in answer to such an invitation, it seems good to me and to the said Lord Bishops, and to the said Provisor that His Excellency should send the said Fathers and let them go with the same Ambassador, who came to fetch them, without other securities than those of Divine Providence, though not without the greatest favours and credit possible, trusting in Our Lord and His divine power and goodness, for whose honour and glory the said Fathers are going, that He will guard them from dangers, help them in so holy an enterprise, and bring about the conversion of so powerful a King, who, should he become a Christian and embrace our Law with his peoples, will be to the Church of God in Asia another Constantine, for the total ruin of the sect of Muḥammad, just as Europe had for the extirpation of idolatry and the spread of the Christian Religion. And should he have acted from mere curiosity (which we do not deny is possible), as in the time of Archbishop Dom Gaspar, our predecessor of happy memory, was the case with the Idalxâ, who sent to fetch Fathers and books of the law, without any further good result, we must believe, on the strength of his forman and safe-conduct, that he will let them return freely to us in peace and with honours, as he promises. Were it artifice and malice, and should he treat the Fathers badly, they will earn everlasting glory and the State will have the right to conquer his ports and seize his ships, in punishment of his having persecuted the Ministers of the Gospel, and broken both his word and the law of nations. And if the said King should hinder the Fathers and not let them come, we judge that the State has, in such a case, no other obligation to effect their freedom than one of charity, if it can easily be done. This being the opinion of the said Lords, they have here signed on the tenth of November 1579. Done by Sebastiaõ Coelho, the said Lord Archbishop's servant.

46 This answer of the Prelates of India determined Dom Luis de Ataide to grant to the Father Provincial the permission, so urgently asked, of sending the Fathers to King Equebar. For the enterprise were appointed Father Rudolfo Aquaviva, a man of great learning and virtue; Father Antonio de Monserrate, a person of singular prudence; and Father Francisco Enriques, born in the East, who, besides being a man of great edification, was well versed in Persian, the language spoken by the chief men of that Court. They left our [**151**] fortress of Damaõ on the thirteenth of December of the same year.

[*Follows a long account of the journey and a short narrative of the Mission.*]

7. Cf. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, *Jesuit Mission to the Emperor Akbar*, by E. D. Maclagan, C.S., from notes recorded by the late General R. Maclagan, R.E., pp. 28—113.

8. Cf. F. GOLDIE S.J., *The First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul*, Dublin, Gill, 1896.

F: 6a. 1 [1]* de, quasi ad tridui moram euocatus, ad regem adire coactus est.[2] Ad quem cum
Fr. Julian Pereira. uenisset, ac cum eo de religione ageret, rogaretque Rex, num multi essent, apud nos
sacerdotes? dixit, esse quidem multos, et eorum quam plurimos, se multo doctiores.
In primis uero, Societatis Sacerdotes commemorauit. De quibus jam antea et ab
2 Ismaele, et a Tauario audierat. Qua de caussa, illos quam celerrime | accersere, apud
se, statuit, et anno salutis septuagesimo nono, post millesimum, & quingentesimum,
legatos cum de alijs maximis suis rebus, tum de duobus e Societate Sacerdotibus
Akbar's letters to Goa. obtinendis, ad Indiæ *præsidem,[3] et ad Goanum Archiepiscopum misit. Literas vero
3 eodem prope exemplo, atque in eandem omnino sententiam, | ad Societatis etiam, in
ea Prouincia Præpositum dedit, quæ sic habebant.

"Mandatum Zelaldini magni,[4] Regis a Deo constituti. Primarij patres ordinis .D.
Their contents. "Pauli, scitote me, uobis esse amicissimum. Ego isthuc Ebadullam legatum
4 "meum, et Dominicum Petrium mitto qui meis uerbis, a uobis | duos Sacerdotes,
"viros eruditos, ad me mitti exorent, qui præcipuos legis libros, atque Euangelium
"aduehant, et legem, et quod in ea summum, atque in omni genere perfectum est,
"addiscam: nam eam perdiscere exopto, ac ne cunctentur, cum ijsdem legatis, cum
F. 6b. 1 "primum isthinc proficiscentur, venire: et simul legis libros afferre.|| Intelligant
"vero, me Sacerdotes, qui uenerint humanissime, quoad eius fieri poterit, atque
"honorificentissime accepturum: eorumque aduentum, magnæ mihi uoluptati futu-
"rum: et, ut illa cognouero, quæ cognoscere, de lege, et eius perfectione, atque
"absolutione cupio: illis redire licebit, cum primum libebit. Ego vero, plurimis |
2 "honoribus et muneribus, illos auctos dimittam. Nihil vero venire reformident.
"Nam ego in meam fidem, illos accipio. Valete."

*Cuius quidem epistolæ fides, etsi Ægidianij, qui cum eo[5] jam annum cum dimi-
3 diato uersabatur, | et Tauarij, portus prætoris, epistolarum testimonio statueretur:
Opinions divided. qui bene sperare, de Regis animo, atque videndi Patres studio, iubebant: non
mediocrem dubitationem, cum Præsidi, tum etiam Archiepiscopo, ac Præposito
Prouinciæ, cæterisque omnium ordinum hominibus, attulerunt. Quare *Ludoui-
4 cus Athaidius[6] præses, qui plurimum | consilio, atque prudentia ualebat, ea de
re, ad Senatum præsulum, qui tum Goæ aderant, et nobilium Lusitanorum, ac
iurisperitorum referre constituit. Dixerunt itaque singuli sententiam, et cum multi,
in eam orationem ingrederentur, non oportere hominis Agareni, promissis fidem
haberi: quoniam quod referebatur, ad religionem pertinebat, omnium fuit senten-||

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[1] Marginal pencil note by X.: Caret folium 5, ubi relatum fuit quomodo Zelaldinus (*i.e.*, Hacabar) terras Bisnagar, Visapor, et quæcumq; Mogorem Bengalamque interjacent, bello vastarit. Forte juxta Bengalam in Romanos sacerdotes incidit. Vide Ant° Botelho *De Christiana apud Mogorem religione*, p. 1. Vide *Index* operis hujus sub voce *Sacerdotes*. Suppleri posset ex A. Botelho *De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione* incipiente ad calcem: *Summa memorand. rerum quæ apud Magni Mogoris vidit*, et scheda ⊕ conseq.

[2] This was erased by Monserrate.

[3] 1st: prætorem.

[4] In the right-hand margin a pencil-mark: جلال الدين (Jelal o din) nomen quod cum imperio assumpsit كبر Akbar. [X.].

[5] 1st: Hactenus Zelaldini epistolæ exemplum. Cuius quidem fides, etsi sacerdotis illius qui, ab ora Gangetide euocatus, cum eo.

[6] Later addition in the margin: Ludouicus Athaidius Atouguiæ dynasta.

F. 7a. 1 tia, ut Archiepiscopi, et cæterorum præsulum, staretur iudicio. Senatum *Henricus
Decision of the Bishops. Tauoræus[1] Archiepiscopus habuit cum præsulibus, *qui senatus una omnium eademque
sententia, Regis postulationi concessit et statuit ut duo,[2] ad eum, ut flagitabat,
Societatis Sacerdotes mitterentur. Quo patrum decreto, cum nullus præsidi, reliquus
2 esset dubitandi | locus, *Rhoterigium Vincentinum, Præpositum Societatis,[3] è
uestigio accersit, eique præsulum sententiam exposuit, et se in eam pedibus ire
dixit, quod fuit Præposito gratissimum. Ille enim, sic erat animo, erga Regis
postulationem affectus, ut maxime exoptaret, pijs illius (ut uidebantur) uotis satisfieri.
3 Itaque accepta à præside | schedula, qua præsulum consultum continebatur, *posteaquam
ad eos Sacerdotes retulit, quibuscum consilium capere, ex instituto Societatis
Rudolf appointed. opus erat,[4] Rudolfo Aquauiuæ, eius profectionis prouinciam *tradidit.[5] Cui postea
se binos socios adiuncturum significauit. *Dicerem, quanta animi, non solum
4 lætitia, | uerum etiam uoluptate, quasi e cœlo delapsum, hoc oraculum, Rodolfus
ex ore Præpositi acceperit: nisi alio in loco, ejus uirtutes commemorare, in animo
haberem.[6] At præses, ubi ex Præposito intellexit, Rodolfo, profectionis *onus esse
F. 7b. 1 impositum,[7] || consilium laudauit, illique ad iter commeatum dari iussit. *Ac cum
His departure. ad eum, Rodolfus adijsset, ut ualediceret, ipsum religiosa oratione commonitum
dimisit.[8]

Fr. F. Henriquez. At uero Præpositus, iam tempestiuo mari, cum alterum e socijs, qui Persicam
Chaul. linguam callebat, Rodolfo assignasset, ipse cum eo nauem conscendit, et octauo die
Damān. 2 Goa | Xeulum uenerunt, inde Damanum, vbi Rodolfo *tertium comitem[9] assignauit.
Fr. A. Monserrate Ac cum quatriduo ibi constitissent,[10] Damano, Rodolfus, et comites profecti sunt.
*Quos deduxere Præpositus, et alij sacerdotes ac municipes arcis ad milliarium a
3 Damano, qui a se uicissim | discesserunt, non sine mutui amoris significatione, quem
utrimque, uis lacrymarum, non obscuris indicijs testata est.[11] Qui sub noctem, in
Oroar ? pago quodam (pagus Oroar dicebatur), iuxta utriusque regni fines, constiterunt.

Pārnera. Et insequenti luce Zelaldini regionem ingressi, trans fluuium montis Neræ, qui
indigenarum lingua Paharnerà | dicitur, ac fines Lusitanorum et Mongolorum diuidit,
Bulsār. Balsarem, (quod oppidum Bucephalam, vel caput bouis, eorum lingua sonat)
Navsāri. Surat. uenerunt: biduo Nausarinum, at Suratem tertio a Damano die.

Nausarinum caput, et sedes est, quorundam hominum qui se Persas, et Jëzénos
F. 8a. 1 uocant, ex Jëze Persiæ ciuitate, || genere Gaberæi, quos Lusitani Cuarínos[12] uocant.
The Pārsīs of Navsāri. Hi candidi sunt colore, sed reliqua corporis habitudine, et studiorum, atque

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[1] Later addition in the margin: Henricus e Tauora, Indiæ Archiepiscopus.

[2] 1st: quorum una fuit atque eadem sententia, ut flagitationi Regis satisfieret, et duo.

[3] Later addition in the margin: Rodericus Vincentius, Societatis Jesu in India præpositus.

[4] This was bracketed later; but Monserrate changed his mind and wrote in the margin: ysto se ha de escreuer.

[5] 1st: demandauit.

[6] Cancelled later.

[7] 1st: curam esse demandatam.

[8] Cancelled later.

[9] 1st: tertium, veluti auxiliarium, comitem.

[10] Erased here: ipso Stæ Luciæ festo die.

[11] Cancelled later.

[12] Query by X.: Lamas ?

exercitiorum propensione, vestitu, cultuque religionis, Judæis quam simillimi, quo
etiam nomine passim a Lusitanis uocitantur, nec ipsi omnino diffitentur. Nam, et
2 sibi genus esse ab Abrahamo concedunt, ob | quam etiam caussam, more Hebræorum
*maribus[1] summam cutem *circumcidunt.[2] Quoto ab hinc anno, Christus aduenerit,
ex librorum suorum monumentis, apte subducunt. *Eorum nota, quae illis mutuo
conuénit ut a reliquis gentibus distinguerentur, quasi quodam religionis signo, linthea
vel gossipina xylinaque uestis est, ad fœmur usque demissa, circum oram consuta,
3 cui ante | pectus, qua caput inducitur, útrăque extremitas suta nectitur, et sinus
quidam relinquitur quadratus, latitudine quattuor digitorum, qui rationale illud,
quod Hebræi Theraphim nominant, videtur referre, in quod inferre quippiam susceptis
religionibus prohibentur. Hanc uestem, laneo cingulo, textili, eoque oblongo, quo
4 possit sæpius circumduci, | succingunt: quem quidem cingulum semper gestare
religione obstringuntur. Si cadauer contingant, inquinantur. Mortuos, non educunt
per uestibulum, et hostium [*sic*] domus, sed parietem, retro atque a tergo perrumpunt,
F. 8b. 1 eosque non efferunt,[3] || *in humeros, sed pedibus colligatos, humique stratos et
resupinos trahunt;[4] nec igne, nec sepulchro iusta soluunt: sed in locum quendam
demittunt, altis parietibus circumseptum, ne feris sit liber aditus: quasi beatius
sit, a volucribus laniari, et comedi, aut solis ardoribus torreri, quam flammis, aut
2 iniecta humo *tectos[5] absumi.— | Domi, quicquid aquæ fuit reliquum, effunditur ·
ea quibus vita functus utebatur, nulli amplius utilia esse possunt. Quæ quidem
omnia, Judæorum superstitionem, non solum adumbrant, sed exprimunt. At hi
tot religionibus Judæorum impediti, ignem et solem colunt, igni templa extruunt ·
3 pontificem, et *fani antistites ac flamines fati consecrant,[6] | recenti butyro, vel
optimo atque odorifero oleo, flammam nutriunt. Si *compellantur[7] iure iurando
aliquid affirmare; nullum est *iustius sacramentum,[8] quam si succensis prunis,
vrinam instillent: quod si facere *recusent,[9] nulla eis habetur fides. Singulis diebus,
4 *mane, barbare perstrepentes precantur.[10] | *Notis[11] literarum proprijs utuntur.
Sacrorum suorum arcana, *lingua quam soli periti intelligunt,[12] uno quodam uolumine
retinent: quod tria continet: sacrorum religiones; scita legesque maiorum; Mago-
F. 9a. 1 rum augurandi, || et diuinandi scientiam, quod genus sapientum habebatur in

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[1] Later addition.

[2] 1st: præcidunt.

[3] 1st: Eorum tessera, qua a reliquis gentibus distinguuntur, quasi quadam religionis nota, linea vel gausapina vestis est, ad femur usque demissa, circumquaque consuta, cui ante pectus, qua caput inducitur, útrăque ora consuitur, et loculus quidam relinquitur quadratus, qui rationale illud quod Hebræi Theraphim nominant, videtur referre, in quod si quid inferant, religionem violant. Hanc uestem, laneo cingulo, textrini operis, eoque oblongo, quo possit saepius circumduci, accingunt: quod quidem semper gestare religionibus adiguntur Si cadauer . . . domus, sed prærupto pariete, retrorsum: quos non efferunt.

[4] 1st: in feretrum, sed pedibus colligatos, reptando trahunt.

[5] Later addition.

[6] 1st: sacrificulos consecrant.

[7] 1st: adigantur.

[8] 1st: sacratius iuramentum.

[9] 1st: detrectent.

[10] 1st: preces, barbare perstrepentes, inane persoluunt.

[11] 1st: figuris.

[12] 1st: lingua solis peritis nota.

Persis. Lacte, butyro, oleo, oleribus, legumine et frugibus uescuntur, a vino se
abstinent. Uxoribus nuntium remittere, si libet, permittuntur. Adulteris mulierculis
nares præscindunt, et meritricium [*sic*] quæstum facere permittunt. Porro animis
2 sunt | ita efferatis, ut nihil, a reliqua exlegum turba differre uideantur. Nam si
quid aduersum, *infensumque[1] illis eueniat, immaniter sibi manus mortemque
afferunt. Atque horum hi sunt mores.[2]

Sacerdotes, *ibi,[3] mensem fere consistere, coguntur. Nam legatus nolebat iter
3 antea inire,* quam lunam salutasset,[4] | eo quod mos sit Agarenis, ut auspicato aliquid
A month at Surat. Persian studied. aggrediantur, lunam opperiri, ut se post accessum ad solem ostendat, *quo[5] eam
salutent. Verum non inutilis, aut ociosa fuit hæc mora. Nam dum Agareni cessant,
illi Persicæ linguæ diligentem operam dederunt. Confluebant vero in eorum hos-
4 pitium | plurimi, quibus ipsa nouitas cupiditatem injiciebat, videndi homines,
uultu, atque ornatu, sermone, ac religione peregrinos, et hos scientiæ, ac pietatis
F. 9b. 1 opinione, ab eo Rege uocatos, quo nullum existimabant esse || potiorem. Quibus illi,
Pictures shown and reverenced. effigiem Jesu Christi, et Mariæ Virginis, ostendebant: quarum aspectu, ita afficie-
bantur, ut eas non solum religiose oscularentur, sed etiam capitibus suis sancte
imponerent. Eo usque omnibus hominibus, a natura inditum est, ut existiment,
2 uenerationem habere iustam, quicquid excellit; quamuis plerumque | in excellentiæ,
iudicio *multi[6] decipiantur: aut obstinatione quadam sententiæ, *ne officium et
cultum tribuant, audacter et impudenter recusent.[7]

A Pārsī's scruples. Illud uero non modo mirabile sed prodigio simile euenit, cuidam ex *Gabraeorum[8]
genere, quos Judæos, vel Samaritas *opinamur, qui[9] cum multa in controuersiam
3 uocaret, | dum Rodolfus, scriniolum forte fortuna recludit, in quo Stephani Protomar-
Relics of St. Stephen, the Protomartyr. tyris, et aliorum aliquot Sanctorum reliquiæ seruabantur, e uestigio pauefactus, ingenti
clamore edito, retrorsum exsiliuit, et amenti similis dixit, si hic sunt mortuorum
4 ossa, non possum hic consistere, quin et has, quibus operior | vestes, disrumpam, et
dilacerabo. Cui Rodolfus pacatissime, æque sapienter, ac Christiane respondit, "Nos
ossa mortuorum non circumferimus, sed uiuorum," et scrinium obserauit. Ille vero
ex metu confirmatus, intermissam controuersiam instaurauit.[10] ||

F. 10a. 1 Alluitur Surate, Taphæi flumine, quod se in mari sex milliaribus ab oppido
Surat described. Lake. effundit. Arce ingenio loci, et operis munitione, ac ducentorum equitum sagittario-
rum præsidio, instructa; lacuna uero, longe latissima, et operis artificio, omnium
2 quæ in India uisuntur pulcherrima, ornatur. Structura enim marmorea, et | quibus-
dam gradibus atque areis distincta, ducentos pedes lata, magno ambitu oculos

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[1] 1st: aut triste.

[2] The whole of this paragraph was bracketed by Monserrate, with the marginal note at fol. 8*a*.1: "ab hoc loco interserenda alibi."

[3] "ubi" in MS., and 1st: Suratæ.

[4] 1st: quam lunæ litasset.

[5] 1st: ut.

[6] Later addition.

[7] 1st: impudenter et impie officium et cultum tribuere detrectent.

[8] 1st: eorum.

[9] 1st: opinamur, ac paulo ante commemorauimus, qui.

[10] This paragraph is cancelled in the MS., with the note in the beginning: "iam sunt descripta."

delectat. In eius medio, turris pulchre extructa, excitatur, cui nauicula inseruit,
cum eo, recreandi animi caussa, *municipes confluunt.[1] Sepulchro etiam exornatur
3 Qhojà Sopháris, qui ob suam perfidiam, et perditos mores a nostratibus | scriptoribus
Tomb of Khwājā Zafar (Coje Zofar), † June 24, 1546; nd of Cide Meriam, † 1562.
sæpenumero commemoratur: quod est exoterica quidem structura, sed diligenter, et
magna cum operis, et pecuniæ consumptione elaboratum. Cui adhærescit, cuiusdam
alius nebulonis bustum, Æthiopis genere, religionis Christianæ etiam desertoris, et
4 hostis, qui Qhojà Sopharis primipilus fuit, quem pro sancto contribules, non | alia de
caussa colunt, quam quod a Garsia Tauoræ præfecto Damanensis arcis necatus sit ·
a quem mulierculæ, coronas, et florum fasciculos, comportant. Frequens est in ea
F. 10b. 1 mercatorum conuentus, et nauium concursus: amne || ab ipsis faucibus, ad urbem
ipsam, præalto, ac lato, ad quam est tutus portus.[2]

[3]Cæterum legatus paratis camelis, et alijs vehiculis, quibus commeatus, et merces
They leave Surat, Jan. 24, 1580 N.S.
euehérentur, posteaquam lunæ litauit, manum suorum eduxit, et ultra oppidum, ad
eius portas, castra fecit. Postridie, *i.e.*,[4] octauo Kal. Februarij castra mouit, quod
2 fuit sacerdotibus | iucundissimum, qui superstitiosam hanc cunctationem non probabant; et adeundi regem, quem Christiana sacra suscepturum confidebant, incredibili desyderio æstuabant, et milliario confecto, *trans Mophim amnem, est nunc
Rānder.
Taphi,[5] non longe a Rhaënéro castra posuit.

Est Rhaenerum, *vulgus Lusitanorum Raynel uocat,[6] castellum bellica gloria
3 celebre, ex aduerso Surate, | tanquam Abydi, Sestus, positum. Cujus municipes,
cum Lusitanis, magna cum fortitudinis laude, sæpe, uicti tamen, manus et arma
conseruerunt.[7]

Jan. 25, 1580.
[8]Ex eo loco, postera die, profectis, in non mediocre discrimen, duo ex socijs, et
reliquus Christianorum comitatus, deuenerunt. Nam, cum ex Sacerdotibus vnus,
4 qui propter morbum lectica portabatur, | a lecticarijs, qui concitato cursu, studio
Monserrate ill. Dangerous meeting.
deponendi sarcinam, iter agunt, longe abstractus esset, et præfecto Suratæ, iuuenum
satellitio stipato, occurrisset: dum is illum salutat, et ille pauca interrogat, qui pone
F. 11a. 1 veniebant, parum abfuit quin a satellitibus || præfecti, qui præiuerant, et exteræ
gentis aspectu offensi, hostiliter eos inuaserant, clamantes, "Franci! Franci!"
Abdul and Mirān Sultān of Surat.
cæderentur. Verum aduentante citatis equis et curru, hinc præfecto, illhinc legato,
diuino euenit nutu, ut antea turba sedaretur, quam vnus ex Agarenis, a quodam
Lusitano confossus, periret: qui si perijsset, eius mors exitium nostratibus attulisset. |

The orthography of the place-names in our marginal index is that of the new Imperial Gazetteer. Places not identified have a ?.

[1] 1st: municipes frequentissime confluunt.

[2] The whole of this paragraph is bracketed or cancelled. The words cancelled are: Sepulchro etiam exornatus . . . fasciculos comportant.

[3] There is an evident confusion and mixing up of the Old and New Styles in the dates of this itinerary. The New Style came, however, into operation in India only in October 1583. Cf. *Oriente Cong.*, Lisboa edn. ii, 184. Even if we suppose with Fr. de Sousa (*ibid.*, ii, 159) that the party left Surat on January 15, 1580, O.S., we find that they had reached Sultānpur nine days later; here they rested three days, and, crossing the "Avaz" or Sātpurā Range in four days, arrived at Sindwa (*Cenduá*). From Sindwa to Surana near the Narbadā there must have been several stages more; yet, it was at Surana, on January 31, that they witnessed the eclipse of the moon. From other accounts we know that the journey from Surat to Fatehpur took 43 days, and that Fatehpur was reached on Feb. 27 or 28, O.S.

[4] What we represent here and elsewhere by '*i.e.*' is in the MS. represented by 'h' or 'i'.

[5] 1st: transmissoque amne.

[6] Later addition.

[7] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.

[8] In the margin by M.: Isto se ha de escreuer daqui pera abayxo ate onde diz: Enimuero Auazus. [*i.e.*, f. 11*b*. 1.]

2 Duo uero Sacerdotes, in periculo constituti, eum qui præibat, peremptum existimarunt,
quem consequuti, quasi e cœlo sibi datum, amplexi sunt.[1]

Jan. 26. Sequenti luce arx occurrit, ex lapidibus delubrorum gentilitiorum, quæ Agareni
deiecerunt, extructa. Laudandi quidem eo nomine, si non alijs plurimis nominibus,
3 essent execrandi. | Ad ripam deinde Táphæi castra posuerunt, quo die gentiles,
Hindū feast. excauato cucurbitæ putamine, iniecto oleo, et imposito myxo, atque inflammato,
Floating lamps on the superioris anni errata expiant, in hunc modum. Nudi amnem intrant, capiti suo,
Tāpti. lychnum illum inflammatum imponunt, sensim se mergunt, quoad lychnus, a profluente
4 correptus, abducitur, | qua expiatione, se mundos existimant. Vocantur hæ
feriæ ab illis Satamia: eo quod, septimo die lunæ undecimi mensis habeantur.
*(Is ex eorum instituto est Januarius).[2]

Sultānpur. Ab ora fluminis profecti, Sultanpurum, quod Basilæipolis redditur, nona die a
F. 11b. 1 Surate ventum est, ipsis Agarenicorum sacrificiorum ferijs, quarum || feriarum caussa,
ut legatum præstolarentur, Basilæipoli triduo consederunt. *Inde Auazi iugum
Sindwa. transuecti, Cenduanum[3] quatriduo uenerunt. Enimuero Auazus mons, in longitudinem,
Avās Mts. [Sātpurā Range]. uersus mare, ad occidentem solem, millia passuum septuaginta quinque: in
latitudinem uersus aquilonem, sexdecim patet · itinere quidem angusto, et difficili,
2 quo | uix singuli cameli ducerentur, et carri humeris hominum sublati, transueherentur.
*Nam per loca syluestribus sepibus densa atque aspera iter agebatur.[4] Inde latrones
Wild mountaineers. impune hominem, ex legati cohorte, peremerunt. Huius montis incolæ simulachris deseruiunt.
A tribus regibus, quorum unus est ueluti reliquorum imperator, gubernantur.
3 Cum Mongolis | bellum ita gerunt, ut dum vna eorum factio, pacto fœdere, cum Mongolis,
conquiescit, reliquæ duæ factiones, eos crudeli, et exitioso bello conficiant, superiores
sæpe, communi nonnunquam marte, nunquam acie sua, a Mongolis profligata.
Hos efferatos, et truces homines (cum abiecti sint, agrestes, et barbari, latrocinijs |
4 assueti, rudi armatura, hoc est, arcu arundineo et breuibus sagittis, ijsque rubiginosis,
proterui tamen, cupidi, elati, et ad rem plus æquo auidi) nullo equitatu, nullis
tormentis bellicis instructos, ingenium et situs loci plurimum iuuat. Plerisque enim
F. 12a. 1 in locis, occurrunt || syluæ, et nemores, ac præruptæ rupes; quæ loca, præsidijs, et
propugnaculis firmant. Hostes uero ex insidijs, et loco uepribus, et dumetis septo undique,
et uestito, non aperte, ac palam, eminus adoriuntur. *At uero angustissimæ
semitæ, quibus altissimæ rupes impendent, ut facile perpauci, prohibere hostes possint,
efficiunt: quorum si incursionem atque impetum excipere nequeant, se in syluam
2 densam atque asperam abstrudunt.[5] Eius tractus princeps | ciuitas, in qua ipse imperator
Their lair at habitat, sicuti mons ipse, Auazus dicitur, amplissima quidem uallorum ambitu,
Avāsgarh or Barwāni. sed tuguriorum humilitate, despicatissima.[6]

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[1] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS., but Monserrate wrote later in the margin (f 10*b*. 3): "isto se ha de escreuer daqui pera abayxo ate onde diz: 'Enimuero Auazus.'"

[2] Later addition, and 1st: Februarius.

[3] 1st: Inde superato Auazi iugo Cenduanum.

[4] 1st: Nemus vero densissimum impendebat.

[5] 1st: aditus vero angustissimi, quibus . . . prohibere hostes possint. The principal verb was wanting. The correction and addition was made later.

[6] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS. from: Enimuero Auazus mons.

Surana, Jan. 31, O.S. Cæterum Cenduano, aspero nimium itinere, per montes et conualles, Suránam
uentum est. Cum Suranæ essent, ea nocte, ad undecimam horam, pridie Kal.
3 Februarij, | luna laborauit, qua pius, ac religiosus Lusitaniæ Rex Henricus, pur-
Eclipse of the moon. puratus *Pontifex, ut insequenti anno perlatum est, de uita decessit.[1] *Hinc præcelso
ac præpotenti Regi eadem qua natus est dies finem attulit uitæ. Ac non pauci
prodigio illud astruxerunt quod, qua die in hanc lucem editus est, Ulyssiponensis
ager niue candente emicuit. Insolitum enim est in eo conuentu ob aëris temperiem
ningere. Qua uero die uitæ concessit, luna defectum est perpessa. Et quod ad
vitam ab eo actam attinet, uir sane fuit apprime pius ac religiosus. Quid vero lunæ
defectus portenderit, Lusitanorum labores et ærumnæ, quæ Henrici mortem sequutæ
sunt[2] . . . [*one line cut from near the margin.*]

Crossing the Narbadā. Haud ita procul a Surána, Naruada fluuius, qui Amadabæam alluens Barocij exit
in mare, occurrit. *Hyberno quidem tempore alueo latissimo et profundo aquam
profluentem, eamque uberem, usque eo multis locis gerit ut, nisi po[nte] vel nauicula
transitus coniungatur, transmissio præcludatur; at uero uado peruius est æstate cum
4 aquæ pluuiæ subsidunt.[3] Piscosus | est, et liquore adeo pellucenti, ut barbati, et
turtures ac minutissimi calculi numerari possint. Ripæ denso scirpo, et salutifera
amaraco uestiuntur. Amnem transgressi, biduo ad amplissimam urbem Mandho
uenerunt.||

F. 12b. 1 Murorum huius urbis ambitus, et ædificiorum, quæ extant, magnitudo, et eorum
Māndogarh described. quæ ceciderunt ruinæ, indicant, qualis fuerit, dum floreret. Muri enim circuitus,
etiamnum, ijs locis integri, qui obiecto prærupto saxo non muniuntur, uiginti
24 Miles of walls. quattuor fere millia passuum patet. Est autem in montis fastigio, *æquo et plano
2 loco | posita,[4] omni ex parte, altissima conualle, et locis inuijs circumdata. Unum
tantum habet, ac perangustum aditum, aquatione nunquam carere potest, sunt
enim plurimi in ea lacus, et fontes; uberrimae, et dulcis aquæ, *et iuges putei.[5] Ea
5 Rows of walls. parte, qua uia, et aditus est in vrbem, sursum uersus in difficili cliuo quinque muri
3 obijciuntur, | ut expugnari nisi inedia, et fame afflicta vix queat. Quam, [licet] Agare-
History confused. norum incuria, et ingenita barbarie, qui perpauca scriptis, posteritatis memoriae,
eaque dubia, et incerta atque anilibus fabulis plena, mandant: a quo, et quando condita
4 amplissima urbs fuerit, cognoscere certo, nemo queat · tamen | structura murorum
A recent Muhammadan town. recentem, et ab Agarenis esse ædificatam, certa coniectura duci possumus. Quos
fuisse genere Mongolos accepi, ex alia quidem gentilitate, ab hac quæ nostro hoc
F. 13a. 1 sæculo, celebri fama || peruagatur. Ferunt enim, annis abhinc ducentis, Mongolos,
ut nouas sedes quærerent, e suis magalibus, in Indiam excurrisse, et Mandhoi,
tum propter loci naturam, qui est ad arcendos hostes accommodatus, tum propter
agri, imò uero totius tractus, qui Malüanum dicitur, fertilissimam regionem, consedisse.
2 Qui | tamen postea, a Patanæis, multis prælijs debilitati, et in unius Mandhoi angustias
Taken from the Mughals by the Pathāns. compulsi, et arctati, septenni tandem obsidione, uicti, ac profligati sunt. Nam

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[1] 1st: Pontifex diem clausit, ut . . . perlatum est.

[2] Later addition. Instead of the missing words, I suggest: "satis explicant."

[3] 1st: Hyberno quidem tempore latissimus atque altissimus, æstate uado transitur.

[4] 1st: et latissima ac planissima area posita.

[5] 1st: puteique lautissimi.

Patanæus rex, qui exercitum ducebat, cum omnia tentasset, et perspectum satis,
3 exploratumque haberet, nullis machinis, se posse ciuitate | potiri, nisi eam, inedia,
fameque fatigatam, *in tantas angustias compelleret, ut se in deditionem redigi
pateretur,[1] castrorum loco, quæ ad portas prope muros habebat, septa, et propugnacula,
ædesque, in quibus milites agerent, *exstrui,[2] et ciuitatem *institui,[3] artificibus,
fabris, operis, negotiatoribusque accitis, imperauit. Commeatum uero omnem
4 intercipi, | a suo equitatu, qui uias obsidebant, eamque potissimum, qua retro, atque
F. 13b. 1 a tergo urbis, asperum quidem, atque infestum, || quod pedites reptando, uix
conficiant, iter est, diligenter præcepit. Qua potitus, eam deijci, soloque æquari
Fragment of huge gun worshipped. iussit. Visitur in ea uasti, è ferro, tormenti fragmentum, quod nescio qua superstitione
ducti exleges, oleo inunctum, et rubro colore infectum reuerentur, eique cultum,
2 et uenerationem adhibent. | *Post hanc huius urbis perniciem et exitium[4] perampla
Royal palace, Citadel, Royal tomb. Basilica, antiquorum regum domicilium, in qua prouinciae *præses[5] habitat · *arx
munitissima et sepulchrum Regum inchoatum quidem, nullo unquam, ut puto
tempore absoluendum extant: et hoc quidem, fabricæ artificio, et amplitudine
3 spectandum.[6] Nam ex medio quadratæ areæ, quæ cubitis | quinque, e terra erecta,
superiore sui parte, octoginta pedes lata, inferiore, fornicibus, et peristilis, circumquaque
cingitur, *camera surgit fastigio globato et rotundo,[7] lata uiginti, alta pedes
Towers 7 storeys high. quadraginta, ad crepidinem, *et altitudine eadem ad fastigium.[8] Ex quattuor
4 areæ angulis, turres excitantur, septem pauimentis | (quorum singula interualla,
F. 14a. 1 cubitis quinque sursum feruntur) et octonis angulis, distinctæ. Quibus || fenestræ
insunt, uersus quattuor uentos, e quibus, more Agarenico, precationes indicuntur.
Est enim, e regione sepulchri, ædes maxima, simili magnificentia, et apparatione.
Porro in sepulchro, conditi sunt Reges, genere Mongoli tres, et unius eorum institutor.
2 Cæterum singuli tumuli, tesserulis, crustis, | et vermiculato emblemate picti sunt.
Gilded thrones of 3 kings. Asseruantur etiam, pro tumulis, subsellia deaurata, quibus reges utebantur, quasi
regiæ dignitatis insignibus, ut sunt apud nos, sceptrum, et corona. *Extat[9] etiam
Strange temple. templum, Christiano more ædificatum: inferiore quidem parte, utrinque delubris
3 fornicatis, ad aras extruendas | ornatum: superiore, totidem triclinijs, etiam fornicatis,
aperto transitu, ex uno, in alterum, usque ad aræ maximæ sacellum. Verum illud
forsan nonnullis incredibile, et falso memoriæ proditum uidebitur · sepulchrorum, et
6 Miles of grave-yard. tumulorum agrum, sex mille passus, extra muros protendi: quod, quamvis *hyperbolæ[10]
4 | simile sit: haud magnopere quispiam mirabitur, si qua magnificentia, et

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[1] 1st: in deditionem compelleret.

[2] 1st: excitari.

[3] 1st: adornari.

[4] Later addition.

[5] 1st: prætor.

[6] 1st: Arx vero munitissima; sepulchrum vero Regum . . . absolvendum, fabricæ artificio . . . spectandum.

[7] 1st: fornix rotunda surgit.

[8] 1st: cui semi-orbis, eadem latitudine impositus, ipsam claudit.

[9] 1st: visitur.

[10] 1st: portenti; 2ndly: hyperbato.

F. 14b. 1 sumptu sepulchra || condere soleant Agareni, cognouerit. Nam cum sibi persuadeant,
omnes quotquot è uita discedunt, diuis cœlitibus, eo solum adscribi, quod Maha-
meddo nomen dederint, eos, ædificatis accurate sepulchris, ex sua æstimatione,
diuo dignis honoribus, prosequuntur. Ea sane in re, et quod diuis honores, et uita
2 functis | sepulchra, statui oportere sentiant: perditis quibusdam, nostri sæculi,
hominibus doctiores, et meliores. Mandhoum quidem sic habet.[1]

Māchhīwāra R. Biduo ab hac amplissima urbe, Usenam Machipáræ fluuio vicinam, uenerunt.
Ujjain. *Huius conditor fertur Birbitcremas, quem ut Deum, et omnium fabrilium artium |
3 inuentorem, Gedrosia uniuersa, et circumuicinæ prouinciæ uenerantur, cui supersti-
tioni occasionem præbuit, hominis, ad fabriles artes propensio, et ingenium. Nam
Vīra Vikramāditya. cum plurimum potentia, et opibus ualeret, erat enim Rex, magnorum, multorumque
4 operum architectus, sui memoriam, in plerisque | uetustis templorum ædificijs, quæ
F. 15a. 1 adhuc extant, reliquit. Nam cum passim, huiusmodi peruetusta || templa occurrant ·
si quæratur, "Quisnam hoc templum posuit?" respondetur, "Birbitcremas." Si
uero architectus, aut faber lignarius rogetur, "Cui tamquam Deo pietatis officium,
et cultum tribuis?" respondet, "Birbitcremæ." Cuius quidem ratio construendi,
2 etiamsi a Romanæ fabricæ splendore, multis spatijs superetur, | uia tamen, ac ratione
constat, neque est oculis spectantium iniucunda.[2]

A burial. Usenæ cum essent, noctu senem quendam gentiles, *in deos a se relatum,[3] qui
è uita ad inferos discesserat, picto inauratoque feretro impositum, in pompa, tanta
3 religione, ad rogum ferebant, ut è uia, qua erat eundum, minutissimas | paleas, et
stipulas amouerent: et in acerris, circa feretrum, suffimenta ponerent, et odores
incenderent. Mirum sane, fucatæ sanctitati, ab impijs non denegari, quod ueræ
detrahitur, a malis, Christianæ fidei, desertoribus.[4]

Sārangpur. Usena biduo Sarangpurum, *trans riuulum,[5] quo ad occidentem solem alluitur, |
4 uenerunt. Hic sedes, et domicilium *erat,[6] eius qui pro Rege, eum tractum gubernat.
F. 15b. 1 Sarangpuri postea quam || triduo quieuerunt, *trans Paharbatium flumen, post triduum
Pipaldhār. 23° 46′ Long. Pimpaldarum prætergressi sunt; quod solstitiali orbi subest, deinde Siurangem,
N. 77° 43′ Lat. E. Zila peruenerunt.[7]

Bhīlsā. Sironj. Natura soli, et cœli Siurangini, grauis, et pestilens est · quo fit, ut plurimas
venenatas bestiolas, ex earum genere, quæ uel serpunt, uel gradiuntur, è rimis, et |
2 latibulis tectorum producat: ac nocte quidem, lectos frequentissimæ nepæ infestant:
Vermine. quæ, si aculeo feriant, tetros cruciatus cient. Locis uero palustribus, lacertæ
Crocodiles? quædam innascuntur, arentibus, atque humidis locis, æque assuetæ, quæ morsu
3 necant. In dumetis, et uepribus, discolor Regulus nascitur: qui aspectu | perdit.
Chameleons. Is medio corpore, ad caput ruber, ostro elegantior, reliquo uero corpore, crocei

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[1] The whole of the description of Mandhu is bracketed in the MS.

[2] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS. from: Hujus conditor fuit . . (fol. 14*b*. 2.)

[3] 1st: diuis a se scriptum.

[4] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.; but, Monserrate wrote later in the margin: Ysto se haa de escreuer.

[5] 1st: transito riuulo.

[6] 1st: est.

[7] 1st: transmissoque Paharbatio flumine, post triduum Pimpaldarum superarunt, quod solstitiali orbi subest, Surangem postea peruenerunt.

coloris, qui in fuscum desinit, oculos inspicientium, colorum uenustate allicit: verum
hoc ei à natura, Dei erga homines beneuolentia, inditum est, ut si homo anteuertat |
4 eius conspectum, *Regulus[1] non sustineat, uti de lupo narratur, sed quam ocyssime
*potest,[2] in latebras sese proripiat, et recondat. Quod si malo alicuius hominis, ||
F. 16a. 1 captus ipsius forma, ut cætera id genus animantia, prior oculos, in hominem incautum,
et alias res agentem, aliquamdiu defigat, misero homini (si eius regionis
hominibus fides habenda est: qui hoc ita se habere firmissime asseuerant) omnino e
vita migrandum est. In hoc discrimen, quidam e Sacerdotibus uenit, qui pulchritudine
2 | bestiolæ inuitatus, fugientem tamdiu persecutus est, quoad se Regulus in
sarmentis, et uepreculis abdidit: ubi uero in hospitium uenit; et ab incolis, quodnam
illud genus lacertæ esset, interrogauit, non aliter mirati sunt, quod * regulo conspecto[3]
superaret, quam *Melitæi,[4] quod ictus a bestia .D. Paulus, incolumis permaneret. | *Act. 28.*
3 Ea vero, magnitudine *muris est qui uocatur nitedula,[5] speciem ferens, eius lacerti,
qui uento vescitur, obiectoque sibi proxime colore inficitur, ac chamæleon dicitur.
Plerique eius municipij contribules, præter morem cæterorum eius conuentus municipalium,
Round huts. in tuguriolis rotundis, humilibusque habitant. Agricultura, quamuis tenui
4 agro, | et angusto, uiuunt. Ager .n. saxeto undique cingitur, unde existimo tantam
venenatorum colluuiem præcipue scorpiorum emanare.[6]

F. 16b. 1 Siurange, exacto triduo, Naroarim || petunt, difficili sane ac, periculosa uia. Nam
To Narwar. Sipri. ab oppido Cyperino, solitudo quædam, et collis perangustus et amnis occurrunt,
quæ a sibi proxima ciuitate nomen mutuantur. *E quibus[7] agrestes oppidani,
confisi, se tuto, atque impune posse *prædas facere:[8] solent ex insidijs, *prætereuntes[9]
inuadere, *expilare, diripere.[10]

2 Est vero ciuitas | Naroaris in *collis[11] radicibus posita, cui arx imminet, *in
Narwar described. æquata montis planitie explicata.[12] Verum iniuriâ cœli, *cum undique omnes uenti
erumpant,[13] adeo sæui turbines in ea existunt, ut nisi huic iniuriæ arcendæ, atque
adeo superandæ Deus, et natura magnam loco marmorearum tabularum copiam
tribuisset, nullis tegulis tecta constare potuissent.[14]

3 His diebus, | circa .15. diem lunæ Februarij, nouendiales ferias Agareni: Idæa
Muharram. sacra gentiles habebant. Nouendiales feriæ, ob honorem Assani, & Hosseni, Mahameddi,
ex Fatima filia nepotum, patre Halide suscipiuntur. Quos narrant, ut

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[1] 1st: bestiola.

[2] Later addition.

[3] 1st: bestiola conspecta.

[4] 1st: Rhodij; 2ndly: Mitilenæi.

[5] 1st: magnitudine nitedulæ est

[6] The whole of this paragraph is bracketed in the MS.

[7] 1st: quibus.

[8] 1st: prætereuntes deprædari.

[9] 1st: eos qui iter agunt.

[10] Later addition.

[11] 1st: monticuli.

[12] 1st: in area monticuli ædificata.

[13] Later addition.

[14] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.

4 aui *leges stabilirent[1] ac propagarent, cum bello superati, cum | suis copijs, a Christianis fuissent: ingentes cruciatus fuisse, ab exlegibus *(uti ipsi dicunt)[2] perpessos, iussosque nudis pedibus prunas premere: ob quam caussam nouendialibus ||
F. 17a. 1 inedia se affligunt, legumine tantum uescuntur, statis diebus, pro concione, labores illorum quidam e suggestu percensent, quorum oratione, vniuersus cœtus se lamentis, lacrymisque dedit. Deinde extremo feriarum die structos, et incensos uicatim rogos,
2 saltu transiliunt, postea calentes cineres, pedibus dispergunt. Interea | dum hæc agitantur, inconditis, et barbaris clamoribus, Assan Hossen inclamant. Neque vero
Holi festival. gentilium Idæa sacra, ijs sunt, insana superstitione, inferiora. Nam quindecim fere dierum spatio, puluerem in sese mutuo, et in prætereuntes quoscunque, impune iaciunt, lutoque seipsos et obuios quosque inficiunt, ac e fistulis, infectum rubrica |
3 imbrem eiaculantur, tandem ad sordida sacra sordidati, decima quinta luce accedunt · quo die, Matri Deorum, quam varijs nominibus appellant, (ueteres Romani Cybelem, et magnam matrem, et Idæam dicebant) arborem et genere, et similitudine palmæ affinem, inani superstitione, atque anili consecrant: consecratæ, quasi in Deos |
4 relatæ libant, et uota nuncupant. Ad extremum, cum spoponderint, se in annum proximum, aliam *dedicaturos,[3] nocte per triuia, pro domibus, *lignorum strues[4] magna torrium congerie construunt: quas canendo lustrant: ac, tandem consecratam, atque adeo execrandam stipitem, igne consumunt.[5]||

F. 17b. 1 Naroari, Goalerim, bidui itinere, ventum est. Arce munitissima, et Regio domi-
Gwalior. cilio, in fastigio rupis, ad cuius radices, ciuitas posita est: Goaleris exornatur. Et ad arcem quidem, uno tantum, eoque aspero, ac difficili itinere aditur. Pro foribus,
Elephant statue. effigies elephantis, uasta, et immanis spectatur. In rupe locis præruptis, ædes tum
2 sacræ, | tum profanæ subterraneæ, excauatæ sunt. Et quod Sacerdotibus, non
Curious sculptures. mediocrem admirationem attulit, in pariete vestibuli, unius templi, tredecim simulachra insculpta, cingulo tenus, cernuntur, rudi quidem opere: quorum medium, habitu, situque, Christi: reliqua sex, dextrorsus, sinistrorsusque posita, Apostolorum
3 faciem, afferre uidebantur. | Attamen, quod insignibus alijs carerent, quibus Christiani sacras effigies, honestare solent, non satis constare potuit, quorum essent.
Former Christians. Constat uero, ab Agarenis qui simulachra promiscue, nullo adhibito delectu, deturbant, et effringunt, non esse positas. Nec tamen nos latet, annis abhinc trecentis,
4 eam regionem Christianos coluisse, | qui uarijs Agarenorum prælijs (heu dolor) victi, et profligati sunt, nomine Christiano prorsus, ex hominum memoria, animisque euulso. Cuius rei pœnas (si saperent) se luere, ex eo maxime deprehenderent, quod
F. 18a. 1 a nebulonibus præstigijs, ac fallacijs passim eluduntur. || Namque, paucis ab hinc
Bābā Kapūr and drinkers of post. annis, in hac eadem ciuitate, nebulo quidam, cui nomen erat Baba Capurius, Mahammeddi sectator, fuit, qui Bacchi exoletos mores, et instituta potione quadam, instaurauit, quæ ex papaueris putaminibus aqua dilutis, conficitur. Opinabatur

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[1] 1st: sectam assererent.

[2] Later addition.

[3] 1st: statuturos.

[4] 1st: focos.

[5] This paragraph is cancelled in the MS.

homo perditus, in eo beatitudinem esse positam, si omni sensu quis careat, nec
2 corporis | morbos, nec animi ægritudines patiatur, quin magis, quodam sensuum
lenocinio semisopitus, deliniatur. Cumque id oppio effici animaduertisset, cui tamen
si quis assuescat, in discrimen incidit præmaturæ mortis, ex papauerum siliquis,
sorbitiunculam excogitauit, in hunc modum. Posteaquam oppium, ex papaueris
3 siliquis incisis effluxit, | eæque maturitatem sunt consequutæ, demptis seminibus,
in aquam conijciuntur, tamdiuque subiguntur, donec humor quasi vinum coloretur.
Qui posteaquam paulisper resedit, in uas aliud reticulo interiecto, tenuissimi lini,
transfunditur, et expurgatur, eiusque iam ad potandum parati *ipsi pharmacopæi[1]
4 magnis crateribus se proluunt. Abstinent | vero carnibus, cepa, allijs, et id genus
cæteris, tum deinde fructibus, sed oleo diligentissime, quod post oppium, et post
hanc potionem haustum, est mortiferum. Vescuntur tantum legumine decocto, et
dulciculo aliquo cibo, tum demisso inter genua capite, Endymionis somnum dor-
F. 18b. 1 miunt. || Cum uero, in eo semper stertendi uitio, turpi inertiæ, ad desidendum,
amplissimus locus pateat, id ille castitatis splendore, usque eo cohonestatum iri
putauit, ut potius admirationi, quam reprehensioni, se obnoxium fore non obscura
spe, et cæca expectatione duceretur. Nam ea est huius potionis natura, ut impu-
2 dicos corporis, | ad uoluptatem motus, innato frigore reprimat, quo factum est, ut
opinione sanctitatis, et honorificum sepulchrum, et templum in hoc municipio
Bābā Kapūr's tomb. obtinuerit. Ad cuius tumulum, assidue excubant, seu potius procumbunt, ex eius
sectatoribus, *saltem[2] triginta, quibus crastinus dies, nihil dat ad cogitandum.
3 Nouus | hic Epicuræorum coryphæus, plurimos nactus est, qui ei nomen dederunt,
Akbar, one of his followers. viros quidem principes, et in ijs regem ipsum Zelaldinum magnum: qui omnes ab
eo pharmaco, quod uulgari eorum lingua, postum dicitur, Postinos se dici honorifi-
cum arbitrantur.[3]

4 *Goaleri, ad oram Sambáli fluminis uentum est, qui secus Daulpurum | fluit,[4]
The Chambal R. quod Maluani regni et Delinini, uel Indici, limes est, ac loci natura, hominum
Dholpur. industria, atque labore munitissimum. Fuit enim anteaquam sub vnius imperium,
ditionemque Delnini et Maluani caderent, Delininorum propugnaculum firmissimum,
F. 19a. 1 sicuti Goaleris || Maluanorum. Ac natura quidem loci, ea est ut equitatu, nihil fere
bellica laude dignum, præstari queat. Nam cum procul inspectantibus peramplus,
æquus, et planus ager appareat, est tamen, tot salebris, et asperitatibus subsiden-
tium conuallium dissectus, ut si quis aberret, aut magno anfractu, non optimis uijs,
2 et angustissimis | semitis, ad iter cum periculo redire: aut in manus hostium, uel
latronum incidere periclitetur. Daulpurum vero Latinis, erit Alba urbs.[5] Et
Sámbali quidem *flumen, magnum[6] est, atque ad littus *Gedrosicum uersus[7]

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[1] Later addition.

[2] 1st: ut plurimum.

[3] This paragraph from "arce munitissima" (fol. 17*b*. 1) is bracketed in the MS.

[4] Cancelled in the MS.

[5] Bracketed in the MS. from: quod Maluani . . . (fol. 18*b*. 4.)

[6] 1st: flumen, quod eam alluit, magnum.

[7] 1st: Gedrosicum Arachosicumque uersus.

occidentem solem fertur, tantundem vero ab Agara ubi sedes est regni, abest, atque a
3 Fattepuro, | ubi magnus Rex degit: hoc est, iter bidui. Quo Sacerdotes a legato
To Fatehpur. deducti sunt.

Remarks on the journey. 1. The country. Toto hoc itinere conficiendo, illud in primis, animaduersum est, a littore maris
versus septentrionem, quasi per quosdam gradus, regiones semper ascendisse, easque
quibusdam ueluti areis, ut fieri solet in hortis, qui in cliuo positi sunt, attolli; quibus
4 sunt pro ripis, | ipsi montes.[1] Secundo deinde loco, obseruatum est · Agarenorum
2. Hindū temples destroyed. diligentia, omnia idolorum delubra, quæ plurima erant deiecta esse. Verum ipsorum
F. 19b. 1 incuria, ijsdem locis et alijs, in quibus aliquod uestigium simulachri reperitur, || a
gentilibus, in omnium oculis, sacrificia fieri, suffimenta poni, oleum atque unguenta
3. Idolatry replaced by Muhammadan superstition. fundi, humum floribus spargi, coronas appendi. Ac pro gentilium delubris (quod
tertio loco adnotatum est) innumera prophanorum, et sceleratissimorum hominum
Agarenorum sepulchra, et ædiculas, in quibus pro diuis inani superstitione coluntur,
2 esse erecta. Quæ res Sacerdotum | misericordiam, non sine lacrymis, et dolore
maximo commouebant. Quis .n. misericordia eorum non frangatur, qui in perniciem
animarum suarum, vitia pro uirtutibus, scelera pro miraculis admirantur? et perditissimos nebulones, pro sanctissimis uiris reuerentur?

3 At vero Sacerdotes, ubi vrbem procul conspexerunt, maximas Deo | immortali
Fatehpur. gratias egerunt, qui se incolumes, ad suscepti itineris metas perduxerat. Deinde
urbis amplitudine, ac magestate, sunt non mediocriter delectati. Urbem ingressi,
desuetudine peregrini cultus, omnium ad se oculos conuerterunt, qui non satis sese
expediebant, sed ignoratione impediti, in magna hæsitatione hærebant, | quinam illi
4 essent homines *atrati,[2] inermes, togati, petasati, tonsi, rasique.

Akbar. Perducti tandem sunt ad Regem. Quos Rex, ubi ex editiore loco aspexit, ad se
F. 20a. 1 propius jussit accedere. Cui pauca interroganti, librum || Geographiæ tradiderunt,
Presenting an Atlas. ab Archiepiscopo Goano dono missum, quem libenter accepit. Ac cum eorum
aspectu, non mediocriter oblectaretur, tamen, tum ne suum animum proderet, tum
ut grauitatem seruaret, nihil nimis indulgenter loquutus est, sed breui se subduxit:
2 at vbi paulisper intus constitit, eos ad se in interius domicilium, | et locum, qui
Kapūr Tālāw? Daulat Khāna. dicitur, Capùr, Talaù adduci iubet; ut suis uxoribus spectaculum daret, tandem
in aliud impluuium, quod Daulatqhanà vocatur, perduxit · ubi ocasionem arripuit,
Portuguese dress. ex subitis imbribus: et more Lusitano pallium purpureum, aureis fibulis induit,
3 filiosque eodem vestitu, et pileis Lusitanicis prodire iussit · ut ea | re hospitibus
800 Gold Mohurs refused. gratificaretur, quibus etiam octingentos aureos nummos numerari iubebatur. At cum
Sacerdotes ei respondissent, se non eò uenisse, ut aurum quærerent; nec omnino ut
acciperent, efficere potuisset, temperantiam eorum admiratus, inter aliquot Lusitanos,
4 qui ex Tavarij (quem supra commemorauimus) comitatu remanserant | diuidi impe-
Portuguese at Court. rauit, et intus sese recepit. *Sacerdotes,[3] regis uoluntate perspecta, læti in hospitium

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[1] Cancelled in the MS. from ; Et Sámbali (fol. 19*a*. 2.)

[2] In MS. : attrati.

[3] 1st : sacrific

deducti sunt. His enim significationibus, *Regem ad Christi cultum et puram
F. 20b. 1 religionem demigraturum sibi[1] || certo pollicebantur.

Lenten fare at Fr. J. Pereira's. Postero die, ab eo Sacerdote, quem a Gangaride accersitum, cum Rege uersari
supra demonstrauimus, perhumaniter, et (quod quadragenariæ inediæ dies essent)
piscibus, frugaliter extructa mensa, accepti sunt. A quo deinceps, quo loco res
Comparing notes. nostræ religionis, apud Regem essent, intelligere conati sunt. Qui in primis respondit,
2 | ab eo reuerentiam aduersus Christum, et Deiparam Virginem adhiberi, parumque
abesse, quo minus Diuinum honorem, Christo tribueret. Deinde quæ ab illo in
Euangelio præcepta sunt, Regem non tantum probare, sed laudibus extollere.
Akbar's psychology. Mirari vero, tanto studio coli castitatem a Christianis, ut vir unam tantum fœminam,
3 in | matrimonio habeat, et sacerdotibus uxore, fœminaque ómnino interdicatur.
Verum dicere, sui aciem judicij, quasi per caliginem perstringi, cum audiret in uno Deo
trinas personas · Deum filium habere ex virgine, laborasse in cruce, in eaque a
Judæis necatum fuisse, fore tamen ut non diffiteretur, ea vera esse si sibi persuaderent, |
4 Euangelii librum a Deo prodijsse. At Christi miracula libenter audire, illis fidem
habere: at uero de Mahamedde longe aliter sentire · nebulonem & impostorem ||
F. 21a. 1 fuisse · qui confictis a se mendacijs, homines a mente dimouisset; ac cum in triclinio,
suspensas ymagines Christi, Mariæ, Moysis, et Mahameddis haberet, a tergo relinquens
Mahameddem dixisse, hæc ymago est Christi, illa Mariæ, hæc Moysi, ista Mahameddis ·
2 quo significare uoluisse, quid ipse de illo sentiret. Ad summam, | ne de singulis
agatur, hæc ab illo Sacerdote, de Regis animo cognita, et Sacerdotibus enarrata, lucem
quamdam ipsis attulerunt, ut qua deinceps uia, insistendum esset, apertius exploratum
haberent. Summo quidem studio, ante nostrorum Sacerdotum aduentum, cum
3 non exigua, ipsius voluntatis, erga Christianam fidem significatione, | Regem Ægidius
(hoc. n. nomen illi Sacerdoti erat) instituere conatus est: verum inscitia interpretis,
quominus maiores progressus faceret impeditus est, eoque adductus, ut pro fide
Ordeal of fire. *stabilienda[2] flammis, et incendio conflagrare, et ab igne pati, non semel, aut iterum
4 constanti animo, cuidam conditionem | proponenti, ut difficilis disputatio relinqueretur,
se paratum esse reciperet.[3]

Est Fattepurum (quod Nicopolis dici potest) a Rege nuper, cum primum confecto
F. 21b. 1 bello Gedrosico Agaram, ad suas sedes redijt, ædificatum, || in quadam quasi fronte,
Fatehpur described. cuiusdam montis, quem antiqui Vindium (ut opinor) dixerunt · qui ad ocasum
centum milliaria uersus Azmírim procurrit, loco quidem saxoso, et parum amœno,
iuxta uetustum oppidum, quod propterea, Purána Siquiris dicitur. Purána .n.
2 eorum lingua, veterem sonat, at Siquiris loci nomen est. | Verum auri gaza regia,
in primis, deinde optimatum, qui in Regis curia versantur pecunia, ut qui principis
New Sīkri begun in 1571. Cf. fol. 3a. uoluptati magno studio inseruiunt, nouem annorum spatio, ædificijs mirabiliter, et
magnifice auctum, et exornatum est. Præcipua tamen ipsius ornamenta sunt, aula
3 ipsa Regis, cuius est ambitus latissimus, et impendet | uniuerso municipio, pulcher-

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[1] 1st: Regis conuersionem sibi.

[2] 1st: statuenda.

[3] Everything is cancelled in the MS. from "secundo deinde loco" (fol. 19a. 4).

rimo prospectu; deinde ædes maxima, fornicibus subnixa, cuius etiam area amplis-
Circus. Polo. sima est; tum Circus, ubi elephantes decertant, gladiatorum spectacula *eduntur,[1]
lignea pila, malleis quoque ligneis pulsa, ex equis luditur, deinde balneæ, ad hæc
4 negotiatorum uicus, qui passibus | fere quingentis, in longum patet, ubi mira et uaria
est, mercium omnis generis *abundantia et copia,[2] tum hominum, qui prope in-
Lake. numeri, in ea constipantur, maxima frequentia. Ac ne aquæ penuria laboraretur,
F. 22a. 1 stagnum || industria laboreque comparatum, longum passus duo mille, latum sesqui-
mille. Illud uero Rex, in hunc modum, fieri edixit. Vallem quae subsidebat, et
imbribus hyeme complebatur, qui tamen, aut elabebantur, aut exsiccabantur,
paulatim eo loco, quo defluebant, magno uallo sepiri iussit ne fluerent. Qua una,
2 eademque opera, aquæ penuriæ succurrit, | et cœli grauitati consuluit. Nam ubi sol
ad occasum uergit, placidissimum aërem efflat, quo *calores,[3] qui sunt eo in loco
maximi, *temperantur, ac præterea summa cum amœnitate stagni Rex ludorum
Fort 2 miles in circuit. diebus quibus ad illud descendit se reficit.[4] Verum ut eius urbis, reliqua ornamenta
prætereams, murorum arcis circuitus, quem frequentissimæ turres exornant duorum
3 millium passuum est, quattuor tantum portis: Agarena | ad ortum, Azimirina ad
The 4 gates. occasum, Circi uersus septentrionem, Daulpurina ad austrum. Verum porta Circi, qua
2 Elephant statues. frequenter Rex descendit ad Circum, pulchritudine reliquis antecellit. Elephantum enim
pro foribus, proboscide sublata effigies duæ, eadem qua ipsi sunt magnitudine, ad
4 unguem fabricatæ | (existimes opus Phidiæ) quasi portam asseruent, constitutæ sunt,
Distances counted from Fatehpur. quæ magnam loco magestatem conciliant. Juxta Circum, pyramis excitatur, a qua
F. 22b. 1 lapides uersus || Agaram, ad orientem solem, et Asimirim ad occasum, more Romano,
Salīm Chishti's advice. emenso sesquimilliario numerantur. Ac cum Zelaldinus Agaræ ageret, hortatu
cuiusdam Sophi (genus est hominum, qui tum sapientiam, tum pietatem profitentur)
qui in *gurgustio,[5] in hac rupe degebat: Agara relicta Siquirinum commigrauit. |

2 Est quidem Agara, urbs amplitudine, atque antiquitate præstantissima, quam
Agra described. Jomanes fluuius alluit, in qua Zelaldinus magnus, natus, educatus, et Rex patre e
Humayun's tragic death. uiuis, graui, et miserabili casu sublato, primum renunciatus est. Nam cum pater,
3 cui erat nomen Emaumus, Delini in solario aulæ deambularet, | et ut fit, arundini
innixus, ad crepidinem tecti incumberet, labente scipione, præceps in hortum actus
est. Qui ex tam horribili, ac tam repentino casu interijt. Erat vir studijs litterarijs
excultus, et studiosorum amator, at in re bellica, non multum acer, et strenuus,
4 contraquam Zelaldino euenit, qui litterarum | ignarus, bellica virtute clarus est.
F. 23a. 1 Itaque Agaræ natus, cum primum salutatus est Rex, sedem regni || quæ Delini erat,
Delhi abandoned. Christian kings at Delhi. iam inde a Christianorum regum temporibus, in eam transtulit; aulamque, et arcem
struxit, ea laxitate, ut facile magni oppidi amplitudinem superet. Inclusit enim
arcis, et aulæ septis domos optimatum suorum, horrea, ærarium, armamentarium,
Agra Fort built. equorum stabula, propolarum, et opificum, pharmacopolarum, et tonsorum, omnium

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[1] In MS.: æduntur.

[2] 1st: multitudo.

[3] 1st: æstus.

[4] 1st: refrigerantur.

[5] 1st: tuguriolo.

2 denique curialium | operarum, domunculas & tabernas. Ea vero lapidum coag-
2 Kings on elephant statues.
mentatione, ut nulla interiecta calce, commissuræ vix appareant, quod etiam efficit,
coloris lapidum, per omnem murum, eadem cohærens, et continuata venustas · rubro
.ıı. sunt omnes colore. Pro foribus, statuas duorum regulorum posuit, quos ipse
3 fistulæ tormento traiecit, elephantumque | statuas, ea magnitudine, qua uiui esse
solent, quibus illi uehebantur: quæ essent, veluti trophæa, et suæ virtutis, ac rerum,
bello cum laude gestarum, monumenta. Ac si ut uolebat cecidisset, sapienter
Wealth and size of Agra.
quidem egerat, nam · Agara et cœli clementia, et soli ubertate, et amne, hortorum-
4 que amœnitate, celebritate uero omnis generis hominum, tum etiam | magnitudine,
omnibus fere, eius regionis, ciuitatibus antecellit. Est enim passuum duobus millibus
lata, longa quattuor; nihil in ea, ad usum, et commodum humanæ uitæ, ex ipsa etiam
ultima Europa, importatum exposci potest: quin suppetat. Artificum, fabrorum,
F. 23b. 1 et aurificum magnus est in ea conuentus. || Gemmæ, et margaritæ sunt quamplurimæ,
auri argentique magna uis, equi Persici, et Tartaraci [*sic*] permulti. Denique omnibus
copijs, et omnium rerum abundantia, circumfluit. Quo fit ut annonæ difficultas,
insolenter, et raro eueniat. Ad hæc quod in medio sita sit, et quasi umbilicus totius
2 regni, facile Rex cum res postularet, quoquo versus | ire, et a suis undequaque conueniri
poterat. Verum ut sunt res humanæ, aliter quam sperabat res cecidit. Nam
A haunted palace.
absoluto iam opere, ubi Rex nouam arcem, et aulam incolere cœpit,* lemures,[1] diuino
id permittente numine, domos percurrere, rursum prorsum cursitare, omnia conuellere,
3 mulierculas, et pueros territare, lapides | iacere, omnibus denique nocere *instituunt.[2]
Ac fuissent fortasse, hæc incommoda, si latius se non fudissent, ferenda. Verum in
Regis liberos, Dæmonis sese effudit audacia: quos biduo, aut triduo postquam nati
Death of A.'s children.
essent, enecabat. Et binos, aut ternos eripuit. Quare tanto damno commotus, quod
4 uideret se posteritate cariturum, ad Sophum adit, | quem in rupe ad Síquirim degere,
solitarium diximus, et ei, quæ a Dæmone pateretur damna exposuit. Ille ut quam
Agra abandoned.
ocyssime Agara, in eum locum demigret Regi persuadet. Dicto e uestigio paruit, et
uillam, paruam quidem, sed regia magnificentia, quam citissime ædificari iussit, ||
F. 24a. 1 quæ breui in Basilicam euasit.

Jam uero Sacerdotes, ubi paulisper, ex itineris lassitudine recreati, ad regem sunt
March 3, 1580, O.S.
iterum euocati: ad id opus manus admouerunt, cujus caussa tam diuturna, et longin-
qua peregrinatio suscepta fuerat. Eius rei hanc occasionem captauerunt. Quinto
2 nonas Martij, Sacra Biblia quattuor linguis scripta, | septeno uolumine, in aulam
The Bible in 7 volumes.
deportauerunt, eaque regi uidenda exhibuerunt, quæ ille religionis caussa, coram
suis satrapis, et *religionum magistris,[3] non solum est osculatus, sed suo super
A.'s reverence for them.
imposuit capiti, rogabatque, quônam in uolumine, esset Euangelium? Quod ubi
reperit, religiosius, est ueneratus. Deinde Sacerdotes, ad se in priuatum triclinium,
3 cum Biblijs | seuocauit · quæ iterum, *magna adhibita reuerentia erga illa, et cum
gaudio,[4] euoluit: uoluitque ut sibi commodarentur, eaque in eodem triclinio, ubi

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[1] 1st: malus dæmon.

[2] 1st: instituit.

[3] 1st: sacrificulis.

[4] 1st: magna cum reuerentia et gaudio.

solet frequentissime commorari, inclusa eleganti thecæ, et librorum dignitati, accom-
1st Discussion. modatæ commisit. Hinc data est ansa, ad disputationem, in qua, noctu acurate,
4 cum *magistris[1] et literarum peritis, de fide et authoritate Sacrarum | Scripturarum,
The Bible *vs.* the Qorān. quibus Christiana religio nititur: de vanitate, et mendacijs libri, cui ipsi credunt,
tanquam diuinitus dato, quem Mahameddes, ut alia taceam, refersit fabulis in-
F. 24b. 1 numeris, ijsque futilitatis, summæque leuitatis plenis, disputatum[2] est. || Et Euangelio
quidem, vetustissimos Moysis, et Prophetarum libros, testimonium dare, nec ipsum
Alcoranum, quamuis cum Euangelio, pugnet, atque adeo, maxime seiuncta, ab
Euangelio, et contraria dicat; effugere potuisse, quin ipsi non solum ueritatis, sed
etiam sanctitatis, testimonium tribueret. Ait enim non vno loco, datum esse a Deo
2 Opt. | Max. Euangelium Christo: quanquam inepte quidem, eius author affirmet,
librum *compactum et coagmentatum,[3] a Deo Christo fuisse traditum, sicuti Moysi
Torah, *i.e.*, lex · Davidi Zabur, *i.e.*, Psalmorum liber, sibi vero (dabitur enim venia,
quod tot barbaras uoces confarciam) Alfurcanum. Enimuero, Alfurcano, a nemine
3 testimonium | dari; ac diuina ope, factum est, eo aduersarios deduci, ut eorum
argumentis refutatis, ipsi ijs, quæ aduersus libri sui disciplinam obijciebantur,
nequirent satisfacere, ac propter Regis conspectum, pudore a disputando refugerent,
et tandem omnino conticescerent.

4 Vbi disputandi finem fecerunt, Rex | seorsum Sacerdotes abduxit: "Satis,"
Congratulations and warning. inquit, "superque mihi a uobis est satisfactum, et uestræ legis religio, placet: verum
" quoniam hi scelerati sunt, admonitos uos volo, ut in agendo et loquendo cauti sitis,
F. 25a. 1. " unum || opto, ut quonam pacto Deus Opt. Max. trinus sit, et unus explicetis, deinde,
" quî filium habeat, de virgine hominem factum. Etenim mihi vel hæc duo, difficiliora
" uidentur, quam ut intellectu capere possim." Quibus illi: " quod ad *mystagogos[4]
" attinet, ut tibi morem geramus, non quod nobis ab ipsis timeamus, deinceps ut
2 " præcipis, in agendo cum ipsis, | cauti erimus. Quod uero ad id attinet, quod
" exoptas, a Deo postula, qui affluit, et omnibus profuse, ac liberaliter condonat, ac
" cum animi demissione, ad audiendum accede." Apud Regem plurimum ualuit,
quod Sacra Biblia, tot linguis scripta, nihil diuersum continere deprehenderentur, sed
3 idem unumquodque idioma redderet, tum quod | Alfurcanum, in latinum sermonem
Latin translation of the Qorān. conuersum (quod Diui Bernardi accuratissimæ diligentiæ, acceptum ferendum est)
perinde bene, ac eius *mystagogi,[5] nostri Sacerdotes callerent: quod eos mæstos,
et animo grauiter affectos, vehementissime cruciabat, ac *consumebat,[6] tum quod
nostri Sacerdotes, sententijs consentirent, at vero sui, de rebus Alfurcani, in disputa-
4 tionibus | a se mutuo dissentirent,[7] quod Regi magnopere displicebat. Ac prima
quidem, cum Agarenis *mystagogis,[8] congressio sic habuit.

2nd Discussion. Post tres dies de beatitudine, secundo disputatum est, quam Muhammeddes,
F. 25b. 1 impijssime || ac mendacissime asseuerat, epulationibus et turpibus delicijs, et alijs
Heavenly bliss. rebus, toto cœlo diuersis, ab ijs quas Sacræ Litteræ affirmant, contineri.

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[1] 1st: sacrificulis.

[2] From "quinto nonas" (fol. 24*a*. 1) the anonymous annotator underlined every line in pencil. In the margin he wrote: *N.B.*

[3] 1st: compaginatum.

[4] 1st: sacrificulos.

[5] 1st: sacrificuli.

[6] 1st: perturbabat.

[7] In MS.: dissentirentur.

[8] 1st: sacrificulis.

3rd Discussion.

Post dies aliquot, Mahameddis arrogantia, argumentum ad tertio disputandum
dedit. Nam cum in Alcorano scribat, Christum iustum fuisse, et absque crimine,
2 et matrem habuisse virginem, | quæ eum ex Diuino Spiritu concepisset, ipsumque non
Muhammad his own witness. ex hominis cuiusquam satu, ortum esse; se vero peccatorem, et simulachrorum
cultorem; nec ulla miracula edidisse: impudenter tamen, et arroganter, se Christo
esse maiorem, et potiorem affirmat. Et cum Sacerdotes dicerent, impudentem &
3 ridiculum eum hominem esse, qui in sua re | sui ipsius testimonio abuteretur: (nam
cum testimonium, rei confirmandæ caussa sumatur, ab alio quam a se veritatis
testimonium peti oportet) et Christo quidem graue testimonium, cum Prophetas
uiros clarissimos qui eius aduentum prænuntiarunt, tum ipsum Euangelicum uolumen
4 (non ab ipso scriptum, aut uti Alfurcanum a Mahamedde | consarcinatum) quod
eius virtutes, et ostenta narrat, impartiri: et Mahameddem, solum sibi esse testem,
solum de se scribere, solum de se mira narrare, alium præterea neminem: victi, ac
F. 26a. 1 perturbati Agareni, ad prodigia[1] || prouocarunt. "Periclitemur," inquiunt, "vtrius
Ordeal of fire. "factionis libri sint ueraces: *rogus extruatur, igne inflammetur.[2] *Vnus uestrum,
"gerens Euangelium, unus similiter nostrum, habens Syndagma, in rogum ardentem
"ascendat,[3] eius qui euaserit liber, simul cum gestatore, uerax habeatur." Simili
sermone Rex Sacerdotes lacessiuit, et tum quidem ipsi paucis responderunt · non
2 opus esse prodigijs, cum legis | nostræ rationem redderemus atque exponeremus.
Occurenti Regi, se nolle amplius rationem, omnes acclamarunt, "Pax Regi!" et hic
quidem exitus huius disputationis fuit.

Ac Rodolfus, quem facile sodales sequuti fuissent, ut erat ingenio religiosissime
ardens, et feruidus, atque necis pro Christo, quacunque objecta ocasione, oppetendæ
3 cupidissimus, et ad pietatem | promptissimus, si exploratum illi fuisset, ita facto
Why rejected? opus esse, non fuisset cunctatus; at uero quoniam dubius hærebat, nihil est conatus.
Verum ne formidine mortis, ab accipienda ignis conditione, deterritus fuisse
uideretur, ex sententia sodalium, hæc ubi primum locum, et tempus nactus est,
4 Regi suggessit: "Quod," inquit, "ad ignis propositam conditionem | attinet, si
"meam, & sodalium, in fide, ac religione Jesu Christi, quam a maioribus nostris
"accepimus, et cum lacte suximus, ad quam imbuti sumus, cui deseruimus,
"constantiam periclitari, Rex, velis, non unum sed mille rogos alacri animo
"festinatissime Dei auxilio subnixi, conscendemus · nec speramus, aut expetimus ||
F 26b. 1 "prodigio liberari, quamuis eundem illum Deum colamus, qui tres pueros Hebræos, *Dan.* 3.
"in fornace incolumes conseruauit, et de fornace, nulla ignis iniuria læsos eduxit.
"Elephantes, leones, pantheras, leopardos, præcipitia, cruces, uerbera, et omnes
"cruciatus diuino auxilio freti, nihil extimescimus. Huius rei, hac ipsa hora, si placet,
2 "Rex, experimentum | capere poteris. Nihil amplius moræ intercedet, quam
"quantula futura est, dum noster sodalis qui lecto ægrotus tenetur, accersitur: quem
"continuo sanitati, præ animi lætitia, restitutum iri speramus. Verum si ut prodi-
"gium spectes, quasi vero aliquis nostrum, ita charus Deo habeatur, ut nihil ab igne

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[1] Everything is bracketed or cancelled in the MS. from: "Est Fattepurum . . ." (fol. 21*a*. 4).

[2] Later addition.

[3] 1st: Vnus uestrum, gerens Euangelium, intret in rogum, unus similiter nostrum, habens Alfurcanum.

3 " patiatur, *ignis periculum proponis,[1] in primis nos ingenue | fatemur, integra quidem
"fide, cæteris in rebus, sæpe lapsos fuisse, atque etiamnum labi, esseque peccatores,
"quo fit, ut magna teneamur religione, nedum audeamus, nobis ipsis ostenta
"polliceri, cum ignoremus charine Deo, an vero in offensa apud eum simus. Jam-
4 "uero igne periculum facere, num liber ex Deo sit, quoniam nec is comburatur, | nec
" eius caussa ille, qui eum gerat, a doctrina et exemplo Christi, quem tu, Rex, suspicis,
"abhorret. (Nec tu eum te esse patieris, quos ille esse dicit homines, qui ostenta
"poscunt. 'Generatio,' inquit '*mala,[2] et adultera signum quærit.' Quo nomine *Matth.* 12.
F. 27a. 1 " Hebræos reprehendit.) Nam || cum malus Dæmon, ei suggereret, 'Si filius Dei es, *Luc.* 11
"mitte te deorsum', respondit, 'Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum'; Herodi
"miracula exposcenti, ne unum quidem uerbum fecit, et suffixus cruci, cum Iudæi
"prodigium peterent: 'Si filius Dei es (dicebant) descende nunc de cruce, et crede-
2 "mus tibi': non exaudijt. Quod ad nos spectat, omnes qui ob fidem | cruciatus
" pertulerunt (quos martyres nominamus) quorum plerique flammis combusti sunt,
"nobis meliores fuerunt. Quod ad librum, multa templa, ab hostibus nostræ
"religionis, ædesque complures, cum Euangelijs, multa etiam phana Mahammeddis,
3 "cum *codicibus[3] conflagrarunt; quo fit, ut ignis indicium, | dubium, et incertum
"sit. Jamuero ne Agarenos prætereamus, qui conditionem proponunt, si nos omnino
" rogum subire imperas, illos, ut hoc discrimine liberes, flagitamus, quanquam nullum
"credimus, adeo suæ legi, ac Prophetæ fidentem, aut adeo mentis inopem, qui se
4 "in hoc periculum dedat. At vero, id est eorum ingenium, ut prodigia | efflagitent,
"quod si eueniat, ab aliquo viro iusto, nostræ religionis, cultore dari, id veneficijs, et
"cantionibus fieri dicant, exeuntem e flamma · iaculis confodiant, lapidibus obruant:
" denique diuini prodigij fidei, et sanctitati tenebras offundere nitantur.

The case of Friar Andrew of Spoleto.

F. 27b. 1 "Quod usu uenit, Andreæ || Spoletano, ex ordine fratrum D. Francisci, *qui[4] qua-
"draginta abhinc annis, Marrhoquij in Affrica, ea conditione proposita, ab Agarenis,
"qui fraudulenter dicebant, se Christiana sacra esse amplexuros, si ipse e rogo inco-
"lumis exiret. Vbi in media flamma deambulantem, et in cœlum manus, oculosque
2 "attollentem conspexerunt · | dum Christianorum, qui captiui detinebantur, et spec-
"taculo aderant, populus, et ob rei nouitatem plebs reliqua applauderet, tum Agare-
"norum, tum Judæorum magnates, qui spectatores erant, lapidum et saxorum
"colluuie, hominem, et ipsum rogum obruerunt, ne diceretur flammas homini
3 "pepercisse. Cuius reliquiæ, uiuida adhuc carne, ac spiranti | simili, in Lusitaniam,
"ad Catharinam Austriacam, Lusitaniæ Reginam, a quodam captiuo, qui postliminio
" ex seruitute redijt, delatæ sunt."[5]

No dissimulation.

Huic orationi respondit Rex, "Deus auertat, non eo consilio uos accersiui, ut
"aliquid mali perferatis. Verum est apud me quidam *mystagogus,[6] qui se sanctum
4 "iactat, cum sit multis | magnisque sceleribus contaminatus, et noua quædam, in
"Alcoranum, sua Minerua commentatur. In hunc animaduertere instituo, vellemque
" in ea re, uestra opera uti."—"In hoc," ait Rodolfus, "non possumus tibi auxilio

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st: praua. [3] 1st: Musaphis.

[4] Redundant, or else the verb of the relative clause is missing.

[5] Cancelled in the MS. from: Quod usu venit (fol. 27*a*. 4).

[6] 1st: sacrificulus et legum magister.

F. 28a. 1 “esse, nam Sacerdotibus prohibetur, non solum hominem necare, || sed etiam aliquid,
“*nisi casus aliquis id ferat ex ijs quos excipit[1] qui legibus moderatur, vel minimum
“moliri, in hominis alicuius exitium et necem.”—“Nolo,” inquit, “ut ignem
“subeatis, sed ut uos subituros esse tantummodo dicatis.”—“Ne hoc quidem, o
“Rex.”—“Annuite saltem: tantumdem. Ego clara uoce renuntiabo, velle uos in
“rogum ascendere: tacete.”—“Si tu, Rex,” inquit, “palam pronuntiaueris, nos
2 “uelle: nos e contra palam | pronuntiabimus: nolle. Atqui si hic dignus supplicio
“est, quid opus est hoc circuitu, et hac simulatione, in ignem agere?” Hanc Rodolfi
præclaram sententiam qui audierunt *proceres,[2] mirum in modum, collaudauerunt.
Atque hi quidem primi cum magno Rege, et eius *mystagogis[3] congressus, et
litterariæ pugnæ.

3 Non | præterijt quidem Sacerdotes, verbum quod exciderat Regi, dicenti se
Probing the King's mind. nolle amplius rationem accipere: et ut suis satisfaceret, fortasse consulto effudisse,
interpretari maluerunt. Vt uero Regis animum explorarent, Regi hæc suggerere
4 secum statuerunt. “Oportere eum qui cupiat, | diuina Christianæ legis dogmata
Conditions of conversion. “perdiscere: sicut ipse de se testatus est sæpissime, duo præcipué secum tractare,
“*ut animum suum, ad diuinum lumen oculis mentis, et donorum quosdam uelut
“imbres, quibus animus perfunditur, et irrigatur, corde exhauriendos, disponat.[4]

F. 28b. 1 “Quorum primum est, || ut summo studio contendat, peccata deuitare quæ
“animum a Deo longissime abstrahunt. Nam Salomon a Divino Spiritu doctus scribit,
a. Putting on the new man. “‘In animam maleuolam, non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit, in corpore subdito *Sap.* 1.
“peccatis.’ Et quidam e vatibus, Dei loco clamauit, ‘Conuertimini ad me, et ego conuertar
2 “ad vos, ait Dominus.’ | At Joannes quidem, Zachariæ filius, qui prodromus *Matth.* 3.
“Christi fuit, ut animos Israeliticæ posteritatis, ad fidem erga illum formaret, ut pæni- *Marc.* 1. *Luc.* 3.
“terent, et viam pararent illi aduenienti, et ut iter complanarent sæpe repetebat. *Marc.* 1.
“Ipse etiam Christus, initio suæ Euangelicæ denuntiationis, homines ad pænitentiam *Matth.* 4. *Luc.* 5.
3 “est cohortatus: | hoc ipsum, ut discipuli, ad docendum missi factitarent edixit. Atque *Matth.* 10.
“hoc ipsum, esse, inquam, fugienda peccata, uoluit significare, cum filiam Archisynagogi *Marc.* 3. *Luc.* 9 *et* 10.
“emortuam excitaturus, tibicines, et turbam tumultuantem eiecit. Nihil enim æque, *Matth.* 9.
“ac peccata, tumultum eum excitat in anima, qui sit impedimento, quominus accipere |
4 “possit hospitio Christum, qui pacis, et tranquillitatis est Deus; et qui lucem oculis
“abripiat, quo minus fidei lumen, quod ipse præfert, conspiciat; et in cordis receptaculo
“claudat; ne cœlestes imbres, quibus illud Deus perfundit, hauriat. Ac fabrorum
F. 29a. 1 “quidem et opificum || nos exempla commonent. Nam si domus sit ædificanda, ut fundamentum,
“quo tota domus nititur, iaciatur: necesse est terram effodi et erui, ut saxis
“locus sit, é quibus ædificium *extruatur.[5] Quod si uas aliquod, aqua plenum, oleo
“implere uelimus, aquam ut prius effundamus, oportet. Si purgatam sordibus * linteam
2 “uestem[6] uelis induere, sordidam ut | exuas opus est. Ob id D. Paulus commone-
“bat, ut ueterem hominem omnes exuerent, hoc est Adami uitia, et malas ad uitia *Colos.* 3.
“propensiones, ne sequerentur, ut possent nouum hominem (ipse est Christus) induere.

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[1] 1st: etiamsi potestas ab eo detur. [2] 1st: satrapæ. [3] 1st: sacrificulis, et magistris.

[4] Bracketed in MS. Later note: escreua se ysto.

[5] 1st: excitetur. [6] 1st: subuculam.

Monogamy. “Quare sciat, se unam tantum, et eam quæ prima in manum conuenit; uxorem se
“posse retinere · reliquas mœchas esse, atque adulteras, quas ex præcepto Dei, et Christi,
3 “nefas sit retinere. Oportere igitur, ut in primis præteritorum | peccatorum pæniteat,
“deinde ut omnes amicas abigat, et excludat, tum ut inediæ se dedat, supplicijs se
Works of piety. “affligat, preces ad Deum fundat, stipem largiatur, alijs pietatis operibus se exerceat.
“Hæc enim omnia facilem, et propitium Deum Opt. Max. reddunt. Claudius centurio,
4 “his artibus, Dei | beneuolentiam, erga se commeruit: quem dignatus est Angeli ora-
“culo, et institutione, *ac ut aqua a D. Petro perfunderetur,[1] qui primus erat Apos- *Act.* 10.
“tolorum, et Christi personam sustinebat, uicesque agebat.[2]

b. Leisure for instruction. “Alterum est,* utile illi fore, ac omnino necessarium,[3] ut ab omni occupatione,
“*minus necessaria[3] se expediat, tempus diemque statuat, qua omni controuersia
F. 29b. 1 “sublata; solus, vel adhibitis, || si uelit, nonnullis * mystagogis[4] · quibus ipse confidit ·
“nos ut discipulus audiat. Sit tamen integrum, omnia dubia proponere: quæ ex ijs,
“quæ dicenda sunt, orientur. Nam ut in quadam Christi parœmia docemur · semen
“quod secus uiam decidit, aues abripiunt, et comedunt. Nomine enim uiæ, Christus *Luc.* 8.
2 “corda significat, *eorum hominum, qui quasi iter aperti | sunt, ac pervij, diuersarum
“cogitationum internuntijs a sensu mentis abstracti, et in quamplurimas res ne-
“gociosas, et molestas, nec multum utiles immersi, qui accurata consideratione,
“contemplationeque, hoc semen non obducunt, ut oriatur Christus in cordibus
3 “animisque | ipsorum, contra ac agricolæ faciunt qui sparsum semen occant ut a
“terra cohibeatur.[5] Auibus uero, quæ semen abripiunt, malos Dæmones indicat,
“a quibus plerique homines, huiusmodi adducuntur, ut eos iustitiæ capiat obliuio,
“quos voluit denotari, cum in ueteri priscorum patrum lege, a sacrificijs suis, et epulis *Leuitic.* 11.
“suorum, ea reijcit animantia, quæ non ruminant. Hæc caussa est, cur quam plurimi,
4 “a veri Dei | cultu, et scientia aberrent: quod sua ipsorum socordia, consyderatione
“destituuntur. Ac Virgo illa integerrima quam ipse admiratur, tunc Dei nuntium *Luc.* 1.
“accepit, cum solitaria, in domus suæ conclaui, remotis arbitris, de humani generis
F. 30a. 1 “(uti fertur) libertate commentabatur: || optabatque, illius esse ancillam uirginis, quæ
“ab Isaia, eo in loco quem præ manibus, ut creditur habebat, Deum hominem fac- *Isaiæ*, 7.
“tum, paritura prædicebatur. Tunc Philippus, Christi discipulus, Eunucho Candacis
“Reginæ Æthiopiæ accurrit, cum ille, animi cogitatione uersaret, ea quæ in Isaia *Act* 8. *Isaiæ*, 53.
“legerat · a quo doctus, in riuulo statim aqua perfusus, Christo est initiatus · et
2 “Philippus, | non sine magna Eunuchi, et sui satellitij admiratione, ab Angelo
“abreptus est, et in Azotum deportatus. Quodsi ad aliquam artem, uel scientiam
“addiscendam, opus est, cæteris ocupationibus relaxari, et in eam solam incumbere ·
“id maxime, in rerum diuinarum studio, agendum est. Nicodemus, vir, ueræ pietatis *Joan* 3.
3 “percupidus,* nocte in hospitium, quo diuertisse Christum | audierat se contulit,

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[1] 1st: ac perfusione D. Petri.

[2] Cancelled in MS. from: Nam Salomon (fol. 28 *b*. 1).

[3] Cancelled in MS.

[4] 1st: sacrificulis.

[5] 1st: omnium hominum, qui aperti sunt, ac pervij, quasi iter, diuersarum cogitationum nternuntijs: abstracti, et effusi in quamplurimas res negociosas, et molestas, nec multum utiles · et qui studiose, et accurata consideratione, ac commentatione, hoc semen, ut boni agricolæ non obducunt, qui postea quam seminarunt, sementi terram inuertunt, ut oriatur Christus in cordibus animisque ipsorum.

"noctemque cum eo transegit, ut ab illo doceretur.[1] Quod nostra memoria,
"Japonenses Reges imitantur, qui sacerdotum nostri sodalitij, humiles domos fre-
"quentant, ut fidei, et religionis præcepta discant. Nos quidem non id exposcere,
4 "sed paratos esse, Regiam adire, dies, | noctesque laborare, in Christiana disciplina
"tradenda, tantumque exoptare, ut curis, et ocupationibus expeditus, docilem
"se, et ad audiendum attentum, et discendi cupidum præbeat.[2] Inijci uero nobis
"religionem, si cum dedecore diuini verbi negotium transigamus, formidareque,
F. 30b. 1 "ne neglecta diuina obnuntiatione, || qua deploratum eum hominem denuntiat, qui
"opus Dei facit negligenter, tum ipse Rex tum etiam nos, apud inferos pœnas
"demus."

Captauit itaque Rodolfus tempus, quo hæc Regi suggereret: cumque post aliquot
dies, in basilicam Sacerdotes uenissent, vbi eos Rex conspexit, ad se accitos, intro
2 deduxit, suaque sponte dixit: optare se | ut Christiani, in suo regno agerent, et ut
Religious liberty as in Turkey. Christiano more templa ædificarentur, sicuti audierat fieri apud Turcarum Regem,
et fore neminem, cui id nouum iure videri posset, quandoquidem permitteret, simu-
lachrorum cultores, et delubra, in suo regno esse. Atque hæc cum eximij amoris,
3 atque officij, non obscura significatione, dicebat. | Quare ea oratione, tunc Rodolfus
Rudolf's advice. supersedendum putauit. At biduo post, *separatim[3] Regem, de ijs quæ comme-
morata, et tempori visa sunt accommodata conuenit · admonuitque, prudentis esse
futuris prouidere, eumque iam inde ab eo loco, et tempore, debere modum, et
4 rationem excogitare, qua sine tumultu, et uitæ discrimine, | Christianus esse posset ·
quandoquidem ad fidem imbui postulabat · *ne acerbitatis tempestate cohorta [*coorta*],
eorum qui sibi aduersarentur, aut ipse deterreretur; quod esset, non bene subducta
ratione, cœpisse ædificare, et bellum suscepisse, nec potuisse ad exitum usque per-
F. 31a. 1 ducere || et consummare: aut ipse interficeretur, quod cum iactura suæ posteritatis,
et regni futurum esset.[4]

Akbar's answer. His, paucis, respondit Rex: "hæc in manu Dei esse posita, qui dat certas, et
"errare non patientes uias, ijs qui eius auxilium, et opem implorant, se quidem, nullius
"rei cupiditatem habere, uxores, filios, et imperia, nihili facere. Si modus deficiat,
2 "quo sine tumultu Christianus | efficiar, fingam," inquit, "me uelle Mecam, uoti
"soluendi caussa petere, et Goam me conferam, ut sacro flumine perfundar."

Holy Saturday, 1580. Hoc uerbo, exhilarati sunt Sacerdotes uehementissime · et pridie eius diei, qua
Christus rediuiuus e sepulchro surrexit · in comitatu quorundam Lusitanorum, qui
3 cum Rege, ex Tauarij cohorte remanserant, gratulatum, et bene | precandi caussa, ob
Paschalitia, Regem salutarunt · et *ubi[5] gratiam retulit, ut eius diei mysteria sibi
New quarters. Prayers learnt. enuntiarent imperauit, eosque deduxit in aulæ regionem, ubi eos degere uolebat, ut
propius habitarent, et ad se docendum paratiores essent; deinde satellitio, et pro-
cerum comitatu dimisso, solus cum eis, multa de nocte est uersatus, atque orandi |
4 modum, et meritum interrogauit. Cui Rodolfus paucis satisfecit.

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[1] 1st: et ex discipulis Joannis quidam, nocte . . . Christum audierant, se conferebant, noctemque cum eo transigebant, ut ab illo docerentur.

[2] Cancelled in MS. from: Nam ut in quadam . . . , (fol. 29*b*. 1).

[3] 1st: seuocatum.

[4] Cancelled in MS. from: Nc acerbitatis tempestate . . . (fol. 30*b*.4).

[5] 1st: ut.

Easter dinner. Postridie eius diei, illis de mensa dedit. Paschalitijs uero exactis, e diuersorio,
Near Akbar's palace. qui locus, ob celebritatem commorantium, rationi uitæ eorum, *inopportunus[1] erat,
in illud aulæ domicilium, quod Rex ostenderat commigrarunt. Quod ubi Rex
F. 31b. 1 resciuit, solus sese in illorum ædes contulit, et || recta, in sacellum perrexit, ubi
Akbar in the chapel. deposito uelo, et expansis capillis, humo se prosternens, Christum, et eius matrem
ueneratus est, et sermonem de rebus diuinis instituit; octauo post die, tres filios, et
Other visit to the chapel. aliquot proceres, secum ad spectaculum adduxit, et *detractis calceis,[2] ipse et reliqui
2 sunt ingressi. Præcepit vero filijs, ut Christi, et virginis eius matris effigies | uenerarentur.
Ex *proceribus[3] quidam, animo affectus exclamauit, illam esse uere cœlorum
A picture of the Madonna from Rome presented to Akbar. reginam, quæ *in suo solio pulcherrimo vestitu & ornatu regali sedebat.[4] Rex uero
effigiem pulcherriman virginis, quæ Roma *aduecta[5] erat, nomine Prouinciæ Præpositi, ab ipsis traditam, summa cum lætitiæ demonstratione accepit.

3 His quidem omnibus, incredibili quadam | lætitia perfundebantur Sacerdotes:
ac insolito quodam ardore accendebantur: et nouo quasi spiritu concepto, tum denuo
aggredi, et sese ad negotium, cum laude diuini numinis, et animarum lucro, transigendum
aptos, reddere instituerunt. Qua de caussa, a Rege, ut sibi præceptorem
4 daret postularunt: qui linguam Persicam, qua Rex, et | *proceres,[6] et plerique alij
Abu-l Fazl teaching Persian. milites utuntur, et ad disputationes accommodatior est, doceret. Hanc prouinciam,
cuidam iuueni ingenioso, et acri demandauit, cuius industria Rodolfus quidem, qui
plurimum ingenio pollebat, ante tres menses, eos progressus fecit, in Persica lingua
F. 32a. 1 elegantiore, et ijs uocibus || instructa, quæ ad tradendas scientias, accommodatæ sunt,
et qua uiri studijs, doctrinisque dediti utuntur, ut palam de quacunque re
proposita, si non ornate, et copiose, saltem ad intelligendum accommodate diceret.
Henriquez. Alter uero sacerdos, *Ormuzi natus, maternam linguam, quæ Persica erat, obliuioni
2 prope traditam,[7] recuperauit. Et illa quidem | Rodolfi, ad perdiscendum promptitudo,
Rudolf's progress. et celeritas, non solum ingenij, et doctrinæ, apud Regem, et magistros, opinionem
conciliauit, uerum etiam, admirationem habuit. Mirabantur enim, exterum,
et aduentitium hominem, tanta facilitate, ignotam, et peregrinam linguam didicisse,
3 et ipso peregrino uocis sono, mirifice delectabantur. Atque ubi | eam uerborum
Parts of the Gospels translated for Akbar. copiam compararunt, qua tuto possent Euangelica monumenta, et fidei dogmata
Persicis litteris committere: Euangelij præcipuas rerum gestarum periodos, in
Persicum sermonem, conuertere instituerunt; tum deinde, ea quæ, ab Agarenis in
quæstionem uocabantur, accuratissime disputata perscribere. Quæ omnia Regi tradebantur
4 · tum | ut illa, attentius per otium, lectitari sibi iuberet, tum etiam ne inuidiam,
aduersariorum, qui frequentes, cum Rege sermones, peruerse interpretabantur, incurrerent;
tandem ne fauore Regis, homines peregrini, immodica consuetudine extolli,
aut saltem confidentius, quam par est, agere uiderentur.

Nostri Sacerdotes, et Agarenorum magistri, sæpe inter se, de fide Scripturarum,
F. 32b. 1 de Deo trino et uno, de || Filio, de eius morte, de Mahammedde, de *Synthemate,[8]

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[1] 1st: aptus non [2] 1st: excussis calceis. [3] 1st: satrapis.

[4] 1st: in suo throno sedebat; 2ndly: in sua sede pulcherrimo vestitu . . sedebat.

[5] 1st: inuecta. [6] 1st: satrapæ.

[7] 1st: qui Ormuzi natus, maternam linguam, quæ Persica est, quam obliuioni prope tradiderat.

[8] 1st: Alcorano.

Topics of discussion. de die Judicij, de morte, et resurrectione, et de rebus philosophicis, et politicis
controuersi sunt, quæ singula si enumerarentur, infinitum prope esset. Illud tamen
silentio prætereundum non est (quod quidem sine arrogantia dicitur) diuini auxilij
2 uirtute, quo Sacerdotes nitebantur, | factum esse, ut in omni controuersia, silentium
Ordeal of fire. aduersarijis sit impositum, ut sæpe ad miracula prouocarent. Nam quod supra de
igne dictum est, sæpissime commemorarunt · mihi dubium non est, quin ut iniurias
Mahammeddis, ab illis inter disputandum irrogatas, uindicarent · ut qui religione
3 tenerentur, tum suæ legis statuta in controuersiam uocari, | (quod ab impio ueteratore
cautum est) *tum honori fallacis prophetæ, coram se detrahi permisisse; quod apud
eos flagitium est maximum, et ab ipso qui illis imposuit damnatum.[1] Nec deerat
pudor, et quædam animi acerbitas, quod in publica disceptatione, suis se armis uinci
4 passi essent. Sacerdotes enim ut plurimum, quæsitis, ex sua ipsorum | scriptura
Quoting the Qorān. argumentis, non nostro iure, et legibus disceptando decertabant: mirabanturque,
eos suæ legis dogmata, ita in promptu habere, ut præ illis ipsi esse infantes uiderentur.
Abu-l Fazl on his guard. Quod ut maximus *mystagogorum[2] præfectus animaduertit, qui quidem Mahammed-dicam disciplinam (et ob eam rem gratissimus Regi) irridet et Sacerdotibus semper
F 33a. 1 fauit, quoties lis, et disputatio incidebat, essetne || ita scriptum in *Syndagmate,[3]
sententiam illorum obseruabat, tacitus: et ut ad eum ueniebatur, ita rem habere,
ut illi affirmabant, dicebat. Nam re compererat sæpissime, cum ad explorandam
dicti fidem codices adducebantur, diligentissime nostros operam *Syndagmati[3]
dedisse · nec unquam, cum citabatur, deerrasse; quod ipse ingenue, tantum non
2 fatebatur, sed etiam prædicabat. | At uero Rex in omni litteraria contentione illis
Akbar's encomiums. interpres caussæ, et disceptator, hoc est, rei sententiæque moderator erat, ac si
aliquod occurreret argumentum, quod Sacerdotum sententiæ faueret, proferebat
palam disertissime · nec ullam prætermittebat ocasionem, eos collaudandi, ut
ipsos immodicæ fortasse laudis puderet. Commendabat uero plurimum, paupertatis
3 studium, | et castitatis obseruantiam, et animo perculsus ad pietatem, et rerum
omnium repudiationem, dicebat: illum vere existimari posse, Deum peramanter
diligere, qui se mundi uoluptatibus, uxore, filijs, et rebus denique omnibus abdicaret.

Cum ergo Sacerdotum integritati, usque adeo fideret, ut filium secundo genitum,
4 educandum, et instituendum | traderet, et pecuniam, ut stipem pauperibus darent,
A school in the palace. numerari iuberet: hoc quidem onere, sese liberare, *conati sunt et[4] obtinuerunt.
Institutionem uero filij, tum propter spem emolumenti, quæ affulgebat, tum quod institutio puerorum, functio sit Societatis propria: etsi amplissimi honoris dignitatem, pro
F. 33b. 1 Societatis modestia optassent declinare: admiserunt.[5] || Atque eo die, quo instituendi
Prince Murad and his schoolmates. pueri, initium factum est, cum more patriæ, aureum nummum, sestertiorum pondo quinque, præceptori dono Rex daret, et ille accipere recusasset · non tantum Rex, sed et
cæteri proceres, vehementer admirati, illum pecuniarum contemptum, laudibus in cœlum
2 extulerunt. Instituendi pueri ratio, ac modus hic fuit · ut initio lectionis, | nomen
The sign of the Cross. Jesu, et Mariæ, religiose, ut est Christianorum mos inuocaret, deinde signi crucis,

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[1] 1st : tum quod honori . . . detrahi, quod apud eos . . . ab ipso damnatum, permisissent.

[2] 1st : sacrificulorum.

[3] 1st : Alcorano.

[4] 1st : nisi sunt : atque.

[5] The anonymous commentator underlined in pencil several passages from fol. 30*b* to 33*a*.

in fronte, ore, et pectore, lineamenta conformaret, extremo, ut effigiem Christi, quæ
depicta in libello erat, supplex ueneraretur · id ipsum, reliqui condiscipuli, ex nobiliori
*adolescentulorum[1] iuventute, a Rege ipso delecti, ut factitarent. Propositus est
3 libellus, | Doctrinæ Christianæ, quo pueri, ad Christianam disciplinam, et pietatem
The Catechism. instituuntur; et exempla, quæ scriptitando imitarentur, pias sententias continebant.
An ideal pupil. Et indoles pueri, ad virtutes, ingenium, ad litterarum studia, iure optimo, in quouis
Christiano iuuene, ne dicam principe expetenda. Parebat vero puer, præceptoris
4 voluntati, et | usque adeo, dicto audiens erat, ut ne oculos quidem, obiurganti,
aliquando attollere auderet. Nondum tres effluxerant menses, cum legere didicit,
et scribendo quidem, ita præceptoris manum imitabatur, ut annum in eo labore
discendi versatus, facile existimari posset, quod Regi eius patri, pergratum, et
F. 34a. 1 iucundum accidebat. Præceperat || uero, ut singulis diebus, *quæ essent a præceptore
Rehearsing lessons before Akbar. tradita sibi uel memoriter, uel de fabulis recitaret.[2] Quo incitamento, puer diligentem
operam nauabat. *Nam eo fuit Rex ingenio, ut cum filios officiosissime amaret,
cum res postulabat, illos asperius appellaret: et non verbis solum, sed etiam verberibus
castigaret: faceretque magistro potestatem, eos si quid peccarent puniendi,[3] cuius
2 rei, cum puer, Sacerdoti factam esse potestatem | intelligeret, tamdiu eum exhorruit,
quoad ea formidine, verbis lenibus magistri, liberatus est · qui ei nihil esse a se extimescendum
No ferule. denuntiauit, quum quod non sit consuetudinis Lusitanorum, principes ab
alio, quam a parentibus, et nutritijs, quamdiu sunt infantes, cædi; tum quod, etsi in
3 patria liceret, non decebat exterum hominem, | puerum principem tanti Regis filium
cædere. Eam quidem facultatem, Regia amplitudine, et confidentia factam, potius
inhibere, quam fræna laxare · ut animaduersione, et supplicio in eum, magister
uteretur. Nec fugere prudentissimum Regem, ea in re non esse, sibi præceptorem
4 obtemperaturum. Qua oratione, et reliqua | consuetudine, longe alia, quam magistri
Jahāngīr and Dānyāl. cæteri solebant: ita animum, non pueri solum, sed duorum fratrum obstrinxit · ut
omnibus in rebus, eum familiarissime adhiberent. Erat discipulo nomen Pahári, id est
Montanus. ||

F. 34b. 1 Augebat Regis, erga illos beneuolentiam, authoritas maximi mystagogorum, &
Abu-l Fazl and Mubārak friendly. magistrorum præsulis, qui ipsis, semper maximopere fauit. *Huic nomen erat Xec
Abdulfasilius, quem Sacerdotes, Regis Jonatham solebant appellare. Hic filius
erat, senis admodum religiosi, et studijs commentationum, et diuinarum contem-
2 plationum ualde dediti, qui minime Mahammeddi, et ejus libro | fidem habebat,
cuius vestigijs, eius omnes filij insistebant · et aperte, ac palam affirmabant,
multa in Synthemate scripta esse impia, et nefaria, et quæ secum ipsa, maxime
pugnarent;[4] quare persuasum habere, non esse librum illum a Deo missum. Ac
3 senis quidem sapientia, et grauitas, | et in Christi religionem, propensio: admirationi
Sacerdotibus erat. Librum Evangelij, religiosissime osculabatur, et suo capiti impo-

i.e., servus auroræ. Seni nomen Mubarēc, i.e., benedictus.

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[1] Later addition.

[2] 1st: ad se, de eius diei lectione, referret.

[3] 1st: nam eo est Rex ingenio, ut . . . amet, . , . postulat. . . . appellet: et . . . castiget: faciatque . . . peccent . . .—The change from the present to the past shows, perhaps, that the first draft of Monserrate's account was written at the time.

[4] 1st: Huic nomen est Xec . . . Hic filius est, senis ualde religiosi, . . . libro credit, cuius . . . filij insistunt. et . . . affirmant, multa in Alcorano scripta . . . maxime pugnent.

nebat. Sacerdotes intuebatur quasi Angelos, iuuenem eorum interpretem, beatum
esse dicebat, qui consuetudine ipsorum frueretur. Quid plura? In priuatis, cum
4 Rege colloquijs, nihil habebat antiquius, | quam illorum scientiam, et modestiam
commendare.

Concerning with Abu-l Fazl.

At vero ipsis, cum Abdulfasilio conuenerat, ut ipse ante disputationem, rei con-
trouersæ sententiam, quam tuerentur aut impugnarent, et rationes quibus niterentur,
F. 35a. 1 audiret, ut copiosius, || et ornatius, repugnantibus responderet, quod multis quidem
Bad news from Bengal.
in disputationibus, at in quadam, maxima cum laude, ut pene Christianus uideretur,
præstitit. Erat dies Sabbathi disputationibus assignatus. Verum quoniam, allato
tristi nuntio, ex Gangaride ora, quod Patanæi transfugæ, eius prouinciæ *præsidem[1]
2 pro Rege, uictores interfecissent: Rex, | eo quod rumore uulgi circumferretur, ipsum
Lull in the Saturday discussions.
Christianis rebus, nimium fauere, non nihil, de studio audiendi sacra remiserat, nec
se conueniri sinebat. Data occasione, quædam ex Euangelio, in Persicum sermonem
conuersa, Sacerdotes tradiderunt. Quæ cum coram se perlegi, accitis aliquot
3 magistris, imperasset: instituta est, de Filio Dei | disceptatio. Ac cum de modo, ac
The Divinity of Christ.
ratione diuinæ generationis decertaretur, illius spiritum, diuinus quidam (ut videbatur)
ardor numinis afflauit, et tam luculenter, quonam pacto, nos assereremus Deum
Eloquence of Abu-l Fazl
habere Filium explicauit, ut ipsi Sacerdotes vehementer admirarentur; ac non solum
4 Rodolfus, in eius sententiam iret, uerum etiam, adhibita | fusiore explicatione collau-
daret: et ex aduersarijs quidam dicerent, eo modo credi posse, Deum habere Filium.
and one of Akbar's physicians.
Ac cum, ad eius mortem, et passionem, deducta esset controuersia: et quæreretur,
cur eo genere mortis, passus esset se interfici? alius quidam eodem numinis spiritu
F. 35b. 1 afflatus, respondit || sibi insita bonitate, id sustinuisse, cum alijs multis modis,
potuisset nos, in libertatem asserere. Ac ubi Rodolfus, acurate de duabus naturis,
in Christo cohærentibus disputauit: Rex assensione facta, plausum dedit: adversarij
tristes conticuerunt. Porro Abdulfasilius, ita erat, in nostram religionem animatus:
2 ut se, quoties in | *ædiculum[2] ingrederetur, animo intus commoueri affirmaret: secus
quam, cum in suum templum *ingrediebatur,[3] sibique persuadere, cœleste quiddam,
et diuinum, in nostris templis inesse.

E medicis regijs quidam qui peracuto erat ingenio et probus uidebatur.

Cæterum, cum sparsus ille rumor, immodicæ Regis beneuolentiæ, erga Sacerdotes,
3 impedimento fore uideretur quominus Regem possent conuenire · ex re, et ex | tempore,
The Fathers change their house and chapel to the *Khushboī-Khāna*.
consilium ceperunt, ut domicilium in quo agebant, cum alio commutarent, quod
interiecto tantum pariete, a Regia distabat. Qui si *perforaretur et, facta janua,
patefieret: iter[4] sese mutuo, et secreto conueniendi, aperiret. Vbi *Regi rem, et[5]
qua mente ducerentur, significarunt: è uestigio, iussit unguenta, et odores, et aquæ |
4 odoriferæ quam plurima uascula, efferri: et in alium locum deportari, nam eo in
domicilio, et componebantur, unguenta, et seruabantur: à quo nomen habebat locus ||
F. 36a. 1 Theca unguentaria. Ipso loco, Sacerdotes commonebantur, illius sententiæ, Christi
bonus odor sumus. Itaque loco repurgato, et ex eorum sententia, locis aliquot
reparato, ac triclinijs aucto, eo commigrarunt; quo propediem, se uenturum, Rex
significauit.

Coxbuiqhana: boni odoris domus.

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[1] 1st: prætorem.
[2] 1st: oraculum.
[3] 1st: ingrederetur.
[4] 1st: perfoderetur, facta janua, iter.
[5] 1st: rem, et.

Et cum Christi natalitia instarent, ea dies dicta est, rogatu ipsorum, qua erat
2 Rex | ad eos uenturus. Sacellum itaque sericis, et attalicis aulæis ornarunt; specum,
Christmas 1580. in qua Christus natus, et præsepe, in quo, a matre est reclinatus, et montem, in quo
pastores excubias agebant, paruis statuis, ad ueritatem pene, imitando adduxerunt.
Akbar at the Crib. Quo spectaculo Rex, et pauci ex sibi charioribus, quos secum introduxit, mirifice
3 delectati sunt. | Ac ubi circumspexit singula, cum de Christi natiuitate incidisset
Conflicting texts in the Qorān. sermo: Rodolfus, a magistris quæsiuit, quonam pacto, duo loci secum pugnantes, in
*Diærete[1] conciliarentur? In altero enim legebatur, Christum non esse uere mortem,
a Judæis passum, sed alium pro eo, et Nestorianis consentit; in alio, Deum illi se
4 fore propitium, | in natiuitate, morte, et resurrectione spopondisse. Si enim moriturus
non erat, quid expectaret in morte? Quodsi mortuus est, id accepit, quod
F. 36b. 1 Propheta quidam prædixit · "Si posuerit animam suam, uidebit semen || longæuum, *Isaiæ* 13.
et uoluntas Dei, in manu eius dirigetur." Rursus si mortuus non est, non sane
reuixit; quod si non reuixit, uana fuit diuina promissio. Oportet igitur, ut stabiliatur
promissio, Christum reuixisse: quod si reuixit, oportuit aliquandiu vita caruisse:
quod si uita caruit, non sibi constat uester propheta · qui modo ait, Christum mortuum
2 | esse, modo idipsum negat · *et necessario efficitur, falso asserere alium pro
eo necatum, Christum uero minime.[2] Quodsi deprehendatur mendax, Dei propheta,
non est existimandus. Hæc Rodolfi ratiocinatio, miseros homines, ita perculit, ut
in eodem solo adhuc hæreant. Nec enim adducto libro, et eius interpretibus |
3 nonnullis, sese hac argumentatione, *extricare[3] potuerunt. Obiecit præterea Rodolfus,
Unnatural vice. egregium uatem, incestam uenerem, *execrandi abusus,[4] quodam loco quem
citauit admittere. Consulitur codex, ueritas comperitur. Nam quidam inficiabantur.
Qua comperta, rubore perfusi, quidam mirari, quidam dicere, quod propheta ita
4 docuerit, satis | esse; nec debere reprehendi. At cum argutulus quispiam, illa per
anagogem dicta accipienda esse, diceret; occurrit Rodolfus, nullam ibi, esse posse
F. 37a. 1 dicto, anagogiam, cum orationis illud membrum, superioris sententiæ, etyologia
esset.|| "Nam," inquit, "si hæc in beatitudinis sede, desyderarentur: non esset
perfecta beatitudo." Vespere Rex filios suos, ad spectaculum præsepis misit, quo
pueri, ualde recreati sunt.

Quiet secured. The writers change their quarters. Quoniam uero vicinia scribarum, illis impedimento erat, quo minus, absque
tumultu, domi agerent, ob clamores frequentis multitudinis hominum, quibus erant
2 cum scribis negotia: | alio scribas commigrare, eorum gratia, ipsis inscijs, et nihil
opinantibus, imperauit.

Bībī Mariam kī kothī? Fama uero, pulchritudinis signi, Beatæ Virginis, ita peruulgata est, ut videndi
eius caussa, frequentes, tum Agareni, tum gentiles, et hi quidem cum donis, in sacellum
uentitarent. Qua conspecta, palmis ad cœlum sublatis, eam uenerabantur, et
3 salutabant. Cæterà si pares sint, uel hoc sane, illis Christianis | qui nouis rebus
student, *καὶ εἰκονομαστιγεῖς εἰσί,[5] meliores existunt.

Reproving Akbar for:— a. gladiatorial shows; Cæterum ea quam diximus, a Rege, de eorum scientia, atque integritate, concepta
opinio: ne sterilis, et uana, nihil ferret, in animum induxerunt suum, libere omnia,

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[1] Ist: Alcorano.

[2] Ist: et alium pro eo necatum fuisse, necessario efficitur, falso asserere: et Christum minime fuisse necatum.

[3] Ist: expedire.

[4] Ist: neglecti sexus.

[5] In original: καὶ ἠκωνομάστικες οὖσι.

4 quæ uituperanda essent, reprehendere; quare sæpissime, negligentiam, | et tarditatem,
in addiscendis rebus diuinis, modeste quidem, et explorato, quomodo esset animo
affectus, coarguerunt. Et cum ad gladiatorios ludos spectandos, *eos[1] inuitasset; se
non posse morem gerere responderunt. Parceret proinde. Interrogauit, "Qua de
caussa?"—"Quoniam (inquiunt) abhorret, a Christiana disciplina, atque moribus,
F. 37b. 1 "hominum carnificinam *exercere ac eam[2] || spectare, eumque qui gladiatorios ludos
"ederet, *scelus nefarium facere.[3] Quodsi se, armorum exercitatione ludicra, oblectare
"uellet, acumina iuberet ensibus adimi et gladiatores, thoraces, et galeas induere, et
"peltas, in sinistra gestare, quibus possent, ictus absque uitæ discrimine, accipere."
2 Probauit quidem admonitionem, et religionis | sanctitatem, est admiratus. Modus
digladiandi, Mongolorum est, ut ad concentum, quattuor parium tympanorum decertent,
quorum par primum, cantum ductat, alter grauem sonum, tertium exilem uocem
edit, quartum, graui ex aduerso, elato sono modulatur.

c. clerici. 2. de vita & honestate clericorum.
Arg. a minori ad maius.
a. [Gratianus], Cap. Monomachia, [Causa] 2, q. 5; Cap. 1 et 2 de cler. pugn. in duel. et [Decret. lib. 5] Cap. 1 de thornea-[mentis] et 2.
b. Et constite Pij 5i quæ incipit de salute gregis § clericis quoque de agitatione taurorum. Arg. a simili.

Consueuerunt *Brachmanorum[4] (qui genere nobiles ac clari sunt) uxores gentilitia
3 per | manus tradita consuetudine, in eodem rogo, cum uiris mortuis exuri. Ad
b. Satī; huius spectaculum rei, Sacerdotes ignaros, accersiri iussit: quo cum uenissent, et
quid rei gereretur, comperissent: feritatem, atque agrestem immanitatem facinoris,
uultus tristitia reprehendentes, tandem Rodolfus Regem, quod publice sua præsentia,
4 immane facinus | comprobaret, et grauissimo suo iudicio, atque sententia confirmaret
(dicebat enim, eam fortitudinem, a Deo *emanare[5]) palam reprehendit.
Bhagwān Dās? Quod quidem, qua erat in eos beneuolentia, æquo animo tulit: nec amplius, ut ad id
spectaculum iret, a quodam Regulo, quem adhibebat familiarissime, genere Brachmana,
F. 38a. 1 et sacrorum Rege adduci potuit. Has || mulierculas, ut omni doloris sensu
careant, medicamentis quibusdam, oppio præsertim, vel herba soporifera (quæ
bangue dicitur, canabique quam similis est) vel, quod usitatius est, duturone herba,
Indis cognita, Europæis, ac ueteribus prorsus ignota consopiunt omnino: vel semisopitas,
adhuc tamen nonnihil sibi constantes, monitis, et precibus, ac proposita |
2 æterni nominis gloria, inducunt: ut sese in rogum præcipites dedant. Quod si cunctentur,
miseras impellunt, si exire contendant, contis, et uncis in flammas adigunt.
At vero qui aderant optimates: cum rem uituperarent, nec auderent Regi contradicere,
mutuo uellicarunt. "Apage, atra ueste Franci," dicunt. Et hoc quidem tota
3 ciuitate, cum summa | laude, et admiratione, quod ausi essent Franci, Regem eius
rei admonere, peruulgatum est.

c. profligates in women's dress; Occurrit aliquando illis grex quidam nebulonum *catamitorum,[6] ex eorum contubernio,
qui se ut fœminæ comunt, et ornant. Quare, ut par est, uehementer offensi,
ut primum nacti sunt copiam, Regem summa cum authoritate, quoniam caussa illis |
4 fauebat, priuatim increparunt. "Mirari se, quod id hominum genus, in suo regno,
"nedum in sua ciuitate, ac pene in oculis, agere permitteret: quod esset tanquam maxima
"pernicies, in ultimas terras amandandum, ne dicerent potius, flammis uoracibus
F. 38b. 1 "absumendum. Et vix || se, fidem unquam fuisse habituros, cuiquam qui huiusmodi
"homines, reperiri dixisset, in curia, et in regia ciuitate, in qua ipse ageret, qui pietate,

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[1] 1st: patres.
[2] Later addition.
[3] 1st: in Deum vehementissime peccare.
[4] 1st: Bragmanorum.
[5] 1st: permanare.
[6] Later addition

"ac uitæ integritate, atque prudentia præstaret. Quare imperaret, ne amplius, in ea "saltem ciuitate, comparerent: quando ab egregio propheta, bonis hominibus, impuni- *Ironia.*
2 "tas esset data." Arrisit quidem Rex Sacerdotibus, | ad hoc uerbum, et se, curæ rem habiturum recepit.

d. evil pedagogues. Nec prætermiserunt, quin eum commonefacerent, daturum aliquando pœnas quod, cum optime cognosceret Mahammeddis disciplinam, animis hominum exitium afferre: permitteret suos filios, optimæ indolis, et ingenij pueros, a quibusdam senibus,
3 qui Mahammeddem in uentre gererent, edoceri. | Respondit iussisse, ut eis tantum, historias regum maiorum suorum proponerent

No offence taken. Denique ne singula consectemur, cum sæpenumero, regem liberius admonuissent, nunquam, nec caussa eorum, qui oportunitatem, ad coarguendum captabant, et considerate agebant, nec caussa Regis, qui eos charos habebat, amicitia dissui potuit,
4 tantum abest, ut scinderetur. Quin potius, | cum Rex eam, se coarguendi libertatem, ex quadam cordis synceritate, emanare intelligeret, atque eam æqui, bonique consuleret, Sacerdotibus, ut quanti eos faceret significaret, tantum non fauere semper, verum etiam, omnes honores deferre, uisus est. Nam aperto capite salutantes, nutu,
F. 63a. 1 et totius uultus hilaritate || resalutabat. Aperto esse capite, coram se, non patiebatur ·
Kindness to Rudolf, siue cum senatus haberetur · siue ad familiaria colloquia, intus ad se propius accitos, sibi ut assiderent, imperabat. Manus quam familiariter apprehendebat. Eos de communi reliquorum cœtu, ad se in priuata colloquia seuocabat. Non semel, cum
2 Rodolfo, brachio in eius collum *extento,[1] publice | aliquot spatia fecit. Alterum e Sacerdotibus, voluit in frequentissima optimatum corona, cum in castris esset, sibi
& to Monserrate. ut *ensem[2] adnecteret, quod non sine inuidia æmulorum, et omnium admiratione, factum est. Illos in prosperis, et aduersis rebus omnibus (quod est amoris, et beneuolentiæ non uulgare argumentum) sibi conscios esse uolebat. Janitoribus | edixerat,
3 ne unquam eos *aditu,[3] vel in interius aulæ impluuium, quo solis primarijs uiris, penetrare licet, interdicerent, aut prohiberent. Quid plura? Quod nulli hactenus
Monserrate visited in his illness. fecisse dicitur, illis de mensa misit. Decumbenti in lecto, e Sacerdotibus unum inuisit, et Lusitane, officij caussa, salutauit. Ac largiendi quidem, nullus fuisset |
4 modus, nisi quotidiano uictu, et necessario cultu, atque uestitu, eoque frugali, et parco, sibi satis esse, sæpissime denuntiassent · quod libenter, palam prædicabat. Et in singulos menses, stipis nomine pecuniæ tantum attribuit, quantum quotidianis sumptibus, satis esse iudicatum est.† *† Liber 2.*[4]

F. 39b. 1 Hæc regis beneuolentia, erga illos rumorem adeo confirmauit, et auxit, || *Regem a Mahammedde defecisse,[5] ut palam circumferretur, illum uelle fieri Christianum.
Signs of unrest. Accedebat, quod *lege traditas precationes,[6] statis temporibus, ex præscripto impostoris, non funderet · *menstruæ inediæ, quam Ramadan uocant, consuetudinem non seruaret[7] · multa facete dicta, in Mahammeddem iactaret: illumque propterea, sæpe
2 irrideret, quod | *impurus impudicusque, sine[8] caligis uel subligaculo foras prodiret.

Quæ cum Agareni plerique, iniquissime ferrent, vnus uel maxime offendebatur,

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[1] 1st: iniecto. [2] 1st: gladium. [3] 1st: adytu. [4] Later addition, and cancelled

[5] 1st: Regis a Mahammedde defectionis. [6] 1st: legitimas orationes.

[7] 1st: menstruam inediam, quam Ramadan uocant, non seruaret.

[8] 1st: quod abiecta verecundia, sine.

Shāh Mansūr twice convicted of high treason.

Xamansurus.

quem Rex, ad altissimum dignitatis gradum, ex infima, et abiecta conditione, euexerat:
et suarum facultatum, summum curatorem constituerat. Hic cum iniuriam,
3 quam suo prophetæ fieri existimabat, sibi reliquisque | Agarenis, impatibilem
iudicaret, et religionibus stimulatus (nam qui prophetæ non dant fidem, et contradicunt,
e medio tolli iubentur) defectionem est meditatus · et ubi non paucos, in suam
defectionis sententiam adduxit · ad Mirsachimum *Zelaldini[1] fratrem qui Chabuli
regnabat, et Agarenicam superstitionem *arcte tenebat accurateque defendebat,[2]
4 literas scripsit, in hanc sententiam. | "Hominem esse segnem, et suæ legis parum
"amantem, qui amplissimi regni obtinendi, et ulciscendæ, aduersus exleges, Mahammeddicæ
"iniuriæ, occasionem nactus, cessaret. Certior esset, se *plurimos[3] habere,
"qui si bellum, cum impio fratre suscipiat, ad *eum[4] transfugiant; se, eorum esse
F. 40a. 1 "antesignanum. Nec dubitaret, quin, ubi castra castris conferrentur, || frater perimeretur
"a se, uel alio qui id facilius, et tutius transigere posset. Nam multos, ex
"fratris familiaribus, secum conspirasse. Quo facto, sine sanguine, uictoria potiretur."
Quas quidem litteras, cum pluribus exemplis scripsisset: unum est exemplum
interceptum, et ad Regem perlatum · qui proditione perspecta, hunc in liberali
2 custodia seruari iussit, | et ad fratrem ut conquiesceret, nisi priuari Regno uellet
scripsit. Post mensem, commemoratis beneficijs, proditorem, obiurgatum dimitti
iussit, et in pristinum munus restituit: eo quod, acri esset ingenio, ad negotia peragenda,
et quod multitudine fretus, suarum copiarum, nihil fratrem ipse pertimesceret.
3 At vero, eos quos *ex catalogo authoratorum | proditorum, qui penes Xamansurum
erat, conspirasse[5] deprehendit, secreto obiurgauit, et missos, in uarias regiones, ita
disiunxit, ut conuenire, et simul esse, non possent. Hac diligentia, oppressam esse
coniurationem, rex natura simplex, et syncerus existimauit: at uero dum hæc gerebantur,
semper, aut gladium, aut telum aliquod gestabat. Sacerdotes uero, in magno
4 discrimine | uersabantur. Enimuero Xamansurus (hoc enim erat nomen, coniuratorum
duci) nihilo melior uenia, et impunitate, atque beneficijs factus, coniurationem
ijsdem artibus, quibus cœperat, fouebat. Nam iterum ad Mirsachimum, in eandem ||
F. 40b. 1 sententiam scripsit (quod Regem minime latuit) et quod instituerat, diligenter præstabat.
Atque ut hominum animos, a Rege abalienaret, plurimum laboris, et operæ
impendebat. Instituto Tartarorum, uis exercitus, tota est in equitatu, qui omnis, ex
disciplina Cinguiscani, a quo Zelaldinus genus ducit, in hunc modum distribuitur, ut
2 decuriones centurionibus, | hi chiliarchis, chiliarchæ myriadum tribunis, pareant.
Cum uero recensiones habentur, ad stipendium soluendum equitibus, ex fide tantum,
eorum, qui reliquis præsunt, recognitio fieri consueuit. Hic igitur proditor, Regi
persuasit, se ab ijs fraudari, eo quod, non tot haberent equites, quot in nominibus
3 proferebant: sed pro equitibus | pedites, eosque domesticos scribere; oportere, ut
fraudi occurreretur, singulos, cum singulis equis, præsto adesse: et equis signum inuri,
iuberet: quod si moreretur equus, caudam afferri, ne commodati ab amicis notarentur,
prohiberetque, alium eius loco scribi, illumque, sine sua facultate uendi. Deinde,
4 de stipendijs equitum, et decurionum, cæterorumque minui. Hac | techna, cum

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[1] Ist: eius.
[2] Ist: accurate colebat.
[3] Ist: plures.
[4] Ist: se.
[5] Ist: in nominibus, conspirasse

suis rebus, Rex consuli existimaret: illum improbus ueterator, quasi exercitatus
pugil, supplantare, ac deijcere contendebat. Nam utrumque, iniquissime Mongoli
F. 41a. 1 tulerunt, *usque eo[1] ut in prouincia Gangaride, præsidem facto impetu || necarent, et
toto regno, omnium ordinum homines, Regi succenserent, et eum tyrannidis accusarent,
quod unum restabat: ut omnes merito, atque optimo iure, pro religione, atque
libertate, contra Regem decertare, honorificum, et utile iudicarent. Cum hi rumores
increbrescerent, Sacerdotes Regem adierunt, ut eius animum explorarent (suboluerat
2 enim, Regem pœnitere, quod eos accersiuisset) · num | rerum perturbatione commotus,
uellet eos dimittere. At ille, tantum aberat, ut ea de re cogitaret, ut eis,
patriæ desyderium, obijceret, et exprobraret: qui quidem longissime, ab ea cogitatione,
distabant: solumque animo afficiebantur, quod otiosi, in ea re, cessare iudicarentur,
3 cuius | caussa, in longinqua regione exularent. Porro Xamansuri proditio, et
noui conatus, ad Regem perlati sunt secundo. Qua de caussa, hominem iterum, ab
Shāh Mansūr in prison. honore quæsturæ, Rex exclusit, et a gubernaculis, rei suæ pecuniariæ repulit, ac
custodiæ tradidit.

Mīrzā Hakīm invading the Panjāb. At Mirsachimus, comparato exercitu, quindecim millium equitum Mongolorum:
4 Indum, Bydaspem, Sandabalimque, | amnos latissimos, et rapidissimos, atque Adrim,
qui Lahorum opulentissimam, et amplissimam urbem, a septemtrione alluit, nec
Yusuf's brave stand at Rohtas. multo est alijs inferior, mira confidentia, et securitate traiecit · et castra iuxta Lahorum
posuit. Nam cum Ruytasij arcem, Josephus prætor teneret, nec paruisset eius
F. 41b. 1 imperio, arcem a se reposcentis, quod eam sibi || diceret, a fratre ipsius traditam, nec
posse, nisi depulsum, ac uictum cedere, nihil ueritus, à tergo hostes relinquere, ultra
Mān Singh defends Lahore. perrexit. Suis edixerat, ne cui iniuriam facerent, neue agros uastarent, et Lahori
municipes, securos esse iussit. Prætorem per legatos, ad deditionem, et ut arce *Mancin Regulum.*[2]
2 cederet, *inducebat[3] · a quo idem responsum *tulit.[4] | Et cum itineris, et suscepti
M. Hakīm's tardy regrets. belli, pœnitere cœpit · quod intelligeret, ex uiris principibus neminem, a fratre
defecisse · nec eos nebulones, qui se acciuissent, promissis stare, cum nulla auxilia,
ad se uenirent · formidare fratris potentiam, qui copijs, multo erat superior, sumptus
in bellum, *perperam uana futilitate summaque leuitate[5] factos dolere, commeatus
3 difficultatem | uereri, existimare pedem referri oportere. Faridumcani tantum,
Farīdūn Khān, his evil genius. magistri militiæ, qui inimicitias, cum Zelaldino gerebat, uiri quidem strenui, et bellis
gerendis, industrij atque experientis, cohortationibus confirmabatur. Verum cum ab
exploratoribus intellixit, omnia esse pacata, nec ullos esse motus, fratrem rei
4 certiorem factum, minime commoueri, nec castra facere, | tantique eum æstimare
quanti aquila culicem (dissimulabat enim Zelaldinus, caussam se nosse, aduentus
ipsius, et ut se salutarent mutuo, per legatos agebat: eo consilio, ut eum, uicinioribus
castris, intercluderet, ne effugium* esset ·) et uenationem indixisse,[6] ac Regium taber-
F. 42a. 1 naculum || eduxisse, magnis itineribus, fugam capessit, atque in Sandabalis uado, quod
Back to Kābul. ponte, et nauigijs destituerentur, et nando amnem traijcere cogerentur, quadringenti
equites, quos amnis absumpsit, ex eius copijs desyderati sunt. Ferebatur totidem fere,

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[1] Later addition.
[2] Later addition.
[3] 1st: sollicitabat.
[4] 1st: accepit.
[5] 1st: futiliter.
[6] 1st: esset. At vero, ubi rumore perlatum est Zelaldinum fratrem, uenationem indixisse.

in traiectu Bydaspis, atque Indi desyderatos fuisse, infœlici exitu belli, infœlici omine
2 aduersus | Christi potissimum religionem, suscepti.

Oncoming storm. Shāh Mansūr released.
Et exoptasset quidem Mirsachimus, ut hæc infortunia, finem nefario, bello
imposuissent: verum ultra cum eius magno malo, deductum est. Nam Zelaldinus
magnus, his iniurijs lacessitus, Xamansurum astute solui iussit, condonans secundo
3 eandem noxam, ut patefactam omnino proditionem, | illi occultaret, ac potius insinu-
aret, se suspicionibus, ac rumoribus ductum, ipsum coniecisse in vincula: re autem
ipsa, illi exitium, et in fratrem bellum meditabatur. Quod, ut cum consilio gereret,
'Azīz Koka to keep Bengal in check. in Gangaridis prouinciam, *procerem[1] cognatum, et collactaneum suum, qui Agiscocaá
ob eam caussam *dicebatur[2] · cum copijs misit. Qui atris uexillis, internicionis |
4 symbolo, quo Temurus claudus, gentilitatis horum regum author, in bellis uti solebat,
profectus, breui fusis hostibus, et in deditionem acceptis, aut certe interfectis, bellum||
F. 42b. 1 confecit. Rex uero, tum ne uideretur, suis copijs, in suo regno fratrem circumuenisse,
The Kābul campaign decided. et sine bellica laude oppressisse, eo quod multis partibus, fratrem sua equestrium
acie, superaret: dempto gregario peditatu, qui erat prope infinitus, tum etiam,
quo par pari referret, quoniam Mirsachimus, ad Lahorum excurrisset, ipse |
2 Chabulum ueniret, et in fratris regno, manus cum eo consereret, qui bellum sua
sponte, ad se acciuisset, et dormientem, ut aiunt, canem excitasset: fugientem pone
sequi constituit.

The Jesuits offer their services.
Cum uero jam in procinctu esset, ad eum Sacerdotes uenerunt, et se peroptare,
comites esse laboris, et itineris exposuerunt, si id sibi gratum foret. Respondit se
3 gratiam habere, esseque | sibi satis exploratam, atque perspectam eorum uoluntatem,
verum in ea esse sententia, ut existimaret, uiros religiosos, et tranquillitati, atque otio
literario, et diuinis meditationibus deditos, non debere, ab ea dulcedine abstrahi,
A.'s mother. propterea se, matri suæ, eam curam imposuisse, ut perhumane, et benigne eos accipe-
4 ret. | Quare eos exorare, ut æquo animo acciperent, et pro se orarent. Responderunt
F. 43a. 1 Sacerdotes, *se in ea cogitatione curaque versari ·[3] ac quamuis || magno eius desyderio
Monserrate selected. tenerentur, quoniam ita iubebat, se libenter parituros. At cum forte fortuna, postridie
eius diei, filij sui præceptorem, in literaria pergula, offendisset: "Parate," inquit,
"Pater, ad iter · nam mecum es profecturus." Et ad commeatum omnia dari,
quam citissime, imperauit.

2 Itaque more suo uenationem indixit, et regium | tabernaculum efferri, et quarto
The muster. Prudential measures. A.'s mother. ab urbe lapide, figi imperauit. Rebus ita compositis, ut Nicopoli mater, cum Danialo
nepote, filio suo, natu minimo maneret · Gangaridi prouinciæ, Agiscocanus præesset ·
Qutb-ud-dīn Khān Gedrosiæ Cutubdicanus, quibus mater imperaret, et Indico, vel Delinico regno
3 præsideret: in præsidijs Gedrosiæ, decem | millia equitum, cum matre duodecim
'Azīz Koka. millia reliquit. At *Agiscocano cum uiginti millibus Gangaridis bellum gerendum
dedit.[4] Quem sequuti sunt, quattuor, quinque duces, cum copijs, sex milium,
quinqueue, aut saltem quattuor millium equitum, præter pedites, et uulgus operarum.
4 Singulas item principes ciuitates, necessario præsidio muniuit. | Filium natu
Salīm & Murād to accompany. maximum, secum ire iussit, et secundum ac Sacerdotem ipsius institutorem. *Infan-

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[1] 1st: satrapam. [2] 1st: dicitur.

[3] 1st: eam curam, eorum animis semper obuersari.

[4] 1st: Agiscocanus, cum uiginti millibus, expeditionem Gangaridis suscepit.

tem filiolam[1] cum auia Nicopoli reliquit. Uxores paucas, ex præcipuis, et filias *Ximinì beygum.*
* adolescentes[2] secum deduxit. Magnam uim auri, et argenti, supellectilemque *D. Ximena.*[2]
F. 43b. 1 plurimam, elephantis, et camelis euehi, et || exportari præcepit.

Quo die primum iter aggressus est, eum mater est prosequuta, et in castris fixo
Parting of friends. candido tabernaculo, magnæ amplitudinis, cum filio biduo est commorata. Sacerdotes
itidem sodalem, ad castra deduxerunt, et in castris cum eo biduo etiam *constiterunt.[3]

Castra uero, *ex more maiorum,[4] Rex metari iubebat. *Vetus autem mos est[5]
2 ut regia, | tabernacula (quæ ab illis Pexqhanaa dicuntur, hoc est anterior domus) in
The Moghul camp. amœno, et amplo campo, si detur, ponantur. In dextro cornu, Regi proxima filij
natu maximi, et procerum, qui ei attributi sunt. In sinistro, alterius filij, et
optimatum, qui illi sunt assignati. At in posteriore acie, reliqui filij, natu minores,
3 si adsint, et | eorum familiæ, eodem ordine, tabernacula figunt. Quod si filij absint
a castris: proceres dextrum, et sinistrum cornu, ac posteriorem aciem, illi Regi
proximi occupant, qui sunt cæteris, aut dignitate, aut regis beneuolentia, et fauore
præstantiores. Hos sequuntur reliquæ phalanges, quæ quo propius possunt, ad
4 suos quosque duces, et | centuriones accedunt, fixis iuxta illos tabernaculis. Ac ne
tabernaculorum multitudine, castra coarctentur, per contubernia distribuuntur.
Forum uenale Regis, et principum filiorum ac reliquorum *optimatum,[6] iuxta suum
F. 44a. 1 quemque ducem statuitur, et regium quidem, et filiorum || amplissima sunt, et copiosissima, non solum abundantia rei frumentariæ, et cibariorum, sed omnium mercium,
ut non in castris, sed in opulentissima ciuitate, agere uideantur · eandemque semper
habere formam existimes · ut cum per dies aliquot, in ijs quispiam, fuerit uersatus,
2 facili negotio, per hæc fora, quasi per vias, quo | libuerit, deducatur. Forum urdu *Urdû, nostrates scribunt orda.*[7]
nominant. Cum itur, bellica tormenta, in fronte castrorum, pro uestibulo, atque
*aditu[8] aulæ, quasi in prima acie, collocantur in latissimo campo; erant autem octo et
uiginti, castrensia tormenta, sed ad quatiendos muros inepta, quorum maximum
3 hemisphæram (ut uulgus militarium ait) non | æquabat; quo in loco, noctu, in
fastigio, *præcelsi mali,[9] fax inflammata sustollitur, quæ oberrantibus præluceat, et
quam omnes petant, si quis tumultus in castris oriatur, et ad eam, quasi ad cor, et
caput confluant. At cum reditur, in extrema acie, a tergo aulæ figuntur. Ac Rex binis
4 utitur tabernaculis, eiusdem formæ, atque | magnitudinis, quæ alternis itineribus
F. 44b. 1 permutantur · ut unum præferatur, in altero habitet: quibus aulæa sunt || pro parietibus, et uestibulum, a reliqua habitatione distinguunt · quam ambitione magna,
circumsepiunt. Et Rex quidem, tecto utitur, quasi urbana domo, in quod per gradus
ascenditur. Ac castrorum quidem metandorum ratio sic habet.

Shāh Mansūr to accompany. Enimuero, ne quid noui Xamansurus, in perniciem regni, quod matri curas
2 augeret, | moliretur, ut se sequeretur, imperauit. Atque sexto Idus Februarij, pri- 1581.[10]
The start. mum castra mouit.

Hunting. Postridie uenari, suo more instituit. Edicitur uero, ut nemo, in eam partem
feratur, quo Rex iter habeat, tum, ut multitudinem fugiat, et proditioni, præripiat

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[1] 1st: infantulam. [2] Later addition. [3] 1st: uersati sunt. [4] 1st: hoc ordine.
[5] Later addition. [6] 1st: magnatum. [7] Later addition. [8] 1st: adytu.
[9] 1st: oblongæ perticæ. [10] Later addition.

ocasionem, tum etiam, ne hominum tumultu, bestiæ fugentur. Et | bestiæ quidem,
præter cæruleam bouem, eædem sunt, atque Europææ. Cærulea bos persimilis, est *Nilagau: cærulea bos.*[1]
ceruo, sed capitis, et reliqui corporis magnitudine, dispar. Ac quod canibus
venaticis, gallicis, atque Alanis regio destituta sit, innumeras prope pantheras,
4 immodicis sumptibus alit, quæ a nutritijs, equo impositæ, clausis oculis | ne in
obuium quemque insiliant, loco ubi pascitur bestia, fame prope enectæ inuehuntur.
Aucupio autem haud multum delectatur. Jubet tamen aues plurimas, ab aucupibus,||
F. 45a. 1 dignitatis ostentandæ caussa, pugno efferri, et ut sumptui parcat, cornicibus pasci.

Measuring the road. Cæterum, ut quantum unaquaque die, itineris conficiat: decempeda, a metatoribus,
qui eum, ubi primum ex aula, pedem effert, pone sequuntur, uiam metiri iubet.
Qua una opera, et quam late pateant regiones, et quantum loca, mutuo distent, ad
2 *mittendas[2] | legationes, et *mandata, ac[1] rebus tempore occurrendum, perdiscit.
Decempedæ *ducenta spatia,[3] mensura est quam Persica lingua, coroo, uocitant,
Indica uero, cos, quæ *duo milliaria,[4] æquat, qua mensura, interualla locorum
metiuntur.

Posteaquam, eo biduo quo Rex castra ad Nicopolim habuit: satis se copiarum
3 habere *iudicauit,[5] ut tuto, et cum dignitate, iter aggrederetur, | sexto Idus Februarij,
Feb. 8, 1581. dato signo sub vesperam castra mouit.

The army on the march Mos autem, itineris faciendi (ut communia prætermittam: hæc sunt signa, quæ ad
pergendum, et ad consistendum dantur ·) sic habet. Intra regni fines, sine ordine,
uniuersus exercitus progreditur · præter paucos, ad quos eius diei, excubiæ agendæ
4 spectant. At uero excubitores, et | custodes, reliquumque satellitium, et equitum
manus, instructo in modum *decrescentis lunæ agmine, in duo cornua Regem[6] non
longius ab eo disiuncti, quam est lapidis iactus sequuntur. Hi dum Rex moratur,
F. 45b. 1 duobus ordinibus in seriem, ab aulæ uestibulo, || ad ducentos ferme passus, distincti,
altero quidem elephantum, armis, quibus a telorum iniuria, sint tuti, *diligenter[7]
obtectorum, altero, equitum sagittariorum, et pilatorum, leuis armaturæ (nam * ferro
tectis et munitis[8] equis ac militibus caret) Regem opperiuntur · ac prætereuntem,
2 suo quisque loco, atque ordine salutat: facto agmine, | primum equites, deinde
elephantes, pone sequuntur. Hanc aciem, præcedunt tympanistæ, ac tubicines,
elephantis uecti, omnes, præter unum, taciti, qui decimo ferme quoque passu, tympanum,
lenta quadam, et ex dignitate *ad numerum percussione pulsat.[9] His omnibus
præeunt cursores, qui obuios quosque abigunt. At uero uxores elephantibus |
3 fœmellis, impositæ, tabernaculisque quibusdam *uenustis fastigijs,[10] inclusæ uehuntur.
Hos uiri senes, et *aspectus grauitate venerandi,[11] adhibita custodia, quingentorum
hominum deducunt: caueturque, ut eo loco, quo iter faciunt, procul qui occurrunt,
abscedant. Quod omnes, eo diligentius præstant, quo sunt dignitate potiores. |
4 Ancillæ, camelis, sub umbraculis candidis, impositæ, reginas sequuntur. Est etiam
statuta custodia, ærario, quod plurimis elephantibus, ac camelis uehitur. Reliqua
F. 46a. 1 belli impedimenta, carris · supellex, et ruta || cæsa Regis, mulis deportantur. Ac cum

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[1] Later addition.
[2] 1st: imperandas.
[3] 1st: centum quinquaginta.
[4] 1st: sesquimilliarium.
[5] Later addition.
[6] 1st: bicornis lunæ agmine, Regem.
[7] 1st: ad amussim.
[8] 1st: cataphractis.
[9] 1st: lento quodam et ex dignitate pulsu percutit.
[10] 1st: fastigiatis.
[11] 1st: aspectu uenerabiles.

primis diebus, mira esset copiarum paucitas, tanta postea fuit multitudinis frequentia,
ut terram operire uideretur · fusaque per agros, et siluas multitudo, sesquimilliarium
in latum occuparet · ut in eam, si belua incideret, euadere nequiret. Aues item
2 uolando defessæ, et clamoribus exterritæ | decidebant.

Provisions cheap.
At Sacerdoti, qui in castris erat, magnam admirationem mouebat, in tanta
multitudine, potissimum elephantum, tanta uilitas annonæ; quæ Regis prouida, et
solerti cura, atque diligentia, contingebat. Nam et qui commeatum, undequaque
3 comportari curarent, industrios negotiatores, ad uicinas urbes, et municipia | mittebat
· et mercatoribus, qui frumenta, orizam, legumina, et *omnis generis esculenta et
poculenta atque[1] alias merces exercitui importabant, uectigalium immunitatem dari ·
atque portorio leuari, eos qui uellaturam faciebant, edicebat.

No harm to friendlies.
Pari diligentia · ubi suis finibus, egressus est, in castris, a præcone pronuntiari
4 iussit, quod ad aures, multitudini indigenarum, rumoribus | perferretur, securi ut
omnes essent, nec suis opidis excederent, qui arma non essent sumpturi. Quod si in
F. 46b. 1 castra, commeatum inferrent, vectigalibus liberatum iri,|| et integrum fore, ex arbitrio
uendere. Ad extremum *a victoria[2] cum rediret, gratiam esse accepturos; secus si
contra facerent · maximis damnis esse affligendos. Regulos quorum regiones obijt,
fœdere, muneribus, et pollicitationibus, sibi deuinciebat; qui omnes, copiarum magnitudine
2 perterriti, cum nullus uideretur, | dubitationi locus relinqui, essetne hoste
potiturus, uel inuiti, cum significatione, tamen beneuolentiæ, ut suis rebus prospicerent,
parebant. Quo factum est, ut in frequentissimo exercitu, nulla caritas,
nedum egestas, rerum necessariarum, in hostili etiam regno, multitudinem afflixerit.

3 Prospexit præterea diligenter, | ne aquationis difficultate, castra laborarent.
Skirting the mountains. Quoniam uero, *uberiores sunt ad montium radices, aquæ,[3] et uenandi maior commoditas,
uersus montes exercitum ductari præcipiebat, asperitates uero uiarum, quæ
Work for Qāsim Khān. propter saxa, et scopulos, et præruptas torrentium ripas, passim occurrebant: calonum
4 et operarum labore, | quos ad *æquandam itineris planitiem[4] præmittebat,
quoad eius fieri poterat superabat. His præerat tribunus, Agarenæ arcis præfectus,
F. 47a. 1 qui ex ea humilitate, in || amplissimum dignitatis gradum euectus, suspicionem proditionis
sustinebat · potiusque ducebat, in lacunosos saltus, quam in arentem glaream
incidere.

Bridges.
Lucri præterea faciebat, construendarum pontium discrimen, quæ si in lato alueo
construantur, a profluentis impetu impulsæ, traijcienti exercitui, exitium, et perniciem
2 afferunt. Nam substratis | nauiculis, quæ funibus tantum connexæ, ijsque ex agrestibus
herbis, compactis adhærescunt, mos est Indis, quam celeriter pontes construere:
quibus pauimenta parant, virgultis, et arborum ramis, atque fœno. Edicto
uero Regis cauetur, ut ducta unius tantum ordinis serie, singuli siue equites, siue
3 pedites, seu cameli, aut alia iumenta, sarcinis | onusta, pecudes item, ac pecora traijciant
Care in crossing them. · ne si pons dehiscat, magna iactura fiat, earum rerum, aut hominum, quos
amnis absumpserit. Quare in aditu pontis, quoddam quasi castellum collocatur, quod
satellites regij tuentur, ne incautæ multitudinis, magna caterua, pontem petentis,

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st: a victore. [3] 1st: copiosiores sunt . . . . aquarum decursus.
[4] 1st: complananda itinera.

4 pons pressa mergatur. Porro elephantes, transitu prohibiti sunt, ne | molis suæ pondere,
fabricam pessumdarent.

Scouting. Jam uero ne in occultis insidijs, intercluderetur: ubi primum, in alienum regnum
pedem intulit: antecursores trecentos præmisit · qui duodeuiginti passuum millibus,
F. 47b. 1 omni ex parte, a castris abstracti, || num hostes laterent, an palam aduentarent,
specularentur. In angustijs itinerum, in gyrum, præsidia collocabat, et paucorum
hominum labore, vniuersum exercitum, cura, et sollicitudine liberabat,* ut[1] non
minus sese, inter eundum, funderet, et umbras, fontesque captaret, noctu vero securus,
somnum caperet; quam si in patria degeret.

2 Bellicam | disciplinam, usque adeo coluit, ut nihil impune contra eam, admitti
Discipline. Made an example of. sineret. Cum ad ripam Indi, castra posuisset, et uadum explorari iussisset, quo exercitum
traduceret · cuidam tribuno militum, imperauerat, ut in aduersum flumen, ad
locum usque *quem ipse præscripsit,[2] proficisceretur, tentaretque uadum, num
3 equis *transgressio esse[3] posset. Qui quum uiginti | quinque passuum millia obijsset,
et uado amnem carere comperisset, intellexissetque ab incolis, eadem esse profunditate
flumen, in toto eo tractu; quapropter superuacaneum fore laborem, ulterius progrediendi:
ad Regem redijt, eique renuntiauit, non esse flumini uadum, quo transi-
4 rent copiæ, nisi structa ponte. Quæsiuit Rex, "Peruenistine | ad imperatum
locum?" A quo cum cognouisset, citra locum constitisse, corripi hominem iussit:
F. 48a. 1 et *ad locum quem imperauerat pertrahi:[4] utri, que ex bouis corio consuto, || pronum
imponi, et uinciri, ac in profluentem proijci. Cuius rei rumor, cum per castra, esset
peruulgatus, ad oram fluuij, ut spectaculum hoc nouum uideret, uniuersus pene exercitus,
confluxit. Ille uero, medio flumine, huc, atque illuc, incerto cursu, lugens,
2 et ueniam implorans, miserabili eiulatu, ut commiserationem moueret, | ferebatur.
Quem, ubi aulam est præteruectus, Rex eripi iussit, e fluctibus · eius bona scribi, et
eum uoci præconis, per omnia fora subijci, et pro seruo uendi. Quem amicus quispiam,
octoginta nummis aureis, ærario regio solutis, coemit. Dedit quidem postea
3 ueniam, sed hoc exemplo, militarem disciplinam, quanti fieri, et quam | suos, dicto
audientes esse uellet: significauit.

Strength of the force. Neque uero, tanta multitudo, nisi his artibus, in officio, contineri potest.
A motley army. Habito enim delectu, equitum, peditibus exceptis, (qui erant prope innumeri) et
*elephantis camelisque pugnacibus · qui erant prope quingenti[5]: quinquaginta millia
equitum, in hoc bellum acciuit · quorum quidam Mongoli, quidam Persæ; Turquimanni
4 alij, Chacattæi, Osbequij, Arachosij, | Balochij, Patanei, Indici, et Gedrosij, tum Agareni,
tum etiam gentiles, quibus potissimum confidit. His accedebant Parthi plurimi,
et Arij & Paropanisadæ. Atque hæc* fuit caussa, cur cum[6] apud Agarenos, ex-
F. 48b. 1 legis nomine, atque || fama, male audiat, nemo illi, manus afferre, mortemque audeat
intendere.

Methods of warfare. Longe autem alia ratione Persæ, Mongoli, Chacattæi, Osbechij, ac Turquimanni,
alia Gedrosij, alia *Balocij,[7] alia Indici pugnant. Nam Gedrosiorum, qui Rasputi,
et Indorum, qui Rati dicuntur, equitatus omnis, humilibus quibusdam equis, qui

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[1] In MS.: et. [2] 1st: præscriptum. [3] 1st: transiri. [4] 1st: ad imperatum locum pertrahi. [5] 1st: elephantum. [6] 1st: est caussa, ut cum. [7] 1st: Balochij.

2 uix *cum asinis æquantur[1] · | in locum ubi pugnandum, est inuehitur · ubi desilientes
ex equis *hastis quibusdam breuibus, quas iacula potius quam hastas dixerim,[2] et peltis
instructi, aciem, inimicorum expectant. Hos dicunt Agareni, scire quidem mori, sed
nescire pugnare. *Balocij[3] camelis insident, et arcu, sagittisque bellum gerunt.
Indici elephantes gubernant, atque ad pugnam impellunt.

3 Est uero mira elephantum | multitudo, in castris, et urbibus, ubi Rex commo-
Elephants. ratur, quorum robore, et uiribus, ad duas res utuntur. Altera est, ad ferendas sar-
cinas, altera ad pugnandum. Et sarcinas quidem, ut plurimum, fœminæ uehunt.
Plerique mares, ad pugnandum assuefiunt, armisque, quibus tuti sint, quibusque
4 lædere queant muniuntur. Qui armis exuti, nihilo | sunt infestiores. Nam abreptos
hostes: quosdam proboscide, pedibus suis substernunt, et obculcant, *nec prius
incumbere in miseros cessant quam eos obterant ac contundant:[4] quosdam uero *in
F. 49a. 1 medium aërem iaciunt,[5] ut ex casu pereant; quosdam medios discindunt, pede || crus
alterum premendo, proboscide alterum crus, sursum magna ui adhibita, contendendo.
Mares quidem, singulis annis, per tres fere menses, præ ferocia ita insaniunt, ut suos
interdum curatores interimant; et eo quidem tempore sunt ad pugnam aptissimi.
Ferocia deposita, si iterum efferari, ad bellum imminens, opus sit, felis carnibus, ad |
2 uescendum, reliquo pabulo commistis, efficitur. Domi, ne noceant, fœminarum soda-
litio compescuntur · fœminis enim conspectis, animos deponunt. Quosdam elephantes
assuefaciunt, tormentis bellicis dorso perferendis,* qui, cum admoto igne ater puluis
flammatus e tormento cum tonitru erumpit,[6] minime terrentur, aut calcitrant. Hoc
3 modo instructos elephantes, et armatos, quinquaginta, extremam | aciem sequi,
Rex imperauit · quos Indi ducebant.

Tartar tactics. Cæterum Mongolorum, Persarum, *Parthorum, Turcarum, Sogdianorum, Bach-
trarum et Scythicarum uel Tartaricarum omnium[7] nationum, pugnandi ratio eadem
est. Qui (ut de singulis taceam) tum infestissime pugnant, cum impensissime fugere
uidentur, atque adeo in tergum conuersi, equo in aduersum admisso, directe
4 *iaculantur:[8] ut oculum | figant.

Habits of elephants. Et elephantum ea est natura, ut ita uocibus hominum, qui eorum curam habent,
assuescant: ut omnia, quæ imperantur, exerceant. Nodos soluunt, eosque connect-
unt, rem impellunt, eandem sustollunt, rursum deprimunt, iterumque conuertunt:
F. 49b. 1 laqueos inijciunt, laqueis eximunt: minutissimas || stipulas, et æra colligunt. Ad
choream instruuntur, et saltant. Ad omnia denique se parant *quæ illis imperan-
tur.[9] In syluis gregatim degunt; per contubernia, et quasdam ueluti familias, quibus
præest, suæ cuiusque gentilitatis (ut ita dicamus) et familiæ pater, et auctor, cui
reliqua posteritas pareat, quem ducem, in bellis quæ cum alijs elephantibus gerun-
2 tur, sequantur. | Cum a uenatoribus petuntur, illius nutu uel terga uertunt, uel
certamen expectant, ille medius, ueluti dux, suis instructus copijs, *quadam cum
insolentia et arrogantia,[10] fertur, ut omnibus qui ad suam aciem accedant, minas
intendere uideatur. Huc atque illuc, lento quodam passu, spatia fremebundus

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[1] 1st: asinos altitudine æquant.
[2] 1st: lanceolis quibusdam breuibus.
[3] 1st: Balochij.
[4] 1st: obteruntque ac comminuunt.
[5] 1st: altissime eiaculantur.
[6] 1st: quæ cum discluduntur
[7] 1st: et vicinarum.
[8] 1st: eiaculantur.
[9] Later addition.
[10] 1st: quadam cum arrogantia et insolentia.

3 facit, | ac illi soli parcit, qui pastum sibi, et familiæ * parat.[1] Nam huiusmodi elephantum
contubernia, in nemoribus ali, quasi boum armenta, Zelaldinus curat;
atque tum spectaculi præbendi caussa, tum etiam ut optimos quosque seligat, ad se
4 adduci jubet. Greges uero sunt, fere uiginti capitum, diuersa | corporum statura, et
cornuum *magnitudine,[2] pro cuiusque ætate. Qui demisso sunt, ad clunes, dorso,
et cruribus, atque collo firmi optimi habentur. * Edere partum elephantes post
octauum mensem, nonnunquam post sextum et decimum: senis mensibus a matre
nutriri: fœminas decimo anno concipere: viuere quantum longæui homines: quosdam
etiam ad ducentesimum annum peruenire: morbidos esse et incurabiles, Strabo *Lib.* 15.
scripsit, Plinius delectum in belua uires & ætatem et magnitudinem facere.[3] * Armentarij *Lib.* 6,
uero ferunt elephantes ad ducentos annos, uiuere, quinquagesimo ad *Cap.* 19.
iustam staturam peruenire, centum annorum, firma esse ætate, ac robore præstare,
F 50a. 1 centesimo quinquagesimo senescere · ducentesimo, ad finem, et exitum vitæ || peruenire[4]
At uero morbis frequentissime uexantur, febrique laborant. Verum, * si
frigore quodam mortifero obrigescant,[5] intra uiginti quattuor horarum spatium,
contabescunt, et moriuntur. Ægri gemitus edunt, sese, ut in lecto homines mouent,
lacrvmantur, et sibi medicinam fieri permittunt · nec ut alia bruta animantia reluctantur.
2 Fœminæ, mirum | in modum, sunt pauidæ. Ignem præcipue, et *æneorum
tormentorum ac fistularum et fulminum[6] strepitum reformidant · et magno impetu
sese in fugam conijciunt · ut incautos facile opprimant, et * pessumdent.[7] Pusilli,
uix vnius anni suem, exæquant, a decimo anno disciplinæ subduntur. Qui ad bella
3 instruuntur, a barbaris, et impijs hominibus, quo in | homines sint efferatiores, humanis
carnibus pascuntur. Sontes, ad illorum pedes proijciuntur. Hinc existimo,
ortam esse fabulam, elephantes conspecto sanguine, ad bellum incitari. Non enim
magis, conspecto sanguine mouentur, quam si aquam conspiciant. Ita educatis, si
ex dorso quis elabatur, aut decidat, cum in illum insilit, mos est hominem proterere,
4 cum existimet, eam ob caussam, sibi ad | pedes accidisse, uel obiectum esse. Hoc
discrimine liberatus quidam est, e Sacerdotibus, qui Naruadam fluuium, elephante
coactus * transire,[8] ignorantia, et desuetudine, cum mora in illum insiliens, prope
perijt. Flectunt enim se elephantes, * et pede ac poplite ad se ipsos per quosdam
ueluti gradus ascensum parant;[9] uerum, oportet eos qui ascendunt, quam celerrime
maturare, nam ubi primum, se pedibus premi sentiunt, * ut se erigant connituntur.[10]
F 50b. 1 Neque enim articulis, nodisque, et colligationibus, ijsdem, in || cruribus carent, quæ
habent, cæteræ quadrupedes, ut quidam ex antiquis, a fallacibus nouarum rerum,
et nugarum, commentatoribus decepti, memoriæ prodiderunt. Unum, et alterum
restat, de elephantibus, et id sane admiratione dignum, vix .n. credi posset, quam
graues inimicitias, mutuo suscipiant, elephantes. Nam si duo, aut plures, odio dissideant,
2 et sese vicissim | conspiciant, facto impetu, magna ui inuehuntur, et sese

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[1] 1st: subministrat. [2] 1st: erassitie. [3] Later addition.

[4] 1st: Ducentis annis, ut plurimum, uiuunt, quinquagesimo ... perueniunt, centum ... firma sunt ætate, ac robore præstant, centesimo quinquagesimo senescunt, ducentesimo ... perueniunt.

[5] 1st: si frigore quodam corripiuntur.

[6] Later addition. [7] 1st: obterant. [8] 1st: traducere. [9] 1st: et quasi scalam ex sese præbent.

[10] 1st: tollunt se, atque erigunt.

collidunt: at uero, ductores *equitantes,[1] ne conspiciunt quidem, nedum lædant.
Difficile etiam dictu est,* rhinocerotes, etsi præ illis pusillæ sint,[2] quantum timeant,
et exhorrescant · porro, quam insolenter rhinoceros, elephantem contemnat. Nam
3 elephas, conspecta rhinocerote sese | totum, tremebundus flectit, atque demittit,
proboscidem in os condit, loco cedit, donec transeat rhinoceros · restitans, uix fustibus,
compelli potest, ut gressum moueat. Iam uero certamen, cum rhinocerote, uelis
remisque declinat. Nam rhinoceros, sub bestiam, se infert, et naris acuto cornu,
4 uentrem eius petit, et perforat, cum nihil, ab elephante | lædatur. Porro elephas,
inflexa in os proboscide, dormit · murium, & formicarum formidine, at murem præcipue
reformidat. Eius est naturæ animalium, quæ aqua delectantur, ut sunt bubali,
sues, et alia id genus. At uero, ut bestia domari, et coerceri posset, Deus naturæ, ac ||
F. 51a. 1 rerum conditor, qui cætera homini, hominem, ut sibi obsequeretur condidit: duobus
membris debilem, et imbecillum elephantem esse voluit: nimirum ipso nexu, nodoque
cruris utriusque, nam sui grauitate, *uel resti tantum,[3] si prehendatur, maximum
dolorem bestiæ renitenti, et calcitranti, id quicquid est vinculi affert · quo fit, ut
2 cathena impedita, in | fouea, facile teneatur. Tum fronte ipsa, atque proboscide: nam
in fronte, quod ualde tenuem, et imbecillam habeat cutem, ægre patitur se pungi,
quo fit, ut unco impacto facile, a cursu cohibeatur: ad quem inhibetur, adhibito
manubrio quodam, *infixis[4] clauis instructo, et ad dorsum, magna ui admoto: quod
si furibundus, vnco non pareat, uel *obducto oculis ueli operimento,[5] uel stipite,
3 quem oblonga cathena | uinctum, *et a domitore humo [im]pactum,[6] suis pedibus implicat,
coercetur. At uero ictus, in proboscide, sub oculis, pedem quam citissime
refert. Ignis item, si admoueatur, Euris ocyor, fuga salutem quærit. Eam ob caussam,
in circo, ne quid mali, ab elephantibus Rex pateretur, satellitio hominum cingebatur,
qui gestabant uncos, oblongis *hastilibus præfixos,[7] et pulueris sulphurei
4 machinas, | quæ igne concepto, in orbem cum fragore, et strepitu uersantur. Hi
inuadenti elephanti, sese opponebant. Quibus etiam instrumentis, elephantum
pugnas dirimebant. At vero in acie, ne ordines equitum, suæ molis metu, perturbent,
F. 51b. 1 *equisones[8] || equos, elephantibus uidendis, non solum uerum etiam, ad eos *V. vir[i] p[r]odromi[?]*[9]
pugnaciter lacessendos, assuefaciunt.

Strength of the army.
Cæterum, ut eo unde sumus digressi, redeamus · peditatus omnis, armatura
uaria instructus, bellum gerit. Verum tota uirtus belli, in equitatu posita est. Quo
fit, ut magnis sumptibus, non parcat, quo integris, quoad eius fieri possit, semper
2 equitum | copijs, sartum tectum imperium conseruet. Nam exceptis legionibus,
quæ ducibus, tanquam heris iam inde ab auis, et proauis, adhærescunt: et equitatu,
peditatu, elephantibusque constant: quibus ipsimet duces, ex uectigalibus prouinciarum,
sibi a Rege traditis, stipendia persoluunt: quadraginta quinque millibus equitum,
3 quinque millibus elephantum, | quamplurimis peditum millibus, stipendia ex
Feudal system.
suo ærario persoluit. Veteri enim usu, ac consuetudine comparatum est, ut quæ
bello acquiruntur, *nemini perpetuo iure,[10] a Rege donentur, sed pro Regis libito,

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[1] ist: inequitant. [2] ist: Rhinocerotem, etiamsi pusilla sit. [3] ist: vel tenui funiculo. [4] ist: præfixis.

[5] ist: iniecto, ante oculos operimento. [6] Later addition [7] ist: contis infixos.

[8] ist: hos. " Equisones " cannot be found in the best dictionaries. I propose " agasones " = grooms.

[9] Later addition. Indistinct. [10] ist: Regi cedant prorsus omnia; nec in perpetuo iure.

prouinciæ administrandæ, *primarijs uiris,[1] aliquo imposito uectigali, quod Regis
4 ærario accedat, tradantur. | Illi vero, legionarijs suis, municipia, oppida, et pagos
distribuunt, atque, uel assignatis agris, stipendia, uel ex uectigalibus persoluunt.
Nam diligenti cura, datur a Rege opera, ut unicuique, eæ prouinciæ assignentur, quæ
F. 52a 1 ijs copijs quæ || illi parent, satis sint, ad honeste, et sine penuria transigendum · ut,
habenti duas legiones, copiosior prouincia assignetur, quam ei qui unam tantum habet.
Retinent uero antiquum suorum maiorum* morem qui in phalanges milites diuidebant,
et suæ quisque phalangis militibus imperabant.[2] *Hæ phalanges Persice dicuntur
lascár · ac quoniam unicuique phalangis tribuno suum est forum uenale, illæ Vrdu
vel, ut nostrates dicunt, ordæ Tart[arice] vocantur et tribuni uocabulo denominantur,
veluti si dicamus Mancini vrdu vel orda, Mancini phalanx.[3] Itaque, cum
regionum, urbes, et agri, *ad regem deueniant,[4] et uniuersæ copiæ, illi tanquam
2 summo imperatori pareant: | plerique tamen milites, suos habent duces, quibus jam
inde a progenitoribus, et auis, ut supra demonstratum est, obsequuntur. Quæ res
non modicam ocasionem et ansam coniurationibus et proditionibus præbet. Quam
ob caussam, ne *duces[5] potentia sua freti, insolescant; ubi intelligit, facultatibus
3 auctos, ex prouinciarum uectigalibus esse * eos;[5] ad se accersit, ijsque, quasi | seruis,
multa imperat, quæ cum priori gradu, ac dignitate minime consentiunt. Nam curam
illis demandat, aliquot elephantes, equos, camelos, pantheras, damas, et columbas
alendi: quæ ad se, singulis annis,* ad dictam diem[6] adducant. Dimissos iterum, ad
prouincias administrandas, non sinit, diu uno loco consistere. Ac ne potentia abu-
4 tantur, | et ut certior fiat, quonam illi pacto se gerant: iudices, et prætores urbium,
et municipiorum, ab ipso constituuntur.

Mathura. Sed jam *ad iter quod inijt[7] redeamus. A Fattepuro, quarto die Maturanum
F. 52b. 1 uentum est: urbem, iam ab eo tempore conditam, quo || *Brachmanarum superstitiosa
Krishna. religio in has regiones inducta est;[8] et a Crustnu, qui alio nomine, Viznu dicitur, con-
dita fuisse creditur, aut certe, dubium non est, quin ortus, in suburbio, prope eam
urbem sit. Nam plerisque in locis, agri Maturanensis, delubra uisuntur, Viznu
dicata, illis locis exædificata, in quibus, aliquid ab eo gestum, aniles quædam, et
2 ineptæ fabulæ | narrant. Sunt vero hæc fana (melius dixerim profana) opere Indico,
forma pyramidum, concinne satis constructa · quibus, uersus ortum solis, ostia
posita sunt · ut cum primum, sydus exoritur, simulachri faciem, sua luce perfundat.

Ac gentiles omnes, totius Indiæ, Crustnu quasi Deum colunt. Et Para Bramæ
3 (quem Para | Maessurem, hoc est Deum immortalem, dicunt) filium fuisse affirmant,
Indian mythology. et fratres habere, Maessurem, et Brámam, sororemque Sethim; quæ sine matre, ex
fronte Para Maessuris, nata sit: et Maessuri nupserit, ut Juno Joui. Nam ne à se
malus dæmon, omnino dissideret, similem Deorum generationem, Indicæ antiquitati,
4 in animos | induxit: illi, quam stolidæ, nostratum priscorum hominum, uetustati per-

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[1] 1st: magnatibus

[2] 1st: qui factionibus diuisi, suæ factionis quisque militibus impera*bat* (*sic*).

[3] Later marginal addition. The note ran first: Hæ factiones dicuntur lascar, ac quoniam unicuique factionis uel cunei tribuno suum erat forum uenale assignatum, huiusmodi cunei Vrdu vel, ut nostrates dicunt, ordæ dicebantur, quas tribuni uocabulum denominabat; veluti si dicamus Mancini Vrdu vel orda, factio vel cuneus Mancini.

[4] 1st: regis sint. [5] Later addition. [6] 1st: ad indictum tempus. [7] 1st: ad expeditionem.

[8] 1st: Bragmanarum superstitio, illis regionibus inducta est.

suasit. Saturnum enim, dicebant ueteres, genuisse Jouem, Neptunum, et Orcum,
atque ex eius cerebro, prodijsse Mineruam. Hoc tamen interest quod nostrates
F. 53a. 1 poetæ, hæc nomina tribuebant cœlo, et elementis, et ad elementa affectis rebus · || isti,
communes quasdam notiones esse dicunt, quæ in intellectu hærent, ut Athenienses
qui resurrectionem nouam quandam deam, et D. Paulum, nouorum huiusmodi,
deorum, annuntiatorem putarunt, aut Manichæi, qui elementa quinque rerum,
a se conficta, deos dicebant. Ac cum unum, ab alio dimanare, et ueluti cathenarum
2 anulos vicissim sibi succedere | opinarentur, unum ex alio nasci, cogebantur fateri:
cum uero cohærere, et simul quasi conuenire dicerent, matrimonio iungi, ineptissime
fabulabantur.

Pluto Orcus.[1]

Act. 17.

Krishna's avatārs.

Atque ut Crustnu parentem, et fratres omittamus: eum *nouies[2] natum, Indo-
rum, ac Brachmanarum magistri tradunt. *Primo,[3] ceti forma, ut fratrem Bramá,
3 a coclea marina liberaret, | quæ eum deglubebat: *Secundo,[4] testudinis, ut orbem
duorum gigantum, pondere *inclinantem ac propendentem[5] sustineret: Tertio *lutu-
lenti[6] suis, ut orbem *conspurcatum emundaret:[7] Quarto, leonis specie infra umbili-
cum, supra uero umbilicum hominis, ut gigantem necaret,* a quo orbis crudeli domi-
4 natu premebatur.[8] Quinto, hominis pusilli similitudine, qui quasi mendicus | stipem
rogaret: Sexto, personam induit uiri fortissimi, qui ut in lucem editus est, in cœlum
euolavit: Septimo, in uentre latuit, cuiusdam opilionis, qui lacte quæstum faciebat,
e cuius tandem utero expositus, torques vitreas, et anulos uenditauit, ut *sceleratis-
sime insidiosissimeque[9] posset patruum interimere, quem confecit: Octauo, personam
F. 53b. 1 egit Regis, imperauitque, quattuor mille || sexcentis septuaginta tribus annis: Nono
tandem, habitu *agricolæ et rustici, quo tempore impios[10] suo gladio peremit. Puer
*insedans et turbulentus, furunculus, ac mendax fuit.[11] Cum enim, cum opilione
uersaretur, lac, butyrum, et caseos furabatur, interrogatus* num flagitia admisisset,[12]
negabat, mulierculis quibusdam, quæ *sordes[13] in profluente eluebant, uestes, et
2 lintea suffuratus est. Vicinis ollas, et | supellectilia, *perfringebat,[14] uitulos e præse-
pibus soluebat ut fugerent, quo curas *armentariorum[15] augeret. Hæc crepundia, et
pueritiæ initia, eo progressæ sunt, ut octo uxores, suis uiris ui, sexdecim mille dolo,
et fraude* eripuerit, ubi uir et dignus scilicet nomine euasit.[16] Atque horum miracu-
lorum memoriam, illis delubris, ne excidant, tuentur. Tanta est impudentia Brach-
3 manarum, et Indicæ plebeculæ stoliditas, ut iure eloquentiæ parens | Cicero dixerit ·
Quæ barbaria India vastior? Quæ agrestior? Et merito quidem · nam magis ad
ueritatem, aniles fabulæ, quas hyeme, ad focum vetulæ narrant: accedere uidentur.

Ea coclea ab incolis Comarinæ oræ chanc dicitur: cui olim anteaquam Christiani essent diuinos honores tribuebant. Hæ gregatim repere et suum regem sequi feruntur.[6]

Mathurā, the Rome of India.

Ac cum Viznu, famatissimus apud Indos, ψευδόθεος habeatur, factum est, ut sicuti
Roma, in Europa, *olim urbs hæc in India superstitionum fons et caput extiterit.[17] |
4 Quæ quidem, et murorum ambitu, et ædificiorum amplitudine, atque hominum fre-

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st: nouem uicibus. [3] 1st: prima. [4] 1st: secunda, and similarly: tertia, quarta, . . . nona.
[5] 1st: dehiscentem. [6] Later addition. [7] 1st: emundaret. hominum ex alius profluuio, conspurcatum.
[8] 1st: qui tyrannidem exercebat. [9] 1st: proditorie. [10] 1st: coloni, malos.
[11] 1st: puer turbulentus, et inquietus, exstitit, furunculusque, ac mendax "Insedatus" is probably intended instead of "insedans."
[12] Later addition. [13] 1st: se. [14] 1st: comminuebat. [15] 1st: pastorum, et opilionum.
[16] 1st: ubi uir euasit, eripuerit. [17] 1st: superstitionum fons fuit, et caput, sic olim urbs hæc, in India.

quentia, fuit amplissima: et ædificiorum quidem dignitatem, ruinæ plane indicant.
Relics of antiquity. Eruuntur enim e latebris ruinarum, columnæ et statuæ vetustissimæ, *eæque scite
atque afabre factæ.[1]

F. 54a. 1 Superest unum tantum, e multis, gentilitium || templum, nam Agareni præter
Only one temple left. pyramidas, reliqua solo æquarunt. Ad hoc templum, quod in iugo quodam, prope
Jomanis ripam, situm est, ex uniuersa India, peregrini frequentissimi confluunt ·
ad quod non permittuntur, a Brachmanis ingredi, nisi prius in ripa fluminis, uiri
2 quidem capillum, et barbam; mulieres capillum, et supercilia abradant · et | sese in
Shaving ceremony. flumen, aliquoties mergant: ut a peccatis, aqua illa eluantur · qua perfusis, Brachmanæ,
peccatorum omnium ueniam promittunt. Res est quidem stupenda. Nam
tonsores, plures sunt trecentis, qui expeditissime, semimersos in scalis, quæ in ora
fluminis constructæ sunt, ingentem tum uirorum, tum mulierum multitudinem, syncere,
3 quod attinet ad | pudorem, sed promiscue, abradunt. Ea est enim mali Dæmonis
astutia, ut speciem quandam religionis, eorum animis inijciat, ut sceleratissimum
facinus existiment, aliquid turpe, aut indecorum, in tanta loci, ut ipsi putant,
sanctitate, uel cogitatione uelocissima moliri, dum impia superstitione implicantur. |
4 At eloti, reliquo uitæ tempore, ea facta diligentissime deuitant, quæ ab ijs peccata,
iudicantur. Optandum sane, ea cura atque studio, uera peccata ab ijs declinari, qui
non falsa, sed uera religione imbuti, veram veniam sunt, pia aliqua functione, adhibito
pœnitentiæ Sacramento, consequuti.

Shrine of Hanumān. Ab hac urbe, sex fere milliaribus distat, Anumanti fanum · in quo trecenti, et
his amplius, simij, in saltu quodam, publicis sumptibus aluntur. Qui statis horis,
F. 54b. 1 dato signo, || ære tinnienti, arma capessunt, et in duas turmas diuisi, mutuo digladiantur,
Tame monkeys. eadem, æris tinnitu deponunt. *Pransum cœnatumque, eodem pulsu veniunt,
et a cœna prandioque syluam petunt,[2] cum stupore, miseræ plebis, quæ diuino
illud prodigio, fieri existimat. Brachmanæ uero, his fraudibus, miserum populum, qui
his præstigijs, dementer, non solum credit, uerum etiam capitur, decipiunt. Nam
2 simios | arte, et diligentia, et vetustiorum, qui iam sunt edocti imitatione, ad illa
agenda erudiunt. Atque hæc, honorem ut suo patrono Anumanto, cultumque tribuant,
simios sua sponte facere persuadent.

Legend of Hanumān. Anumanti uero fabula, sic habet. Maessuris, Crustni et Brámæ frater, filius uero
Para Maessuris, dicitur, mulierem quandam, quæ in monte solitaria religionis caussa
3 degebat, adamasse uentique internuntio grauidam | effecisse, quæ Anumantum edidit,
forma simij. Qui cum a matre quæsiuisset, "Quisnam est meus pater?" matrem
respondisse ferunt, "Ventus." At uero uentus, ne tantæ rei ueritas lateret, aut
fortasse ne cogeretur, filium suis sumptibus educare, mouendis procellis interdum,
euocandisque pluuijs ocupatus, cum denique, nullo consistat loco, aut Æoli specu |
4 aliquando clausus, filium periclitari timeret; vel quod pueri forma displiceret, e uestigio
dixit, "Minime gentium. Huius simij pater, Maéssŭris est." Qui omnibus denuntiari
iubet, malum dæmonem, non ingressurum eius domum, nec illi, filijsue illius,
F. 55a. 1 qui simium hunc coluerit, damnum allaturum. || Aiunt uero, ideo simios, ex arbore in
arborem inuolare, quod interuentu, et opera uenti, Anumanthus generatus sit. Hunc

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[1] 1st: non inepte fabrefactæ.

[2] 1st: pransum cœnatumque, eodem pulsu petunt.

etiam, dijs bella gerentibus, contra gigantes, auxilio uenisse ferunt · atque his quidem
Akbar's belief in it. fabulis, Zelaldinus facili negotio, habet fidem. Nam in Dei nominibus, cuiusdam
uenefici monitu, nomen Anumanti scripsit.

2 Indigna sane sunt, quæ hic scripsimus, | quæ sapientum, et piorum hominum
sinceris auribus, obtrudantur. Verum eo consilio scribuntur, ut qui legerint, hominum
ignorantiam commisereantur, et a Deo, lucem exorent, quæ eorum animos illustret.
Ganesh. Mahādeo. Consulto quidem prætereo, Ganessum quem Deorum janitorem, uultu et proboscide
elephantis, obeso ac tumenti ventre, ex sudore cuiusdam Deæ (si liceat ita dicere)
3 natum fingunt. Madæum item taceo, | et magnam, aliorum deorum, farraginem,
quam misera gens pro dijs colit, cuiusque statuas, et simulachra in templis ponit · et
ad institutum iterum redeo.[1] *Madæus creditur fuisse Adamus.*

Delhi. Maturano sex dierum itinere, Delinum uentum est, opulentissimam, amplissimamque,
ciuitatem, ad Jomanem positam, in qua Indici regni solium, iam inde a
4 Christianorum regum temporibus, constitutum erat: | ac Patanei deinde reges sederunt:
et Emaumus Zelaldini pater, dum uiueret, libenter* in ea commoratus, infortunio
diem clausit.[2]

F. 55b. 1 Atque in *sepulcro,[3] a filio Zelaldino, magna amplitudine, in || amœnissimis hortis,
Humāyūn's tomb. ædificato humatus est. Quem ex uxoribus una, mater Mirsachimi Regis Chabuli,
Conjugal devotion. quem bello Zelaldinus petebat, præ amoris, et fidei erga eum magnitudine, sic est
prosequuta, ut ædificato domicilio, ad sepulchrum, dum uixit, excubarit: et precibus
2 ad Deum, et stipe pauperibus data, qua quingentos pauperes alebat, | uiduitatem
exercens, ad mortem usque perdurauerit · heroidis sane, digno facinore, si Christiana
fuisset. Sunt enim, ut sapienter, quidam scriptum reliquit, Agareni Christianorum
simij. Multis enim in rebus, Christianam pietatem, absque pietatis emolumento,
imitantur · nam a uera fide, ac religione, charitateque aberrant. Ac Delinum,
3 publicis ædificijs, arce potissimum, ab Eamaumo ædificata, et muris, | qui urbem
Fīroz Shāh's works. ambiunt, nonnullisque templis exornatur · eo potissimum, quod Peruzius Rex, ædificasse
dicitur, quod candido marmore, egregie perpolito, et tectorio candidissimo,
quod iniecto lacte, pro aqua, calci paratur, affabre factum est · ac, quasi speculum
splendescit. Lac enim adhibitum calci, ita connectit partes eius, ut et nullas rimas
4 agat, et perpolitum | uenustissime pelluceat. Fuit uero Peruzius, Pataneus genere,
uir ad pietatem procliuis · nam toto regno ædificari iussit diuersoria,* duobus passuum
millibus,[4] inuicem distantia, in quibus patulam arborem inseri, propter umbram, ||
F. 56a. 1 et amœnitatem, puteum effodi, ad hominum, et iumentorum aquationem, delubrum,
ubi uiatores, preces Deo funderent, ædificari curauit. Atque uiarum, utrumque latus,
arboribus, quæ fessis essent umbracula, longissima serie, si ager pateretur, conseuit.
Torrentium, et fluuiorum, fossarumque transitum, pontibus coniunxit · vias complanauit,
2 et locis palustribus, | cedentibusque lapides strauit, denique nihil prætermisit,
quod publicam utilitatem, splendoremque amplificaret. Tribus fere milliaribus, a
Delino, in saltu, Regiam mira pulchritudine, et laxitate fabricauit: et in solario,

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[1] The whole of this description of Mathurā (from fol. 52*a*. 4: urbem, iam ab eo tempore) is bracketed in the MS.

[2] 1st: est commoratus · in eaque infortunio, quod supra demonstrauimus, diem clausit.

[3] 1st: tumulo.

[4] 1st: sesquimilliario.

Palace of Fīrozābād and its pillar. columnam e marmore integram, et solidam, altitudine pedum triginta, crassitudine
fere quinque collocauit. Ac subterraneam uiam, ad ueterem Delinum (ubi Christiano-
3 rum reges | habitasse creduntur) quadraginta fere stadiorum, cuniculis aperuit, ut
Tunnel. sese* a curia et[1] negotijs, quoties libēret, *subtraheret,[2] et sine comitatu, in eam uil-
lam, ut animum relaxaret, solusque contenderet. Multa de eo narrantur, quæ si
4 uera essent, et cum Christiana fide coniuncta, hominem | cœlo, ob hæc benefacta
The town. intulissent. Hanc urbem, excepto præsidio Mongolorum, Brachmanæ copiosi, et
locupletes incolunt, quo fit, ut ex priuatis ædificijs, non parum splendoris, ciuitati
F. 56b. 1 accedat. Cum enim lapide, ac calce abundet || regio, homines copiosi, bene materi-
atas, atque ornatas, extantesque, non humiles, et deiectas ædes construunt. Viæ
vero, opera Emaumi, qui fabricæ erat deditus, splendoreque urbium, et uiarum laxi-
tate tenebatur, augustæ, præter Agarenorum consuetudinem, et aspectu gratæ sunt.
2 Quarum medium, arborum pulcherrima consitio, uiriditate | exornat, umbraculis
amœnum reddit. Porro hortorum amœnitatem, trans, et citra Jomanem (qui ad
ortum solis, urbem pene contingit) et suburbana, longum esset recensere · cum multa
sint; et cœli clementia, omnium frugum, fructuumque ubertate præstantia. Est
3 enim ager Delinicus optimus, et fructuosissimus. Delini uero ueteris, ruinæ | extant,
turresque, ac mœnia semidiruta, quæ celebrem fuisse urbem indicant. Abest uero, a
noua urbe, ad ocasum fere solis, duobus prope et triginta stadijs.[3]

Sonepat. Biduo Sonipătum ventum est · quod exiguum est municipium, at nomine digni-
tateque ciuitatis illustre, ex quo enses, gladij, sicæ, pugiones, ferreæ cuspides, quæ
4 hastis, et iaculis, telisque præfiguntur, | in reliquas totius regni partes, concinne
fabricatæ, exportantur. Est enim in ea regione, ferri et chalybis, quæ in uicinis
Imai iugis effodiuntur, magna copia: atque eius generis, armorum opifices, quam
F. 57a. 1 plurimi. Postridie cum litteras Mirsachimi, ad Xamansurum, iam tertio datas, || Rex
Shāh Mansūr arrested. intercepisset: Xamansurum, in custodiam conijci, imperauit.

Panipat. Deinde Panípătum uersus, castra mouit, cuius habitatores, studio uidendi
Regem, solaria, et tecta, fœminæ potissimum, compleuerant. Panípăto egressis, et
Karnāl. *Carnārem[4] oppidum præteruectis, riuus occurrit, qui in Jomanem influit, ponteque
lapidea, absque concursatione, et clamore, ut fit locis angustis, riuulum* se peditatus |
2 traiecit: nam præceptum erat,[5] ut elephantes, cameli et equites uado transirent.

Thānesar. Tridui itinere, Taníssărim, Brachmanarum, et negotiatorum municipium, peruen-
[? Shāhā]bād tum est. Hinc Baádum, ubi Xamansurus jussu Regis, ex arbore suspensus, suæ
perfidiæ, atque proditionis, meritas pœnas dedit. Quod in hunc modum gestum est.
3 Rex satellitum, et carnificum | tribunos, et primarios quosque duces, cum Xamansuro,
Shāh Mansūr hanged. in eo loco consistere, imperauit · et Abdulfasilio edixit, ut ordine, coram illis testibus,
omnia beneficia, quæ in eum, a puero, Rex contulisset, commemoraret; tum ut eius,
ingratitudinem, illi obijceret, proditionem exprobraret, conuictumque exemplis litte-
4 rarum, suæ, ac Mirsachimi, manus, quas ostendebat, iure suspendio, | a Rege damna-
tum esse ostenderet, tandem hortaretur, ut forti animo, nihilque indigne ferente,

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[1] Later addition.
[2] 1st: expediret.
[3] Bracketed in the MS. from: Ac Delinum (fol. 55*b*. 2). I have returned to the subject of the Palace of Fīroz Shāh at Delhi and its pillar in *J.A.S.B.*, 1913. My note at p. 530 n. 3 of this volume is of an earlier date.
[4] Earlier spelling: Carnarum.
[5] 1st: exercitus traiecit: eo quod præceptum esset.

supplicium subiret · at uero efficeret, ut ij qui aderant, sibi persuaderent, nihil Regem, in Xamansurum, iniustum moliri, eosque ut in officio essent, commoneret. Quod Abdulfasilius, qui Regis personam sustinebat, ad unguem perfecit. Quo perempto,
F. 57b. 1 ad castra, || quæ non procul aberant, reuerterunt. At uero Rex, oris tristitia, se hominis infortunium dolere, aperte significauit. Verum illius nece, coniuratio omnino extincta est: et ab omnium, qui partes Regis sequebantur, iugulis, mucro sublatus · totisque castris, omnium est, lætitia, improbi hominis supplicium, comprobatum.
2 Et cum nulla timeretur intestina seditio, de belli exitu, id est | præjudicatum, quod ipse feliciter consequutus, Dei munere comprobauit: ut Mirsachimus facti pœnitens, de pace (ubi rumore, rem gestam didicit) cogitaret.

His diebus magna tempestatum procella, itineribus luto, et subitis torrentium
Kumaun Mts. imbribus, impeditis, uno loco, exercitus consistere cogebatur. At ubi primum, cœli
3 serenitas, reddita est: castra | mouit, et ad solis ortum, Imaus mons emicuit, niuibus opertus, quem illius regionis incolæ, Cumaúm nominant · exhalabatque uentum, satis frigidum. In eo gentiles degunt, qui Zelaldino minime obediunt · quibus densissimæ sylvæ, et nemora sunt præsidio. Et Jomanis quidem fontes in hoc tractu, ab
4 indigenis, esse dicuntur, in his iugis, qui ad Delinicum | agrum, hoc est ad ocasum
Sources of the Jumna and of the Ganges. solis uergunt. Gangis uero, e regione, in cliuo, qui uersus orientem solem impluit · sed ducentis, et* 80 milliaribus, cum dimidiato in longitudine[1] (ut cosmographi loquuntur) latitudine eadem,* *i.e.* graduum 30 una ex 3ijs.[2]

Ambāla. Atque eo itinere, ad Ambalam uentum est · in cuius agro, et planitie, quæ magna
F. 58a 1 est, Emaumus Rex, Zelaldini pater, || Patanæos, Sarindo urbe (quæ Ceynandum etiam dicitur) pulsos, anfractu torrentis profundo, et præcipiti, interclusos confecit.

Monserrate discussing with Muhammadans Sacerdos uero qui in castris uersabatur, pro uirili sua parte operam dabat, ut ex uitæ institutæ, Societatisque ratione, aliquod emolumentum, sua consuetudine illis,
2 qui se conueniebant, siue Agareni essent, siue gentiles, afferret. Ac senem | quendam, qui diuinandi peritus dicebatur, et ob eam caussam, Regi non ignotus neque ingratus: rationibus adegit, ut Christi legem, Mahammeddis legi præcellere, (quod Agarenis paradoxum est) fateretur. Hic in colloquio dixit, apud inferos, multos ex malis dæmonibus, Mahammeddis legem sequi · quosdam uero esse incredulos. Sacer-
3 dotique | roganti, num aliqui essent dæmones, Christiani? respondit, "Minime "gentium. Nam omnes inimicitias sempiternas, cum Christo gerunt. At Maham- "meddi quidam, quod deorum simulachra, et cultum sustulerit, succensent, quidam, "quod effrænatam uenerem, et alia scelera, in mores inducat, ei adhærent. *At
and Hindūs. "Christum dæmones omnes auersantur eo quod utrumque prohibuerit."[2] Gentiles
4 uero, | qui ad se, nouitate permoti, uidendum uenerant: proposita quadam fabula, leuitatis commonuit · qui ijs, quæ a Deo, hominibus denuntiata sunt, ut fide salutem, et uitam consequantur, minime credant, qualia sunt ea, quæ Christianorum sacerdotes
F. 58b. 1 docent · de uno, vero, || simplicisque substantiæ Deo, qui trinus sit, in personis, qui filium habeat, et de ijs quæ de Christo, mira, et inaudita, prædicantur · fidem uero

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[1] 1st: amplius milliaribus in longitudine. In the margin, Monserrate wrote and cancelled: Hic milliarium numerus ad tabulæ ueritatem est expendendus. The writing of it is that which we have described as No. 6. Cf. our page 523.

[2] Later addition.

habeant, uanis quibusdam, et anilibus fabulis, qualis illa fuerat homines scilicet, ex
floribus procreari, qui pulchri, candidi, oculisque rutilantibus, sapientes, et virtutibus
2 ornati essent, *eosque | sine patre, sine matre, sine ortu et originibus, in Europa
The Trinity nasci.[1] Cuidam item Agareno, de rebus diuinis interroganti, ut tres personas, unam
esse substantiam, in diuinis credibile uideretur, proposita similitudine, effecit · quod,
ut nemo, inficias ire potest, corpore et anima, quæ diuersæ sunt substantiæ, unius
3 hominis | personam constare, sic nemini incredibile esse debet, tres personas, unam
Murād at his lessons. esse naturam, atque substantiam. Quotidiana uero principis institutio, Rege ipso
sæpe hortatore, nulla, itineris defatigatione, unquam est prætermissa.

Sirhind described. Ceynandum, bidui itinere, ab Ambala distat · in cuius suburbio, ad solis occasum,
4 castra posuit. Urbi nomen Ceynandum, ab euentu positum | fuisse narratur. Fertur
enim, in eo loco, Rex quidam, cum leone luctatus, de bestia uictoriam reportasse.
Sarindum etiam dicitur, quod in extremis finibus, regni Indici (Lahorum uersus, quod
Lahorini regni caput, et sedes est) ædificatum sit. Nam Sarahat; limitem significat. *Hic conuentus olim Arachosia dicebatur.*[2]
F. 59a. 1 perinde ac si dicatur, limes Indiæ. Est autem urbs magni ambitus, uicis || distincta,
instar Memphis Ægypti, quæ uulgo dicitur Cayrum. Sarindi, gymnasium est medicinæ
celeberrimum, unde medici, in omne regnum prodeunt. Illhinc arcus, et pharetræ;
calcei, et ocreæ, et crepidæ, in reliquas totius regni urbes, a negotiatoribus, tantummodo
exportantur. Positum est uero Sarindum, in latissima planitie, crebris
2 arboribus consita, hortorumque amœnitate | iucunda: sed arenti: quam iacturam, et
aquarum difficultatem habitatores, lacu magni aluei, in ipso urbis ingressu, uersus
austrum, hominum industria facto, subleuant. Hyeme enim in eum,* riuulis accersitis
et ductis[3] aquam deduci, curant. In eius autem medio, turrim excitarunt,
publicæ recreationi, aperto aditu, propositum · a quà in lacum, et circumuicinos
3 hortos, iucundus | est prospectus.[4]

Pāyal? Ceynando profectus Rex, cum ad Paélum castra haberet, certior factus est, Mir-
Good news for Akbar. sachimum fugæ se dedisse. Quod usque adeo, Regi gratum fuit, ut Sacerdoti, qui in
Flight of Mīrzā Hakīm. castris erat, iusserit renuntiari. Postridie cum ille, Regi gratularetur, magna cum
Monserrate. animi lætitia, eam sibi gratulationem, iucundam esse significauit. Ac cum superiori-
4 bus diebus, | frontis contractione, magnas curas uersare uideretur, uultus hilaritate,
A coach and pair. tunc omnes curas deposuisse, uisus est. Nam in biga, iunctis equis, cursus aliquot,
animi caussa confecit.

Māchhīwāra. Atque inde Machiuáram, id est, piscium uicum præteruectus, ad ripam Sata-
Bridging the Sutlej. nulgæ,[5] qui ab antiquis, Zarădrus dicitur, dum ligneus pons construitur, castra posuit.
Cuius quidem fons, et caput · haud multum, ab eo loco distat. Nam ad Imaum ||
F. 59b. 1 proxime, exercitum Rex duci imperauerat. A quo Zaradrus, uersus ocasum solis fluit:
et Indo, se immiscet. Cocodrilos, aquatilesue lacertos, procreat dolij crassitudine,
quos cissáres, hoc est, tricipites uocant · qui sex pedibus reptant, hominesque incautos,
dum supernatant, deglutiunt · bouesque et bubalos, et pecora ac reliqua animantia
2 cum in ora fluminis | *aqua sitim depellunt,[6] pede correpta, abripiunt, et submergunt.

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[1] 1st: eosque in Europa nasci, sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia, ut de Enochio [2ndly: Melchisedec] Sacræ Litteræ produnt. In the margin, "Hebr. 7; Genes. 14" are referred to.

[2] Later note; cancelled.

[3] 1st: canalibus.

[4] Bracketed in MS. from: in cuius suburbio (fol. 58 *b*. 3).

[5] X wrote in the margin: "Mutchy-wára" and "Satanledge."

[6] 1st: adaquantur.

Hunc eundem fluuium, a vicino oppido Machiuáram, imperiti, et Ludiánam, a
Ludiáno municipio, uocant: quod a Machiuára, sex et uiginti fere milliaribus, *deorsum[2]
Sultānpur. distat, qua recta uia Basilipolim, quam torrens quidam aquæ præterluit, quæ
3 bibentibus perniciem affert: deinde Gouindiuicum, | post* Lahurum[3] itur. Verum
Govindwāl? Lahore. exercitus, hoc relicto, in sinistra, itinere, ac ad Machiuáram, et Zarădrum perductus:
Hugging the mountains. a Zarădro uersus montes, ducto itinere; in locis asperis, et nimium frigoribus, rigentibus, castra fecit.

Machiuara, piscium uicus[1].

Sultanpur, Lahori.[1]

Lahorus metropolis.[1]

Dungari? Quinto die, a Zarădro, ad præsidium quoddam Patanæorum, uentum est, quod
4 Dungarij, id est, duæ horæ nominatur · ubi Sacerdoti, | quinquaginta aureos nummos
numerari, quos Christianis distribueret, præ animi lætitia, imperauit. Nam supplices
Mīrzā Hakīm to be pursued. litteras, a Mirsachimo, per tabellarios, pridie acceperat · quibus, excusatione suæ perfidiæ,
belli calamitatem deprecabatur, obsecrabatque, ut qui prouincijs datis, alios ditaret,
se in suo regno degere permitteret. Sed cum non supplicium deprecari, sed præmium
F. 60a. 1 postulare uideretur · non destitit Zelaldinus, || quo tendebat ire pergere. Et *exercitus
quidem, uadum, cuiusdam fluuij, tranans[4] pone Bibăsim, qui nunc Beaa dicitur,
Near the Beās. biduo iter *habuit,[5] quoad uadum, quo elephantes transirent, et angustiæ fluminis
occurrerent, in quibus ligneus pons construeretur, quem ubi *antecursores[1] nacti sunt,
eo in loco castra fecerunt.

Non procul a rivulo exterritus bos miseram quandam mulierem inopinantem periculose adortus depulit humique prostravit.[6]

2 Rex uero, delectu equitum habito, Nagarcottum contendit, ut Regulo | cuidam,
Helping the Rājā of Nagarkot. qui a filio pulsus, opem eius implorauerat, auxilium ferret. Cuius aduentum, ubi
rebellis cognouit, sese in præruptas, et inaccessas montium cauernas, cum suis cohortibus abdidit. Rex uero, re infecta ad castra redijt. Est hic ager earum rerum ferax,
quas Hispanicus, et Italicus, plerisque locis producunt · quibus reliqua India caret.

3 Postridie eius diei, castra ultra | Bibăsim, ligneo ponte, decem fere milliaribus,
Crossing the Beās. ab hesterna statione, traducta sunt, haud procul ab oppido Pachangarino, Peytan-
Pachangari? ensis conuentus, dominij Biliballi reguli, primi Regis cubicularij · qui Regi redeunti,
Rājā Bīrbal's feast. ex Nagarcottica excursione, Peytani, opipare apparatum conuiuium, præbuisse ferebatur. Patet uero Peytanensis ager, ad Imai usque iuga, quinque, et quadraginta |
4 prope milliaria.

Kalānaur. Postridie Calanúrum, castra aplicauit. Apud quod municipium, Zelaldinus fusis,
atque deuictis Patanæis, et Beyramcano superato, Lahorini regni, rex est salutatus, ac purpuram, sceptrum, et alia Regis insignia, in amœnissimis, et amplissimis
hortis, qui in suburbano* quodam[1] sunt, accepit. In quibus, Lahorini priores reges,
F. 60b. 1 *eadem || accipere[7] soliti erant. Hoc opidum flumine exiguo alluitur, qui [*sic*] in
The Beās, the limit of Alexander's campaign. Bibasim decurrit. Is est quem supra demonstrauimus, quem Strabo, Hypănem nomi-
nat · atque in eius citeriori ripa, Alexandrum magnum constitisse, nec ultra, traducere
copias, ausum fuisse, memoriæ prodidit Calanúrum, Latinis magna urbs sonat ·
2 uestigiaque magnæ urbis, in ruinis, et parietinis, | quæ adhuc manent, non obscura
apparent · at nostra memoria, id oppidi, Calanurum dici, ridiculum est.

Hoc est Arachosiæ.[6]

Nagarkot. Duodeuiginti milliaribus, *Nagarcottum[8] a Calanuro distat, quod perinde est,

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st: decliui flumine. [3] 1st: Lahorum [4] 1st: Et uado cuiusdam fluuij superato.
[5] 1st: habitum est. [6] Later addition and cancelled. [7] 1st: regni insignia suscipere.
[8] Note in pencil by the anonymous annotator: Nagarcott 18 M.P. a Calanur distat.

quod Nagăris arx, vel castellum · cuius regulus, quem superioribus diebus, Zelaldinus,
oratu depulsi patris, bello petierat, latrocinijs, et incendijs, ut Zelaldino opploderet |
3 Calanuranum agrum deuastauit.

The Bhotiās. Supra eam arcem, ad orientem solem, in interiori Imao, immanis, et barbara, *Ysto se haa de escreuer*
Bothorum, vel Bothantum natio, per contubernia, sine rege, in pagis degit · qui lanæ
coagmentum, quale est petasorum, corpori, quam proxime possunt, *suendo annectunt:[1] nec ante exuunt, quam aut putrescat sudore, aut usu teratur, et soluatur, ut
4 decidat. Ex | eodem,* pileis forma coni compactis,[2] caput tegunt. Manus, aut os,
aut pedes, nunquam lauant. Eius rei caussam reddunt, quod nefas sit, elementum pellucidum, ac pulchrum, quodque haustum, sitim leuet, sordibus fœdari. Unam tantum
ducunt uxorem, e qua ubi duos, tresue filios, susceperint, cœlibem uitam agunt. Si
F 61a. 1 alter e coniugibus moriatur, alter qui superest, cœlebs || ad mortem usque perseuerat.
A simulachrorum cultu abhorrent, a magis, uel potius ueneficis, gubernantur. Cum
eorum aliquis, e uita discedit, ueneficos adeunt, libros suos, uenefici consulunt, edicuntque, quid opus sit facto · atque si, ut cadauer deuorent, aut ut in profluentem proijciant,
uel ut flammis adurant, denique ut* aut[3] feris uorandum,* aut[3] auibus dilacerandum,
2 *aut[3] ex arbore suspendendum, alioue | modo consumendum, euentui *reseruent,[4]
uenefici edicant: continuo parent. Ossea supellectili, ex hominum cadaueribus
utuntur, cranio quidem, pro poculo, harmis pro patinis, tibijs et brachijs, pro thecis
pugionum, et aliarum rerum. Sagittis etiam, duriora articulorum, et costarum ossa,
præfigunt. Colore sunt candido, statura mediocri, capillitio subruffo, ore rubicundi,
3 plerique, oculis | sunt decoris et rotundis. Eorum armatura, sunt, breues gladij,
arcus, et sagittæ. Coagmentandis è lana camelorum (quibus abundant) stragulis,
texendisque lacernis, ex tenuissima lana, quæstum faciunt, quæ Nagarcottum important, et diuendunt. Niuibus, a descensu Imai, in agrum Indicum, arcentur toto
4 anno, præterquam mensibus, Junio, Quintili, Sextili, atque Septembri, | quibus niues,
propter solis uehementes, in ea regione, ardores, soluuntur. Sunt homines, ad pietatem, et misericordiam procliues. Nam stipem libentissime largiuntur, et peregrinos
(ut Jogues narrant) perhumane, ac perbenigne accipiunt, pacem colunt, bella detestantur. Regio est, vini, tritici, et multorum frugum, quæ Europa *fundit,[5] ferax.
F. 61b. 1 Abundat armentis, || et multo pecore · camelis, onagrisque. In ea syluestre quoddam
pecoris genus dicitur esse; capræ magnitudine, quod *artuum colligationibus,[6] in
cruribus, tibijsque, atque brachijs caret, saltibusque graditur, eamque ob caussam
facile capitur, quod captum, tenuissima lana exuunt, quæ bombycinis, sericisque filis,
2 est tenuior, quibus lacernæ, quas diximus, texuntur. Ac quoniam ea, quæ | de hoc
hominum genere narrantur, fidem superare uideri poterant: ea potissimum, *quæ ad
colendum cœlibatum spectant:[7] diligenter Sacerdotes inuestigarunt · *num ita res haberet ut in ea uicinia, Sacerdos compererat qui illac iter in castris fecerat.[8] Et plurium testimonio compertum, exploratumque est, omnia quæ de hac gente feruntur,
3 uera esse. Quod animos Sacerdotum, non parum allexerat, | ut periclitarentur, pos-

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[1] 1st: adsuunt. [2] 1st: pileis intextis, ijsque acuminatis. [3] Later addition.
[4] 1st: tradant. [5] 1st: edit. [6] 1st: sutionibus. [7] 1st: quæ de colendo cœlibatu narrantur.
1st: Num ut in ea uicinia, castrensis Sacerdos compererat, res haberet?

sentne, ad eos negotiatorum habitu, penetrare. Verum eam cogitationem, cursus rerum, et legationis exitus, ut deponerent, coegerunt. Ferunt uero, a Nagaris arce, uersus Septemtrionem, ad Caspirios usque · Imai iuga, hanc gentem obtinere: atque idiomate proprio uti. Hi esse uidentur quos Plinius Casiros uocat, cum ait, "Et iam
4 Indorum Casiri, introrsus ad Scythas uersi, | humanis corporibus uescuntur."[1]

Plin. lib. 6. cap. 13.

Crossing the Rāvi and the Ben?

Hæc sunt describenda a uoce Calanuro.[2]

Calanuro itaque profectus, Raohi fluuium, qui Adris nominatur, ponte constructo, *exercitum[2] traiecit, deinde Cingaróum flumen, ad Imai radices. Ac per ardua, et decliuia collium, et conuallium, infesto, et periculoso itinere, propter palu-
F. 62a. 1 des, quæ subsidebant, in uallibus, et || rupes, quæ extabant, in montibus, et* prærupta saxa, quæ è rupibus eminebant,[3] Sambam uenit.

Samba in Jammu?

Est porro Samba, urbs, et præsidium, in Imai descensu, satis firmum, reguli, cuiusdam gentilis, qui Zelaldino paret, agri fertilitate, atque incolarum frequentia, eadem qua est Nagarcottum. Ac præter Mongolorum præsidia, incolæ, gentilica
2 Brachmanarum | superstitione tenentur · & soli cœlique temperie proxime ad Europæam accedit. Nam uersus Aquilonem, a tricesimo, ad tricesimum secundum latitudinis cingulum, uniuersa regio protenditur. Sunt uero plerique homines, procero, et tenui corpore · colore furuo, ad candorem · prolixa coma, ac barba.

The Nani?

The Doāb.

Nunc dicitur Xenao.[5]

3 Samba profectus, ad *Naním[4] fluuium, qui in Sandabalim, | quattuor ab ea statione, milliaribus, intrat: castra posuit: in amœno quidem, et uirenti prato. Est enim, interamnis hæc regio, ab Adri ad Sandabalim, et amœnitate, et fertilitate, tum etiam hortorum uarietate, uiculorumque, et pagorum, multitudine reliquis superioribus, longe præstantior.

Crossing the Chenāb.

4 Postero die, Sandabalim se traiecit. | Quæ quidem traiectio difficilis fuit, nam cum pontem indignetur amnis, multique uadum tentarent, non pauci submersi perierunt Rex cymba traiecit, et plerique alij, triduique moram, uniuersæ copiæ, dum traijciunt traxerunt. Erat enim mira cymbarum paucitas, licet imperasset Rex, ut ex
F. 62b. 1 uicinis* uicis,[6] et municipijs, in eum locum appellerentur. Huius || paucitatis caussa fuit, Mirsachimus, qui ut sequentem se Regem, moraretur, ubi suas copias transuexit: frangi, atque aduri cymbas, quibus erat transuectus, jussisse dicebatur. Nam erant ei, duo flumina, quæ restabant, non modicas moras, ut tempori fugeret, ne ab ante-
2 cursoribus fratris, bellum inchoaretur, allatura. Quas hoc belli consilio, | et arte, compensare decreuit. Amissi sunt, in huius amnis transitu, quadringenti fere, omnis conditionis homines, qui enatare nequiuerunt. Quod eo magis, mirandum est,

An affluent of the Jehlam.

tantam, in eo loco, esse fluminis magnitudinem, quod a capite, uel fonte, haud multum distet · tum quod, diuerticulis diuisus, in tres ueluti riuos abeat · atque in eo
3 loco lato quidem | uado insulam, duobus quasi brachijs, ambiebat. Hic uero amnis lento cursu, et magnis circuitionibus, in Bydaspem illabitur.

Kunjah & Sohdra?

Duci uero, per eius ripam, exercitum, aquationis caussa, ad Qhuniá, id est sanguinis locum, et Saddarim imperauit. Quæ duo oppida, tribus inuicem milliaribus
4 distant · mediumque iter, inter ea arripuit, flexitque, | ad Hydaspem, quæ via est ad amnem breuior, et lenior. Qua in cura, et diligentia, Regis profecto prouidentia,

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[1] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.
[2] Later addition.
[3] 1st: præcipitia, quæ in rupibus imminebant.
[4] 1st: Nanium, as in the Index; 2ndly: Naním, as at fol. *3b*.
[5] Later addition.
[6] 1st: uiculis.

laudanda est, qui tanto studio exercitus saluti, et incolumitati prospexit, ut aquationis,
et difficultatis annonæ, tum etiam traijciendorum amnium, incommodis liberarit.
Verum fieri non potuit, quin primo die, quo a Sandabali per septem fere ||
F. 63a. 1 milliaria, abstracta castra sunt, siti sit exercitus fatigatus. Qua de caussa, per quoddam
Resting at the Jehlam. compendium, iter inijt, quod tamen ad quindecim milliaria, protendebatur · et
ad Bydaspem castra posuit, ubi octo diebus, exercitui, laxamentun dedit. Et quotidie
filios, ad uenationem deduxit, dum ponte amnis · instruitur, est enim alueo lato,
2 atque profundo, nec ullo modo | uado* castra traduci, ac ne elephantes quidem,
possunt · nec equestres pedestresque copiæ natando transmittere.[1] Quam ob caussam,
firmum pontem, construi oportuit. Is etiam Indo immiscetur, eius uero ripis, Lahorini
The Jāts= the Getæ. regni, limites continentur. Veteres Lahorinæ regionis, indigenæ, Getæ dicuntur,*
antiquis Geretæ,[2] qui comam, et barbam abradere, eo nefas esse dicunt, quod
uirorum sint præcipuum, et eximium ornamentum. |

3 Ubi flumen transmisit, in radice Balnatini montis constitit, è regione Imai, qui a *Balnatque thile.*
Derivation of "Kashmīr." Delino, usque in hæc loca procurrens, necubi intersectus, semper eodem nomine, ab
indigenis appellatur. At uero ab hac regione, ubi ab oriente in occidentem, leni
quodem flexu, et patenti quodam, atque aperto colle, uergit: nomen mutat · dicitur-
4 que ab accolis · Casp · uel Cas · | et illi quidem, qui montes incolunt, Caspirii a
nostratibus, Geographis dicuntur, at ab indigenis, et finitimis Casmirini,* e duobus
uocibus compacto nomine. Eæ sunt *cas* quæ est montis nomen, et *mir* quæ præfectum
The Gakkars. sonat · efficiuntque Casmir.[2] Verum qui campestria obtinent, Gaccares uocantur.

Et Casmirini, vel Caspirij, centum ab hinc annis, armis ab Agarenis subacti,
F. 63b. 1 eorum instituta, et leges suscipere coacti sunt. Nam fama est, ut omnium eius
Lost tribes of Israel in Kashmīr. regionis, incolarum, || ore fertur, olim genere, et instituto fuisse Judæos. Quod ipsi
interrogati, non diffitentur; atque species oris, totaque corporis constitutio, et uestitus
ipse, et ratio omnis, quæstus faciendi, Judæorum nostratium, quæstuariæ rationi,
similis est. Nam qui Lahori commorantur, scruta, hoc est, attritas uestes, et fer-
2 ramenta, ferreosque uectes, ac soleas, armillas, et | seras, et id genus, alia uetera
diuendunt. An uero fides habenda sit, fabulæ, quæ per manus tradita, ad nostram
usque memoriam peruenit: aliorum est iudicium. Fertur* tamen,[3] communi omnium,
antiquitatis studiosorum sermone · Alexandrum magnum, Caspijs montibus,
Judæos inclusisse, qui si Straboni credimus, ad Bibasim usque, ut supra commemo- *Strabo.*
3 rauimus, in | Indiam penetrauit: nedum ad Caspum, seu Caspium montem. Jam
uero, loci situs, is est, ut cum uno tantum loco, adiri possit, portas habere, non
inepte dicatur. Nam et ipsa, subsidentium montium, intercapedo, procul conspecta,
portæ similitudinem ostendere uidetur At Sacerdotes, qui, essentne Caspirij Judæi,
4 omnibus vestigijs indagarunt: esse plane Judæos | genere, et annis ab hinc centum
superstitione Agarenos compererunt. Quod uero ad montem attinet, licet ascensum
habeat difficilem, atque infestum* ascendentibus,[4] quo incolæ, pro præsidio utuntur,
unde equitatum, facile repellunt · in summo tamen* æquata agri, eiusque fertilis,[5]
planities est. Nec uero me latet, aliquos opinari Judæos ab Alexandro, in ea regione

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[1] 1st: traijci, ne elephantibus quidem, potest, nec natando superari.

[2] Later addition.

[3] 1st: enim.

[4] 1st: subeuntibus.

[5] 1st: æquati eiusque fertilis agri.

F. 64a. 1 Caspij montis inclusos, quæ Caspio mari, proxima est. || Ego uero, nihil eorum
sententiæ repugno, in similibus enim, illud Terentianum usurpo, si aiunt aio, si
negant nego.[1]

Manners of the Gakkars. Jamuero, Gaccáres, Agareni sunt, qui campestria incolunt. Homines bellicosi
statura mediocri, et firma, ad furta, ob situm loci, et latrocinia propensi, odio quidem
omnibus, et plagij labe, atque ignominia infames, liberos enim homines, ex insidijs, |
2 intercipientes, raso capite, neruoque calcis* execto,[2] in Persiam deportant, et pro
mancipijs, uendunt. Quod si, dum miserum hominem capiunt, caputque radunt,
suæ gentis,* insuper aliquis adueniat[3]: pretij est particeps. Horum urbs regia, *Ruytas.*
Rohtās. Ruytasium dicitur · arce, uel præsidio firmissima, Europæo more munita, quam
3 præterluit riuulus, | qui in Bidaspem decurrit. Est autem sita in fronte cuiusdam rupis,
quæ ad orientem solem, ex Balnatæo iugo, per nouem fere milliaria, decurrit: saltu
quidem saxoso, et sterili, sed ad repugnandum nato.

Balnatque thile, hoc est Balnati* rupes,[4] magnæ est altitudinis, difficili ascensu, *Balnatka Tile, Thilah.*[5]
4 atque arduo, ut equo nemo queat ascendere. In ipso | uertice, aream habet, in qua
Balnāth kā ṭilā or Jogī ṭilā. triclinia aliquot, ædificata sunt, in quibus Balnatus quidam, cum sorore dicitur
uictitasse · qui sectam quandam instituit, cuius hæc sunt instituta · ut biennio, anteaquam
admittantur, et uestibus, suæ factionis induantur, alijs qui in eo loco commorantur,||
F. 64b. 1 inseruiant, coquo pareant, ligna secent, in culinam importent, armenta, et greges
Ascetics. pascant, aquam, quæ quidem magno cum labore, æstate præcipue, illhuc subuehitur,
comportent, cibos alijs, qui ad trecentos, fere semper illhuc conueniunt, ministrent;
quæ munera si diligenter, et accurate obeant, biennio exacto, uestibus induuntur:
2 sponsione | facta,* sese integros et castos[6] perpetuo seruaturos, nihil quod dignitati,
et opinioni, sui ordinis aduersetur, admissuros. Vestes uero sunt, toga qúædam
(instar eius, quæ ab antiquis, non satis latine, Harmiclausa dicebatur, a nonnullis,
nostra ætate, Scapulare, nouo nomine vocitatur) ad talos demissa, et lacerna: atque
3 linteum, quo caput redimitur. | Atque hæc omnia, genere quodam, rubræ cretæ
infecta, et quasi miniata. Indutis ea ueste, fit potestas, quocumque libuerit*
peregrinandi, stipeque uiuendi.[7] Quodsi quid indignum admittant: dimittuntur. Præest
illis unus, qui ut in eum dignitatis gradum, euectus est, illo loco excedere, non potest,
4 habetque semper in comitatu, senes qui eum consilio | et authoritate iuuant: è quibus,
suffragijs omnium, qui tunc adsunt, unus in locum, eius qui moritur,* substituitur.[8]
Dignitatis insigne, est, infula bombycinis fasciolis, è fastigio, per gyrum infulæ,
F. 65a. 1 ordine affixis, quæ impendeant, et facile moueantur · tribus, quattuorue || ordinibus,
a fastigio, ad extremam infulæ oram, quæ frontem cingit. Ridiculum sane,
pontificium insigne, quo uno uanitas superstitionis, abunde perspici potest, ab eo, cui uel
minimum fidei iubar affulserit. Hi neque Agarenorum, neque gentilium
superstitionibus implicantur: uerum alia, non minoris inscientiæ, ac fatuitatis. Quendam

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[1] Cancelled in MS. from: An uero fides (fol. 63*b*. 2) up to: Agarenos compererunt (*ibid.*, 4), and again from: Nec vero me latet (*ibid.*, 4) up to: nego (fol. 64*a*. 1).

[2] 1st: inciso. [3] 1st: aliquis superueniat. [4] 1st: mons.

[5] Pencil note by X. His interpretation of the word 'thilah' is unintelligible to me. It is scarcely possible to read it: "sesamum" = *til*. Nearly every place-name on this page has been underlined in pencil by X.

[6] 1st: se castitatem. [7] 1st: peregrinari, stipeque uiuere. [8] 1st: subrogatur.

2 enim Balnat colunt, | tanquam uatem, et Dei seruum · qui primus, solitariam uitam,
cum sorore, in eo iugo agens, abhinc trecentis annis (ut ferunt) ex quo tempore
desijt uideri, omnibus admirationi fuit. Dicitur autem, adhuc uiuere, et plerisque
locis, sese quasi Prometheus, varijs formis ostendere, et fasciolas summis arboribus,
3 uel locis editis, *asperitate et altitudine[1] terrentibus, quæ sui transitus, | per ea loca,
indicio sint, appendere. Hunc dicunt morem, quo Deus sit colendus, docuisse: hoc
uidelicet ut omnes mane, simul ac ortus fuerit sol, uersus orientem conuersi, *tibijs
breuibus,[2] ac cocleis, simul *concinant,[3] itidem ubi sol occidit, ad eius ocasum
4 conuersi, tum a prandio, et cœna: quasi gratias Deo agant. Nullo | cibo, nulla
quorumuis hominum societate, suis sectatoribus interdixit. At uero in suis domibus,
parcissime uiuunt; legumine scilicet decocto, et butyro. Quorum hominum, duplex
est ordo: coniugatorum alter, cœlibum alter. Coniugati breuiori veste utuntur.
Cœlibes sponsione castitatis tantum, et officio docendi, a coniugatis differunt.
F. 65b. 1 Responsa, consulto Balnato || reddunt · suntque diuinationibus dediti, ut potius uenefici,
quam religiosi, dicendi sint; ac ipsum Balnatum, malum aliquem dæmonem,
Names in *nāth.* nostrates Sacerdotes existimarunt · qui falsis prodigijs,* horum[4] maiores decepit · et qui
sese aliquando istis ostendit. *Nam nominibus alijs quæ in *nat* desinunt se Orcus ac
malus dæmon appellari et ab hac stolida gentilitate inuocari et coli in morem
perduxit. Ea sunt Manquinat, Septenat, Jagarnat, et huiusmodi alia.[4] In eius
recordationem uiatores, arboribus, quæ prope uias consitæ, occurrunt: fasciolas
appendunt.

2 Quo tempore | Zelaldinus, hunc locum adijt, senex quidam, loci antistes erat ·
Akbar's visit to the Jogīs. qui dicebatur, ducentorum esse annorum, at octoginta, uix attingebat. Nam mos
est huic hominum generi, sese annosos prædicare, ut uulgo sint admirationi; quasi
vero uirtus, et sanctitas, annorum multitudine sit metienda. Eum tamen in locum,
3 cum intellexerunt, | Regem esse uenturum, magna hominum multitudo, eius * familiæ,[5]
confluxit, ex quibus nonnulli, se ad sanctitatis ostentationem, in specus quasdam,
quas natura loci, aut ars fecit, nudi coniecerunt · quorum sanctitatem plerique
4 admirabantur, et prædicabant. Sunt uero pecuniæ | maxime auidi; omniaque præstigia,
et* omnem[4] sanctitatis simulationem, ad quæstum, et lucrum comparant. Rex, ut est
ad omnem superstitionem propensior, a Balnatæis in eum locum deductus, ubi
commoratus fuisse Balnatus dicebatur: nudis pedibus, et expansa coma, locum, et uatem
ueneratus est.

F. 66a. 1 Dum Rex Balnati moras trahit, castra || quatriduo, in eo campo constiterunt · et
Yūsuf feasting Akbar at Rohtās. bidui itinere, Ruytasium deducta sunt · atque ad riuuli cuiusdam rípam, qui arcem
fere ambit, posita. Regem lautissimo conuiuio, Josephus arcis præfectus, qui eam,
a Mirsachimi oppugnatione, ita liberauit, ut non sit ausus obsidere, excepit.

2 Rutasio, per oram riuuli, institutum iter est: non sine discrimine, | quorundam,
qui equis, camelis, et elephantis uehebantur; *insolentia et inscitia[6] uiæ. Nam cum
Quicksands. aluei arena, aquam riuuli ebibat; et absorbeat: appareatque æquor solidum, atque
siccum: in quod, ubi quispiam incedit, illud cedit, et dehiscit, ac quô, quisque, ex

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[1] 1st: præcipitioque.
[2] fistulis breuibus, et perforatis.
[3] 1st: insonent.
[4] Later addition.
[5] 1st: farinæ.
[6] 1st: inexperientia.

eo emergere, maiori conatu nititur, eô magis et periculosius in ipso mergitur: cum
nihil sibi ab æquato æquore timerent, periculosissime impingebant.

3 Sexto die, *per salebras quasdam,[1] | et angustissimos colles, ac crebros fluuios,
Bad weather. magna cœli* grauitate ac aeris crassitudine,[2] ob tonitrua, fulgura, fulmina, rapidissimos
Rām Chandra's obelisk [at Manikyālā?]. ventorum turbines, imbrium immoderatas inundationes, in campum amplissimum
uentum est. In cuius medio, obeliscus miræ magnitudinis, quasi aceruus extabat;
ruinosus quidem, propter uetustatem, sed locis plerisque integer, opere sane
4 eleganti, et concinno, quem Ramxandus rex gentilis, abhinc mille annis, | sui regni
limitem, et terminum posuisse ferebatur.[3] Impositus uero est obeliscus ille, basi
quattuor laterum, altæ pedes septem, atque a crepidine, ad imam ipsius* obelisci[4]
oram, latæ decem, ad quam per scalas ascenditur, quæ e lateribus extant, et eiusdem
parietis ductu, utroque latere clauduntur. Est uero obeliscus altitudine pedum
uiginti, latitudine decem. Cuius structura, ad pedes fere septem, recta* ascendit,[5]
F. 66b. 1 *deinde congestu quodam redimita[4] || a reliquo opere superiore, distinguitur:* atque[4]
ab eo loco, paulatim acumen, et fastigium obtusum, optime fabricatum, et rotundum
perficit · lapidibus quidem grandibus, et dolatis, nullaque calce, aut bitumine colligatis.

The Gakkars of Riwat. At vero exercitus, ad oppidum Rhauădum constitit. Eius habitatores, ut reliquæ
regionis, sunt Gaccáres, qui quo propius, ad Indoscythiam accedunt, eo sunt
2 furaciores · hominesque | commutant equis, et in prouerbium, apud eam gentem
abijt, serui ex India, equi ex Parthia. Regio hæc, a Ruytasio ad Indum fluuium,
aspero est, et arenti solo,* cœlique aspiratione graui ac pestilente, quæ[6] ingenio incolarum,
æque respondet. Qui quamuis, cis Indum nati, et* educati[7] sint: idiomate,
3 et colore ab Indis, non parum differunt. Sunt enim subcandidi, atque | statura
demissi, et humeris lati, cruribusque firmi, oris effigie, a fronte in mentum breui, et
a genis, et fronte lati, rugosi, et eo denique aspectu, ut hostes, non hospites facile
deprehendas.

Gagar? Hinc, *riuulum transgressus,[8] Gagarim venit. Est vero Gagaris, in edito trium
4 collium,* et augusto,[9] sed arduo iugo posita. Gagari,* ut quoddam Indi | fluminis
diuerticulum transmisit,[10] qui [*sic.* lege 'quod'] in Indum, paulo infra iterum fluens,
insulam magnæ laxitatis efficit,* quæ a viriditate, ut autumo, a veteribus Prāsiane *Plin. cap* 19.
Hazāra Dt. dicta est,[4] ad oram Indi, in Azaraanæ pagi, saltu castra posuit.

The Dilazāks. Hanc insulam genus quoddam Pataneorum tenet, qui Delazacquij nominantur.
F. 67a. 1 Quæ quidem regio, mitior est, ac fertilior || superiore. Nam licet, arborum, et hortorum
amœnitate destituatur: ager quidem uber est, ac pinguis; frumenti ac leguminum,
pascuorumque ferax. Quo fit, ut armentis, et gregibus diues; butyro, et lacte
abundet. Incolarum item ingenium, facile et amicum; culturæ* agri,[11] et pascendis,
Pashto like Spanish. educandisque pecoribus deditum. Agunt vero in pagis, contra quam Gaccáres.

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[1] 1st: per præcipitia quædam. [2] 1st: inclementia.

[3] Marginal pencil note by the anonymous annotator: Obeliscus circiter A.C. 500 a Ramxando constructa. Lat. 33½; Long. 115½ · in Tabu [la]. Basis alt. ped. vii. Obeliscus alt. ped. xx. lat. ped. x.

[4] Later addition. [5] 1st: sic. [6] 1st: cœloque inclementi, et. [7] 1st: educti.

[8] 1st: traiecto riuulo. [9] 1st: ut et augusto.

[10] 1st: transmisso quodam Indi fluminis diuertigio; 2ndly: diuerticulo. [11] 1st: soli.

2 Commune | idioma, ut cæterorum Patanæorum, Pastoum est · sono quidem Hispanicum, et quod magis mirandum est, usu etiam aliquarum uocum.

Abū-l-Fazl reading to Akbar Monserrate's treatise on the Passion.

Enimuero Sacerdos, qui in castris versabatur, ne quæ acceperat Rex, de Christiana religione, obliuioni traderet · epitomen quandam rerum, quas Christus cum pate-
3 retur, transegit; illi fuga hostis lætiori, legendum tradidit. | Quam quidem, quasi
alias res agens,* ad calcem usque sibi recitari, ab Abdulfasilio iussit[1] · ac dum legeretur,
multa quæsiuit · et in ijs præcipue · quare, cum Dominus Jesus, tanto studio contenderet, ut sibi Judæi crederent,* quo[2] salui efficerentur · cum in cruce esset, Judæorum
conditionem, non admisisset: qui ei proponebant, "Si filius Dei es, descende nunc
4 de cruce, et credimus | tibi." Respondit Sacerdos, pro re nata, hoc unum: cum alia
occurrerent respondenda. "Diuino decreto, oportere homines, fide iustos effici.
"Nam Abrahamus, quia Deo credidit, contra spem, cum iuberetur immolare Isaacum,
F. 67b. 1 "a quo posteritatem suam, pollicitatione || diuina, originem-habituram acceperat:

Why Christ did not come down from the Cross.

"nihil hæsitans Deum præstaturum, quod pollicitus erat: *filium in rogum imposuit,
"quo facto,[3] placuit Deo, et effectus est iustus. Quod si descendisset, de cruce
"Christus, hoc experimentum, fidem ademisset, qua oportet, homines deduci, ut
"salutem, et uitam assequantur. Nec diuini numinis statutum, et æternam legem,
2 "opus erat, paucorum, eorumque infidelium | postulatione refringi: qui si Christus,
"de cruce descendisset, non fuissent facti meliores, sed fortasse magicæ arti, prodi-
"gium adscripsissent, quod saepenumero fecerunt, cum ostenta multa, quæ a solo
"Deo fieri possunt, principi dæmoniorum attribuerunt." Hanc quidem responsionem,
3 cum plurimum Rex probasset, perceperat enim, quid sibi Sacerdos | uellet, qui Persico idiomate, inculte, ac concise agebat, alijs qui aderant explicauit: quam usque
adeo comprobarunt, ut ea responsione, omni dubitationi esse factum satis, nihilque

The doubts of St. Thomas.

amplius desyderari dicerent. Interrogauit deinde, "Quare .D. Thomæ permisit, ut
"digitos, et manum vulneribus inderet? Cum etiam hæsitaret?" Cui quæstioni |
4 Sacerdos respondit. "Quoniam morem gerere, Thomæ hæsitanti, utile futurum erat
"hominibus · redemptis, Christi morte, qui credituri erant. Quodsi, Judæis postu-
"lantibus, ut descenderet; fuisset obsequutus, non essent homines *ex æterna Dei
"lege qui ita fieri statuerat,[3] redempti. Tum etiam, quia Christus, ut Pater, mi-
F. 68a. 1 "serans filij, Thomæ nihil proponenti, aut || postulanti, suapte benignitate occurrit,
"atque manus, et latus, ei ostendit · ne prolaberetur." Quæsiuit præterea,

Christ sitting at the right hand of His Father.

quonam modo intelligeremus, cum dicamus, Deum Patrem corpore carere: Christum consedisse, ad dexteram Patris sui? Respondit Sacerdos, nos non intelligere,
corpoream consessionem · dicere uero Christum, ad dexteram Patris sedere, quia
2 qua Christus Deus est, eandem | obtinet gloriam, honorem, et potestatem cum Patre,
cui est æqualis; qua uero homo est, minor quidem Patre, accepit ab eodem Patre,
maiorem gloriam, et potestatem, quam a Patre tributa sit, angelis, ac beatis omnibus,
qui cœlo perfruuntur; ac Regibus, et principibus, qui degunt in terrarum orbe.
Quæ cum potiora sint bona, reliquis, quæ cæteri acceperunt, nomine dexteræ, quæ
3 sinistra | potior est, significantur. Quibus responsionibus, cum esset Regi, et omni-

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[1] Underlined in pencil by the anonymous annotator as also the passage on the obelisk.

[2] 1st: ut.

[3] Later addition.

The ear of Malchus and Akbar's chief physician.

bus, pene satisfactum: ac unus quispiam argutulus obstreperet · et prodigij nomen,
illi operi, quo Christus, Malcho seruo, auriculam restituit; impie, impudentur, et
pertinaciter adimeret: a Rege est grauiter obiurgatus, et a reliquis explosus. Nam
4 cum Dei filium, Christum esse diffiteantur, cætera | in eo, maxima fuisse, fatentur·
salui equidem futuri Agareni, si abiecta Mahammedis superstitione, illud ipsum quod
abnegant, confiterentur. Erat porro ille, qui *ostento[1] detrahebat, supremus Regis
medicus, et in ea philosophia, quæ rerum naturas perscrutatur, non uulgariter edoctus.
F. 68b. 1 At uero, || Rex epitomen retinuit, et seruari imperauit.

50 days' rest at Hazro on the Indus.

Cæterum, ubi ad oram Indi uenit,* laxamentum[2] exercitui, dare constituit. Erat
enim campus apertus, et planities agri maxima, et pascuorum ubertas copiosa, ac
lignationis abundantia, omnium denique, quæ ad exercitus commeatum necessaria
2 erant, copia. Tum etiam ad uenationem, syluarum, et nemorum | uicinia, non
parum Regem, ut ibi cessaret, inuitabant. Quare quinquaginta dies, castra in eodem
loco, hoc est ad Azaaránam habuit · quod oppidum, nouem fere passuum millibus,
distat a Nilabho.

The Nīlāb Fort. [Atāk Banāras.]

Nilabhum autem, præsidium est, in quodam colle, iuxta quasdam fluminis [Cf. Index: *Atac balanaz*]
3 angustias, quibus transitus, ex India, in Paropanisadem, quæ nunc regio | Chabuli
dicitur, esse potest. Quam ob caussam, instaurari arcem, Rex imperauit.

The Indus and its affluents.

Jam uero Indus, omnium est maximus, totius Indiæ fluuiorum. Nam in ipso
sui ortu, et capite, maximam aquarum uim, ex niuibus præcipue Imai, seu Caspi
montis, liquatis, defluentem accipit. Deinde quinque maximos fluuios, supra com-
4 memoratos, suo alueo excipit, et in mare deducit. | In eius littore, prope fontes, auri
optimi, et nitidissimi magnam copiam, qui uicini sunt populi, expiscantur. Ex
angustijs montium, et conuallium Imai, supra Caspiriam, et Casiriam, atque adeo
Bothorum, uel Bothantum[3] regionem ad septemtriones, uarijs flexionibus, in plani-
F. 69a. 1 tiem, ab ortu || uersus occasum flectens: in octo diuerticula, scinditur quæ septem
insulas præter illam, in qua exercitus constitit, efficiunt: tanta aquarum copia, *ut
uado vix possint elephantes transire.[4] Tum ad Nilabhi, et *Arachosiæ[5] collium
angustias (prope quas Coam, et Suastum fluuios, jam mutuo commixtos excipit)
2 magno ambitu, uersus austrum, | *decurrens, tandem septem ostijs, in mare effun-
ditur.[6] Ac Suastus, hac ætate, Axtnágăris fluuius, ab accolis: Coas uero, Chabuli
amnis, nuncupatur, qui Suastum exhaurit, et a loco ubi commiscentur, ad Indum
usque amnem, uterque Coas, a geographis nominatur · et ab indigenis amnis Chabuli-
cus. [*Quo ab oriente sole Arachosia continetur, quæ inter Indum et Arachotum
3 interiecta est.[7]] A mense Junio dimidiato, ad mensem usque Augustum | dimidiatum,
Indus amnis, non pluuialium imbrium caussa, sed quod caloribus, niues * liquescunt,[8]
adeo crescit: ut aquarum uis,* ut ferunt,[9] mare discindat, et quadraginta, fere, millibus
passuum, a littore, dulcis aqua, in salo hauriatur. Vocitatur uero Indus, ab ignara

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[1] 1st: miraculo. [2] 1st: laxationem.

[3] Nearly every place-name on this page has been underlined in pencil by the anonymous commentator.

[4] 1st: ut uadum uix possit ab elephantibus transiri.

[5] 1st: Paropanisadis.

[6] 1st: sese effundens [2ndly: ferens], tandem . . . sese effundit.

[7] Later addition, and cancelled. [8] 1st: liquentur. [9] Later addition.

plebe, ut plurimum, in ea regione, Nilabhus, quod cæruleam aquam, Persicè sonat ·
4 nomine | (ut fit) ab euentu imposito, nam in his angustijs, quibus transitus est, ad
Paropanisadas, propter amnis profunditatem, cæruleo colore aqua, magno impetu
decurrit.[1]

F. 69b. 1

The Dilazāks send timber for building boats and a bridge.

Ad Indi ripam, Zelaldinus · cum castra haberet: nihil habuit || antiquius, quam
Delazacquium animos, sibi conciliare, ut sibi *fluuiatiles naues,[2] et materiam sup-
peditarent, *ad pontem construendum, et cymbis commode, castra traducenda,[3]
acciditque *Regi[4] ex sententia, ut principes viri duo, genere *Delazacques,[5] qui
graues inimicitias, mutuo gerebant, *quo[6] suis rebus prospicerent, ex transindana
2 regione, ad eum venirent, quos mutuo conciliauit, atque eorum | diligentia, breui,
materiæ magnam copiam, comparauit: *qua plures quadraginta, lintres ædificauit,[7]
totidemque ex auxilijs,* Delazacquium[8] adiunxit.

Councils of war. Hunting.

Hæc dum aguntur, noctu, crebra consilia, de bello gerendo cogit · et quid facto
opus sit, statuit. Venatu interdiu sese oblectat: spectacula præbet; diuitias osten-
3 tat; atque his studijs, maximas | curas, quodam quasi condimento, *miscet, ac
Amusements Sorcerers. Astrologers. temperat,[9] et *nisi in consilium, ueneficos,[10] et diuinatores adhibuisset, qui auguria,
et stellarum prænuntia, captarent, quorum nutu subsisteret, aut iter arriperet: cætera
fortasse, laudandus prudentiæ nomine, quod circumspecte, ubi ad fines hostilis
4 regni peruenit, agere: et cum longe inferiore, decertaturus, | omnia prospicere institu-
On the alert. erit. Quod magis mirandum, est, atque suspiciendum, in imperatore, quamplurimis
uictorijs insolente.

Verum non ignorabat, esse incertos exitus pugnarum, martemque communem ·
atque licet, numero superaret hostis aciem, uirtute, illam esse præstantiorem. Præ-
F. 70a. 1 terea, cum secum || ipse cogitaret, esse sibi, cum fratre, quem alioqui diligeret, prodi-
A. hesitates pursuing M. Hakīm. torum, et perfugarum mendacijs decepto, decertandum; a pugna deterrebatur. Ac
cum illum, sese in fugam dedisse, accepisset: Sacerdoti renuntiauit. "Mirsachi-
mus," ait, "fugit. Num fugientem insequar?" Cui Sacerdos, "Præstat sane
Monserrate's advice. "sistere, nec sequi fugientem: quandoquidem, celsitudinis tuæ, frater est. Quæ |
2 "necessitudo, est satis, ut animum tuum, iure quidem offensum, emolliat, et ab eo
"persequendo, atque delendo, reuocet. Nam præstantior est laus clementiæ, quam
"*ultionis[11] . quæ sine multorum insontum exitio, et damno,* parari[12] non potest."—
"Optime," inquit, et ad suos, "Videte," ait, "quam sint Sacerdotes hi, ad pacem,
"et lenitatem proni: in ea enim, hic est sententia, ut fugienti parcamus." *Liber* 2.[13]
3 Verum | ne sua, abusus frater, patientia: impunis iterum bellum moueret, sic
Firmness and lenity. cum eo dimicare constituit, ut et frater, se multo inferiorem cognosceret, et ipse erga
uictum, atque fugatum, omnia pietatis, ac clementiæ officia præstaret.

Bridge impossible.

Atque ubi magnam* lintrium[14] uim, comparauit: *quibus exercitus[15] traijceret:
nam pontem extruere, amnis non sinebat, qui quotidie niuibus, ob magnos calores,

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[1] The names of the rivers and entire passages have been underlined by the anonymous annotator on f. 69*a*.

[2] 1st: nauigia.

[3] 1st: ad nauiculas, et pontem construendum quo commode, castra traduceret.

[4] Latter addition.

[5] 1st: Delazacquij.

[6] 1st: ut.

[7] 1st: et breuissimo dierum interuallo, plures quadraginta, mioparones excitauit.

[8] 1st: Delazacquorum.

[9] 1st: commiscet, et temperat.

[10] 1st: in consilium, nisi ueneficos.

[11] 1st: uindictæ.

[12] 1st: capi.

[13] Later addition; cancelled.

[14] 1st: nauicularum.

[15] 1st: qua acies.

4 liquescentibus | augebatur · filium quem Sacerdos instituebat, primæ aciei imperatorem,
Murād leads the van with Kalij Khān of Surat. quod a coniectoribus, et diuinis, magnam inditam esse, ab astris, fortunam
puero respondissent: * (nugæ)[1] designauit. Cui adiunxit, Calichumcanum, Suratensem
præfectum, senem, *virum fortem[1] et experientem, cum legione Mongolorum,
F. 70b. 1 ac Nourancanum, *(cuius pater principis erat nutritius)[2] · || Champanelij, in
Naurang Khān of Chāmpāner, son of Kutbu-d-dīn Khān Atka, and Mān Singh. Gedrosia, præfectum, cum quattuor millibus equitum Xacattæorum, et Mancinum
regulum, virum strenuum, genere Indum, simulachrorum tamen cultorem, cum ipsius
legione; et alios auxiliarios duces, cum ipsorum copijs, minoribus sane, uerum quæ
mille equitibus saltem,* essent instructæ.[3] Equitatui quingentos elephantes adiecit ·
500 Elephants. 2 obseruataque hora, nimia superstitione, | qua proficisceretur, ad ostium usque aulæ,
filium deduxit: eumque amplexatus, posteaquam more Agarenico, bene precatum illi
est, cum * procerum[4] comitatu, dimisit; qui eum,* lembum usque,[5] prosequuti sunt.
Starts on June 27, 1581. Conscendit ille, et ultra flumen Indum uectus, cum suis copijs, postridie D. Joannis
Baptistæ, anni octuagesimi primi, iter instituit.

3 Posteaquam Rex, | filium præmisit, cum ijs copijs: ipse suam aciem instruere,
A.'s prudent measures. et præsidia constituere, aggressus est. Hic enim est, bellandi Mongolorum mos, ut
nunquam, totis copijs dimicent. Si cum sex millibus prouocent, habent in insidijs,
Moghul tactics. et latebris, millia uiginti: quorum a tergo, aliquot etiam millia latent, ut ad auxilia
4 ferenda, si * priores[6] cunei laborent, sint parati, | vel si fundantur, fugientes excipiant,
sequentium impetum retardent, nouo, atque integro milite, bellum instaurent, et
fessos hostes, terga uertere cogant, qua arte dicto citius, uicti uictoriam reportant.

Mirsachimus, ubi per exploratores intellexit, principem *exercitum[1] traduxisse,
F. 71a. 1 et cum || magnis copijs ad se uenire: consilium cepit, de impetranda uenia, et fœdere,
Mīrzā Hakīm's embassy. cum fratre feriendo, nulla proposita conditione: tantum, ut bello, et seditionibus,
incendijsque abstineret · qua de caussa, fœciales cum muneribus misit: qui pacem [*fetiales.*]
componerent. Dona uero fuere, equi, et mulæ, quibus est, ea regio abundans, non-
2 nihil etiam pecuniarum, ac rerum, ad commeatum: | ut officij, ac beneuolentiæ suæ,
erga regem, indicio essent. Quæ senes duo, prolixis barbis attulerunt. Hos rex,
Their reception. magna cum grauitate, et authoritate admisit: procerum magno comitatu circumseptus.
Ipse a reliquo satellitio, cum solo filio, natu maximo, et aliquot pueris, ex
prima nobilitate, seiunctus cum telo stabat. Dum legationem audit, gladiatores ense,
3 et * clypeo[7] dimicant, | bubali ad luctam, ex sponsione producuntur, quasi non in castris
pugnaturus, sed in circo ageret, ut se oblectaret: quo legatis, quanti fratris potentiam
faceret; et suæ curiæ, atque exercitus præstantia, quanta esset, ostenderet.
Jussit uero, ut Abdulfasilius, quem ad secreta consilia, adhibebat, litteras perlegeret:
4 quas sibi gratas esse significauit. At uero legatos, quam citissime | remisit.

Keeping in touch with Murād. Certior uero fiebat quotidie, omnium quæ apud Paharidem filium, agebantur.
Nec castra mouere, antea constituit, quam intelligeret, filium, proxime ad fratris
castra peruenisse. Qui cum Rege erant, tantæ moræ tædio, non mediocriter afficiebantur,
F. 71b. 1 *atque[8] ut eum cogerent castra mutare, || (ut fama tulit) syluam, quæ ligna, ad
The forest on fire. ignem, exercitui ministrabat, incenderunt. Suspicati tamen plerique sunt · a factiosis,

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[1] Later addition.
[2] 1st: principis nutritij filium.
[3] 1st: fultæ essent.
[4] 1st: magnatum
[5] 1st: ad mioparonem usque.
[6] 1st: anteriores.
[7] 1st: umbella.
[8] 1st: qui.

qui Mirsachimo fauebant, fuisse incensam. Cuius incendio, adeo Rex commotus est,
ut extremum supplicium, incendij authoribus, si deprehenderentur, fuerit com-
2 minatus. Verum cum forte, ac temere, a pastoribus, fuisse incensam, hi, | qui regis
iracundiam mitigare nitebantur: illi persuasissent: *Rex ut inuestigare hoc scelus
quæsitores cessarent imperauit.[1]

June 29, 1581. Biduo, posteaquam filium dimisit, noctu Sacerdotem, ad se acciri iussit: ut ali-
Studying an Atlas. qua, ex eo quæreret, tum prophana, tum sacra. Ac primum quidem, Geographiæ
librum proposuit · et ubinam terrarum, Lusitania esset; deinde, quam regionem ipse
3 teneret, interrogauit · | miratus, quî nomina earum regionum, et urbium * sciremus.[2]
Why are Priests celibate? Deinde quæsiuit, cur cœlibatum Sacerdos coleret · quasi Dei præceptum esset, omnes
viros, uxores habere: videbatur enim matrimonium damnare, vel sibi ipsi adversari:
Monserrate's discourse. cum diceret cœlibatum esse bonum, ac matrimonium item bonum. Cui Sacerdos,
4 "Ignoratne celsitudo tua, ex duabus rebus bonis, contingere unam, | esse altera
"meliorem? Veluti, argentum bonum est, verum melius est aurum · auro scientia,
"omnibus uirtus. Luna quidem pulchra est: sed sol pulchrior, atque præstantior."
Consensit. Adiunxit Sacerdos, "Igitur, ut meliora sequantur Sacerdotes; ut Christum
F. 72a. 1 "imitentur, ut denique curis, uxoris, || filiorum, et familiæ uacui, melius rebus diuinis,
"operam suam *studijsque consumant,[3] cœlibes, et sine uxoribus uiuunt · atque adeo
"absque omni libidine · quoniam Dei præcepto sexto, omni luxuria Christianis, imo
"et hominibus omnibus, interdicitur." Obiecit Rex: "Nonne asseritis, Christum
"esse Deum? Num ei esse uultis temere, atque arroganter similes?" Cui Sacerdos,
2 "Christum | quidem, Deum esse credimus, et profitemur · verum simul etiam homi-
"nem. Qui qua homo est, ut esset nobis exemplo castitatem coluit, non solum,
"uerum etiam, in Euangelio, sæpissime commendauit. Atque ut arrogantis, et
"superbi esset animi, similem esse uelle Christo, qua Deus est: quod etiam fieri non
3 "posset: essetque extremæ dementiæ, atque socordiæ · sic | eum, per ea uirtutum
"uestigia, quibus ipse institit sequi, animi est pij, ac religiosi. Nam ex multis, quæ
"eum adduxit caussis, ut homo fieret, una est: uoluisse, ut quando in mundi crea-
"tione, et gubernatione, et alijs quæ solius Dei sunt, eum imitari nequiremus; in ijs
"illum imitaremur, quæ ut uerus homo, ipse exercuit · cuiusmodi sunt demissio, ab-
4 "iectio, | castitas, paupertas, obedientia, et aliæ uirtutes, his vicinæ, et proximæ.
"Neque uero pictor, aut statuarius, qui quam potest acurate, et diligenter, dum
F. 72b. 1 "statuam depingit, aut sculpit naturam imitari contendit: dicendus esset, || uelle
"sibi, uim, atque uirtutem naturæ uindicare. Compertum vero est, etiamsi, summa
"ope omnes nitamur, eum in ijs virtutibus, quæ in hominem cadere possunt, imitari:
"multis spatijs, ab eo retro relinqui. Quapropter, imitandi studium, præmio afficit
"Christus, tantum abest, ut arrogantiæ, aut superbiæ, temeritatique attribuat."
2 Adiecit his Rex, "In te," inquit, | "ab Adamo, deducta generationis series, perit."
Tum Sacerdos, "Quid si, octo annorum puer, decessissem? Vel eo ipso tempore
"(ut sæpissime, quam plurimis euenit) quo domum uxorem ducerem, interijssem?
"Aut si uxor fuisset sterilis? Aut ipsemet, ut sunt quam plurimi? Quid si eu-
3 "nuchus natus, aut factus fuissem, quales domi tuæ sunt quam plurimi? | Deinde, ne

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[1] 1st: ab inuestigatione, eius sceleris Rex cessari imperauit.

[2] 1st: teneremus.

[3] 1st: impendant.

"matrimonium præcipi, celsitudo tua, falso sibi persuadeat. Sub lege naturæ, ut
"propagaretur genus hominum, sub Moysi lege, ut se latius funderet religio, et ueri
"Dei cultus, apud Judæorum gentem, coniugium, Deo conniuente, magni fiebat.
"At uero, sub lege Euangelica, cui reliquæ leges cedunt, tanquam umbra corpori,
4 "aucto satis humano genere, Christus de coniugio ita | statuit: ut cuiquam sit
"integrum, quod malit, amplecti: et quâ velit, insistere." Occurrit uero Rex
(perperam quidem), "Si præceperit Deus cuipiam, *ut trans amnem eat,[1] is si
"negligat peccat."—"Vera," inquit Sacerdos, "narras, o Rex. Verum paulo ante,
F. 73a. 1 "asserui, matrimonium || præceptum non esse. Neque tamen, in animum inducas
"tuum, cœlibes, etsi a mulieribus abstineant, prole carere. Est enim, animorum
"quædam generatio, ut quos, ad fidem, et Christianas virtutes instituant, quodam-
"modo eorum filij dicantur; quos uero sacro flumine tingant, quorum audiant con-
"fessiones, spiritu, non minus, filij sunt, quam si, corporea generatione, procreati |
2 "essent. * Liceat .n. dicere per te, o Rex, si me Rodolfumque audieris, si nostris dic-
"tis fidem habueris, si ab illo sacro flumine perfundaris, illius eris filius, animo,
"magis quidem, et uerius, quam Emaûmi Regis, patris tui. Nam qui natura solum
"parentes sunt, corpus tantum generant, at qui te perfuderit, animo generauerit.[2]
3 "Enimuero, contingere quidem posse, ut præcepti | ui, ad matrimonium quis adiga
"tur." Quæsiuit · "Quisnam?" Tum Sacerdos · "Rex quispiam, ut hærede,
"paci, et tranquillitati Reipub. consulat. Eamque ob caussam, Henriquus Lusitaniæ ·
"Rex, cum esset sacerdos, a uiris doctis, ad coniugium, facta sibi, a Summo Ponti-
"fice, qui interpres harum rerum, et magnus arbiter, ac moderator a Christo, Opt.
4 "Max. cuius personam gerit, | constitutus est: facultate adigebatur. Vir tamen senex
"et decrepitus, ac castitatis colentissimus, cœlebs, ut semper fuerat, tabe, ac senio
"confectus, atque a matrimonio liber, quod exoptabat, interijt." Cuius exemplum,
ideo proposuit, quod illum Zelaldinus, sanctitatis opinione · veluti Sebastianum,
fortitudinis, animique constantiæ · dignitate suspicaret, et commendaret.

F. 73b. 1 Cœlibatus, || itaque ac matrimonij quæstione, in hunc modum absoluta, ut
The last Judgment. nihil Regi occurreret, quo Sacerdotis sententiæ resisteret: de extremo iudicio, et an
Christus, facturus esset hoc iudicium, ac quando fieri oporteret, diligentissime
When? interrogauit. Vbi de cæteris Sacerdos disseruit: "Tempus," inquit, "quo futurum
2 "est hoc, solius Dei scientia nouit · qui sua *inexplicabili[3] sapientia, | nobis uoluit
"esse occultum. Nec ipse Christus uoluit, discipulis, palam facere · ne, uel temporis
"longinquitate, desides, neu propinquitate, mæsti, tristesque redderemur: sed ita
"nos compararemus, ut ijs, quæ conceduntur, bono animo uteremur · a vitijs, et ijs
"quæ uetantur, incertæ diei formidine, retardaremur · nihilo tamen secius, præces-
3 "sura esse signa, quibus, eam diem | proximam esse, coniectura non inani, homines
Its signs. "ducantur." Quæsiuit · "Quæ?" Ait: "Inter præcipua, commemorauit Chris-
"tus: bella, et seditiones · regnorum, et nationum dissidia · quibus gens gentem,

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[1] 1st: ut amnem traijciat.

[2] Cancelled in MS. The text was first: Liceat .n. dicere per te, o Rex, si me audieris, si meis dictis fidem habueris si a me sacro flumine tingaris, si tinctus, peccata quæ postea admiseris, confitearis, mihi eris filius, animo, magis quidem et uerius, quam Emaûmi Regis, patris tui. Ille enim corpus tantum genuit, at qui te perfuderit, animo generauerit.

[3] 1st: ineffabili.

"regnum regna, inuadet, uastabit, occupabit; ut nostra memoria, *fieri[1] frequentissime
"videmus."

Hæc Rex attentissime audiuit. Tum deinde, de Euangelio quædam, tenuiter,
4 et nugatorie, | fidei exsors, quæsiuit. Ac pedetentim, eo deuenit oratio, ut de
Mahammedde, et librorum discrimine, interrogaret. Scripsit hic nequissimus impostor,
Muhammad, the Paraclete. in Euangelio, sui mentionem fieri, et *ipsum venturum[1] promitti · uoluitque
impijssimus nebulo, et nequissimus blatero persuadere, se sub Sancti Spiritus nomine
F. 74a. 1 a Christo fuisse significatum. Nec ueritus est, sibi Mustafaa, || hoc est, paracleti,
atque aduocati nomen attribuere: asserens hominum qui crederent, sibi scilicet a Deo,
traditum esse patrocinium. Quo fit, ut Agareni, persuasum habeant, Mahammeddis,
in Euangelio, mentionem fieri. Quod cum Christiani negant · ipsi Christianos,
scripturam Euangelij, corrupisse existimant · et id Christianis obijciunt. Ac cum
2 Græcarum litterarum, sint omnino ignari, sub | nomine pharaglitaa, quod a paracleto,
corrupte distorserunt: (*opera transfugarum et fidei desertorum e Græcia, uel fortassis
iam inde a Sergio monacho Constantinopolitano, Nestorij sectatore, qui Græcas
litteras callebat et Mahammeddi se adiunxit Alcoranique consarcinandi adiutor atque
adeo author fuit)[2] Mahammeddem, in Euangelio, promissum fuisse dicunt. Quorum
persuasioni fauet, corrupti nominis, etymologia, et conficta origo, nam pharag · *i.e.*,
*phare,[3] Hebræis, Arabibus, et Persis discrimen, aut distinctionem, sectionemue
sonat, litaa quidem, cum nihil significet, nec Arabicè, nec Persice, somniant Persarum
3 magistri, | uim habere participij, quod significet · faciens · ut discrimen faciens,
nebulo ille dicatur. Quæ interpretatio, propterea, Agarenis plurimum arridet, quod
Alfurcan, libri nomen, a pharag, originem habeat · et in capite Albacaraa (id est cap[ut]
uaccæ) discriminatorem esse librum suum, Mahammeddes scripsit. Atque ut suo
4 eos jugulemus gladio · si confictæ uocis significatione, | uti liceat, apte quidem
In what sense right? Mahammeddem, pharaglitam, discrimen uidelicet afferentem, dicemus · cum a Christo
diuersa doceat, a quo se missum falso, et impudenter iactat. Verum, *contra eos,
In what sense wrong? non esse ipse Spiritus Sanctus Euangelica ipsa authoritate efficitur, quam illi in nos
detorquent.[4] Nam de Spiritu Sancto, hæc Christus prænuntiauit, "Paracletus autem *Joan.* 14,
F. 74b. 1 Spiritus || Sanctus, quem mittet Pater, in nomine meo, ille uos docebit omnia, et *c.* 26.
suggeret uobis omnia, quæcumque dixero uobis." Atque iterum · "Cum autem
uenerit Paracletus, quem ego mittam uobis, a Patre, Spiritum veritatis, qui a Patre *Jo.* 15, *d.* 26.
procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me." Rursus · "Cum autem uenerit *Jo.* 16, *b.* 13.
Spiritus ueritatis, docebit uos omnem ueritatem. Non enim loquetur a semetipso,
2 sed quæcumque audiet | loquetur: et quæ uentura sunt, annuntiabit uobis. Ille me
clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit uobis." Quam uero non diuersa tantum,
atque contraria *(ut de cæteris conticescam),[3] uerum etiam δὶς διὰ πασῶν (ut aiunt)
pugnantia hic malorum Dæmonum interpres, ab optimo hominum Satore, atque
Vindice Christo afferat: vel cæco, ab ipsa etiam natiuitate, apertum exploratumque
3 est. Ob quam caussam, | Rex a Sacerdote quæsiuit . num Christus, in Euangelio de
Muhammad not named in the Gospel. Mahammedde loqueretur? ac quoddam eius nomen, num reperiretur? Respondit

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[1] In MS.: ipse uenturus. [2] Later addition. [3] Perhaps to be read: phara. Later addition.
[4] 1st: Verum, uel eo maxime, non esse ipse Spiritus Sanctus deprehenditur.

Sacerdos, peculiarem Mahammeddis mentionem, non fieri, in Euangelio a Christo ·
multorum uero falsorum uatum, qui essent futuri, fieri: sed communi nomine · nec
Is he Antichrist? eius nomen proprium reperiri. Quæsiuit, num Mahammeddes ille esset, qui uenturus
4 | in ipso orbis interitu, omnibus est aduersaturus? (quem Agareni Dijal nominant). *Dijal Anti-Christus.*[2]
Respondit Sacerdos, “Minime. At uero, quoniam Ismaelitici generis est, et Euangelio,
“ et Legi contradicit, et bellum aduersus omnes gentes, qui ipsius dogma non admiserint,
“ suscepit · doctores plurimi, e nostris, de Mahammedde illa uerba interpretantur.
F. 75a. 1 “ ‘Manus eius contra omnes, et manus omnium || contra eum, et e regione,
The Qorān opposed to the O. & N.T. “ uniuersorum fratrum suorum, figet tabernacula.’ ”—“ Quibus,” ait, “ in rebus, Legi, *Genes.* 16. *c.* 12.
“ et Euangelio contradicit?”—“ A primo ingressu libri, ad calcem usque: præter
“ paucas sententias, quas repetit, ut sibi sanctitatis opinionem, conciliet; quot uerba
“ scripsit, cum Euangelio, & Moyse pugnant. Lex uero, & Euangelium, nihil
“ omnino, cum Mahammedde consentiunt.”—“ Quid igitur,” ait, “ *Diæresim, *i.e.*,
2 “ Alfurcanum[1] | esse existimatis?” Ac subridenti, cunctantique Sacerdoti occurrit,
The Qorān not inspired. “ Dic, dic tuam, tuorumque de *Synthemate, *i.e.*,[2] Alcorano sententiam.” Tum
Sacerdos, “ Mahammeddes profecto ait, Deum sibi, illum librum tradidisse · at nos, *Alchor. cap.* 2. *Albacara.*
“ uerum esse inficiamur. Nam Deus, quod in uno ait, in alio non solet negare · aut *Alchor. Arab. cap.* 97. *Lat.* 107. *in nocte alchadera.*[2]
“ sibi repugnare, contrariusue esse. Lex (inquit) et Euangelium, libri Dei, idem
3 “ dicunt · Alcoranum, | diuersa ab istis, et longissime disiuncta. Quapropter, necesse
“ est dicere, aut Legem, Psalmos, et Euangelium, non esse libros sacros, ut Alcoranus,
“ in sacris numeretur: aut Alcoranum, prophanum esse librum, fictum, et commentitium,
Abū-l Fazl objects. “ ut tres illos sacros esse statuamus.” Rex responsionem attente accepit,
4 et conticuit. At Abdulfasilius occurrit: “ Lex, et Euangelium, diuersi | libri
“ sunt?” Tum Sacerdos: “ Sunt quidem, diuersi libri, et diuersis temporibus
“ scripti; sed diuersa inuicem, et pugnantia non continent. At Alfurcanum, et
“ illis, et sibi ipsi, contraria pleraque continet. Ac disciplina profecto, sacrorum
“ omnium librorum, eadem est. Et Legem, Deus per Moysen, Israëliticæ genti, qua,
“ ad aduentum usque Christi, ducerentur, misit · cuius aduentu finem accepit.”—
F. 75b. 1 “ Quare,” inquit, “ si eandem continet disciplinam: ||*prior[3] liber, finem habuit, et
The Old Law perfecting the New. “ secundus receptus est?” Cui Sacerdos: “ Hominum captui, Deus Opt. Max.
“ quasi omnium hominum · pater, sese accommodat. Quemadmodum enim pater,
“ aliud nutrimentum infanti, aliud puero, aliud adolescenti filio tribuit · et alijs
“ studijs, in pueritia, alijs in adolescentia instituit · sic Deus Judæis, tanquam
2 “ pueris, | quos a gentilitijs Ægyptiorum superstitionibus, et corruptis moribus, ad
“ suum cultum pertrahere uolebat: ita cibum *diuisit et modificauit,[4] ut esset illis
“ utilis. Quo factum est, ut multis ceremonijs implicitos, quadam quasi lenocinio
“ sacrificiorum, quibus erant assueti, eo traxerit, ut cum Ægyptij, Dæmonijs, ipsi
3 “ Deo Opt. Max. litarent. At jam firmiore hominum | ætate, non Judæis solum,
“ sed omnibus hominibus, solidum cibum, in Euangelio *coxit et[2] condiuit: quo
“ ceremonijs, quæ sunt tanquam cortex, et umbra uirtutum, relictis, Deo uniuersus
“ hominum cœtus deseruiret. Et Legem quidem, atque Euangelium, animabus

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[1] 1st: Alcoranum. [2] Later addition. [3] 1st: primus. [4] 1st: temperauit.

" hominum, præbere nutrimentum, manifestum est · Legem quidem, infantis, Euan-
Abu-l Fazl's assumption. " gelium, firmæ ætatis · tantumque in condiendi, & coquendi modo, discrimen
" habere."—" At," inquit Abdulfasilius, " Alcoranum nutrimentum etiam præstat." *Assumit quod est in controuersia.*[2]
4 —" Minime uero," ait, sed* uenenum.[1] Nam | quæ ab Euangelio, et Lege, adeo
" disiuncta disciplina est, non plus, emolumenti animis afferet, quam corporibus
" uenenum." Veniam uero Sacerdoti petenti, ne qui aderant Agareni, Regi
succenserent, si quid liberius, *illo conniuente,[2] in Mahammeddem dixisset : ||
F. 76a. 1 accensus Rex, " Per Deum," inquit, " non is ego sum, qui his rebus offendar.
" Tantummodo uerum inuestigo, et per *Rhohalcuduz[3] · (Spiritum Sanctum
" induxit) te obtestor, ut ueritatem explices, nihil ueritus, Mahammeddi conuitia
" dicere." Et cum ad uocem *Rhohalcuduz,[3] Sacerdos caput inclinasset: ijs qui
2 aderant Rex dixit, " Jesus Christus est." Ac dissimulauit | Sacerdos, quid esset
A. confounds Christ with the H. Ghost. discriminis, inter Jesum Christum, et Spiritum Sanctum quoad personas docere, eo
quod iam multa nocte, locus, et tempus, tantæ disputationi deerat · et subiecit · se
quidem quæ crederet, et sciret, bona fide explicasse. Et surgente Rege, ut iret
cubitum, huic disputationi, finis est impositus.

3 Cum itaque Mirsachimus, se bello peti, eoque graui cerneret, optabat | certamen
Farīdūn Khān, M. Hakīm's evil genius. declinare, pacemque, antea componi, quam manus cum fratre consereret · et
cedendi inijt consilium. Quod quidem fecisset, nisi Faridumcanus, vir magnæ apud
eum existimationis, et bellica uirtute, consilioque clarus, ob ueteres inimicitias, quas
cum Zelaldino, quem improbe deseruerat, gerebat · magno studio, atque conatu
4 obstitisset. Qui ut sibi prospiceret, | timebat enim, in manus Zelaldini incidere,
miserum Mirsachimum pessumdedit, atque ad exitium adduxit. Dicebat enim,
Zelaldini copias, fuscorum quorundam, et gregariorum paucorum Indorum, eorumque
F. 76b. 1 exlegum, et simulachrorum, cultorum, || multitudine constare; sibi caussam fauere,
delecto equite, instructum esse · denique non formidare, aut *defugere[4] debere, certamen.

The embassy dismissed. Quod cum Zelaldinus, ab exploratoribus, et filij nuntijs, qui frequentissimi ex
Paharidis castris, uentitabant: Mirsachimum aciem, ut resisteret instruere, contra
2 quam, forte significauerat per fæciales; cognouisset: ut omni euentui, præsto | esset, [*fetia es.*]
A.'s sister. anteaquam amnem transiret, legatos fratris, et sororis a se dimisit · et sororis legato,
aureæ pecuniæ, non parum dono dedit · legatos Mirsachimi, uilibus uestibus, donauit.

Omens. Quos ubi dimisit · *trans amnem ire,[5] bis est aggressus, sed inani ueneficorum,
et augurum superstitione, prohibitus, *pedem retulit.[6] Auspicijs tandem permissus,
3 *traiecit · [7] | et in ora Coæ, duobus fere passuum millibus, ab eo loco, ubi cum Indo
A. encamps beyond the Indus. commiscetur, castra poni iussit. Et usque adeo Regi, Christianus Sacerdos, cordi
erat: ut in tantis negotijs, illius minime obliuisceretur · sed duci cuidam, curam
eius traducendi demandaret. Fuit enim, adeo difficilis Indi traiectio, ob nauicu-
4 larum paucitatem, ut reguli ipsi, atque proceres, | magna cum difficultate traijcerent.

Countries west of the Indus. Nomen huius regionis a Regia urbe (ut mos est his gentibus) Chabulum est.
Quæ tribus interstitijs distinguitur · alterum est cis Coam, alterum ultra Coam infra

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[1] 1st : aconitum.
[2] Later addition.
[3] 1st : Rhohalcudz.
[4] 1st : detrectare.
[5] 1st : amnem traijcere.
[6] 1st : pedem reduxit.
[7] 1st : fluuium traiecit.

Suasti et Coæ commistionem, tertium est interamnis, inter Coam et Suastum.[1] ||
F. 77a. 1 Atque ille tractus, qui cis Coam, ad solis occasum iacet, pars est eius regionis,
quæ ab antiquis, Paropanisas dicebatur · a iunioribus postea, Indoscythia, dicta
est. Transcoanam uero regionem, infra commistionem, *quæ ad solis ortum Indo
Suastoque interiacet, Gándăram[2] antiqui nominabant · supra commistionem, et
ultra Suastum, ad septemtriones, Suastenem · at uero, interamnem Coæ, et Suasti, |
2 Goricam. Eam Patanæi, nostra ætate colunt, quibus Xacattæi, siue Mongoli
*imperant.[3] Priscorum uero nominum, regionum, urbium, oppidorumque, ne
uestigium quidem extat. At uero Patanæi, origine, quidem Gándaræ, ac Suasteni
sunt · qui suis finibus egressi, magnam Indiæ partem, pulsis Christianis ocuparunt.
3 Eorum enim patria, Indo, atque Suasto seu, Coæ fluuijs interiacet, | campestris quidem regio, ut Indiæ uicina, eadem fere cœli, atque aëris temperatione est.

Troops still crossing.

At uero Rex, tamdiu in eadem statione constitit, quoad omnes copiæ, fluuium
*transirent.[4] Ac ne otio desidēret, fabrilibus operibus, partim, disputationibus
partim, tempus terebat. Et cum eius doctores, de libris diuinis, disceptarent, sacrarum
4 litterarum, uolumina | adduci, et Sacerdotem uocari iussit. A quo cum didicisset,

A new discussion.

quid unumquodque uolumen contineret: nactus Sacerdos loquendi opportunitatem,
Regem sic est alloquutus. “Diebus præteritis, celsitudini tuæ, quidam ex
“doctoribus asseruerunt: ut Agareni dicere solent, Tórah librum Judæorum, Euan-
“gelium Christianorum, Alfurcanum Musulumanorum, *Zabur · *i.e.*,[5] Psalterium uero
F. 77b. 1 “esse || Georgianorum · (hi uulgo Gorgi appellantur, et Hircani sunt, ad ocasumque
“Maris Caspij, montium iuga, Persis infesti tenent) librum *esse.[6] Quod perperam et

Armenians not Nestorians.

“ignoranter dictum est. Georgiani etenim, Christiani sunt. At Christiani *omnes[5]
“Legem, Psalmos, et Euangelia recipiunt, *quibus tanquam a Deo editis parem fidem
“atque authoritatem adiungunt, ac cum indiuiduam Trinitatem, Patrem, Filium, et
“Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum auguste sancteque uenerentur et colant, solum
“Jesum Christum Dei Filium ex Maria Virgine hominem factum Euangelicæ latorem
2 “legis suspiciunt, | cui latores legum cæteri, etsi a Deo legati, Moyses, inquam, et
“Dauid ac prophetæ reliqui cedant et fasces, ut dici solet, submittant.[7] *Quapropter
“Georgiani, qui Christianis annumerantur, præter Christum latorem legis neminem,
“non Dauidem, non Moysen, ut nec reliqui Christiani agnoscunt.[8] Deinde, quod
3 “hic affirmat, | pace quod eius dixerim, Armenos diffiteri, Christum Dei filium
“esse, toto cœlo errat · uulgi errore deceptus, qui omnes Asiæ Christianos, Armenos
“uocat, cum plerique sint Græci, Chaldæi, Syri, et pauci Nestoriani, sicuti Lusitanos,
“Hispanos, Italos, Germanos nuncupat, Francos. Qui quidem Nestoriani, cum
4 “nomine tantum, sint Christiani, cum Agarenis consentiunt, ac Christum, | Dei

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[1] Most of the proper names and whole passages of this page have been underlined in pencil by the anonymous annotator.

[2] 1st: ad solis ortum, Gándăram [3] 1st: imperitant. [4] 1st: superarent. [5] Later addition. [6] Redundant.

[7] This passage has two earlier variants, of which only the older can be deciphered: soliusque Christi, tanquam legislatoris et uindicis nomen, et Dei Patris et Spiritus Sancti inuocant · quod Moysis, et Dauidis nomini, tantum præferunt quantum domini nomen, seruorum nomini, æquum est anteferre. Christus enim, qui Euangelium condidit, fidei lux et splendor cum sit, legis, psalmorum, et prophetarum perfectio est.

[8] 1st: Quapropter Georgiani, qui Christianis annumerantur, Christum, non Dauidem, aut Moysen, ut reliqui Christiani, appellant, et inuocant.

"Filium esse diffitentur. Quos Armeni, Græci, Ægyptij, Syri, Chaldæi, Latini,
"Christiani denique omnes, repellunt non minus, quam Judæos, et Agarenos. Hoc
"enim Christianis, et Agarenis, Judæis, Nestorianisque interest: quod Christiani,
"uno consensu, Christum, Dei Filium esse, constantissime asseuerant · at Agareni,
F. 78a. 1 "Judæi, Nestoriani, perfricta fronte pari consensu negant. || Hæc ideo dixerim, o
"Rex, ne celsitudini tuæ, falsum subrepat, dissidium, in ea re, aut controuersiam
"inter Christianos esse. Cum enim Christianorum religio · sacrorum librorum
"authoritate nitatur, idque illi, plerisque in locis edoceant, nulla potest, huius
"ueritatis dubitatio, uerorum Christianorum, cordibus obrepere. Nec tamen admiror,
2 "nostrarum rerum ignarum, facile | decipi · uerum cum prudentia hic præditus sit:
"non possum non, huius incuriam, accusare · qui cum a me possit, rerum quæ
"ad nos spectant, ueritatem cognoscere: malit incerta, coram celsitudine tua,
"affirmare."

Explaining pictures. Tum *Sacerdos [1]iussu regis, libros euoluens, et ex signis, ansam capiens, quid
sibi uellet, fœderis arca, quid, in ea seruaretur, quid aureum candelabrum, quid
3 aurea | panum mensa, rudi minerua, pro captu audientium explicauit. Quoniam
Images in the Old Law. uero Agareni, sacrarum imaginum cultum, detestantur · de propitiatorij, et Delubri
angelorum simulachris, fusius disseruit · ut ostenderet, falsorum deorum simulachra
fieri, Deum tantummodo, prohibuisse, eisque cultum, et uenerationem adhiberi:
4 at sanctorum, fieri statuas, et | signa minime. Nam ille ipse, qui præcepit · "Non
facies tibi sculptile" · angelorum figuras, pingi et sculpi, in suo tabernaculo, et templo
imperauit. Qui quidem, cum Deus sit, et non mutetur, nec etiam sit obliuiosus;
impium erit credere, sibi ipsi aduersari, contrariumue esse. Quare religiosi viri,
F. 78b. 1 loca Scripturæ, || quæ mutuo pugnare uidentur · diuino afflati numine, germana
adhibita interpretatione, conciliant. Qui sculptilis, et simulachri nomine, dæmonum,
et inanium deorum figuras tantum intelligi, interpretantur · quas coli pro Deo, mundi
opifex Deus, utriusque legis, præcepto cauit. Quare falso, simulachrorum culturæ,
2 Christianos insimulari: qui Dei, et Diuorum imagines depingunt, | sculpunt, uene-
The Ark of Noah. rantur. Disputatum est præterea, de Nóæ arca, quam Christi Seruatoris typum
fuisse, apertissime ostendit. Quibus quidem rebus, non parum Rex affici uidebatur,
A. kisses a picture of Christ. easque attente, sane accipiebat: uerum se alijs rebus, animum quandoque aduertere,
simulabat: ne suis, ad fidem Christianam, flecti uideretur. At Christi effigiem, |
3 *coram omnibus uenerari et osculari nihil est ueritus. [2]

Chabuli interea, parum fauste pugnatum est, cum enim primam aciem, quattuor
Murād and Naurang Khān in danger. millium equitum, quam Nourancanus, *Cutubdicani filius, ductabat,[3] Mirsachimus,
cum iusto exercitu, quindecim millium equitum Mongolorum, adortus esset: et
Mancini phalanx, quæ suppetias erat latura, cessasset: Nourancanus uero,* Mancinum
4 ut sibi | quam citissime, suppetias iret, rogare cogeretur;[4] in acie Paharidis, trepi-
datum esse fertur · et paucos terga uertere instituisse. Quod ubi princeps intellexit,
F. 79a. 1 ex equo desiliens, correpta hasta, se ne latum quidem unguem,|| etsi a totis hostium

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st: nihil ueritus est, coram omnibus exosculari.
[3] 1st: ductabat, Cutubdi filius.
[4] 1st: ut sibi Mancinus, quam citissime, suppetias iret, ipsum rogare cogeretur.

Murād's bravery.
copijs, solus peteretur, et telis conficeretur, ab eo loco pedem relaturum. Quod si
superstes, ex eo periculo esset, optime in memoria habiturum, qui se deseruissent.
Hâc pueri constantiâ (erat enim natus annos tantum duodecim) et obiurgatione,
Mān Singh to the rescue.
uerecundia, et rubore suffusi constiterunt. At uero Mancinus, cum maturasset,
2 et laboranti, peneque cedenti, auxilium peropportunè tulisset, et | elephantum cunei
M. Hakīm falls out with Farīdūn Khān and retreats.
aduentarent, quorum aspectu, equi *non assueti,[1] exterreri, ac perturbari solent;
tum etiam princeps, suam aciem, in aperto campo collocasset · Mirsachimus cum
Faridumcano expostulat, quod se decepisset · (affirmauerat enim* exiguas[2] esse fratris
3 copias ·) maleque, et negligenter excubias | egisset, quandoquidem, se inscio, tantus
exercitus *in suum esset regnum inductus.[3] Et receptui cani, ante iussit, quam
Mancini acies adueniret · atque in hunc modum, diremptum est prælium.

Murād awaits orders.
Paharis uero, more maiorum, castra sua, et acies instruxit, et eodem loco,
tamdiu constitit: quoad patris imperium, quid facto sibi opus esset, acciperet.
4 Mos uero, aciei instruendæ, | apud eam gentem, hic est · ut equitum turmæ, in
The Moghuls in battle array.
modum lunæ, in tres cuneos distribuantur · medium scilicet, *dextri cornu atque
sinistri.[4] Pedites his* cuneis[5] succedunt, tertio loco, elephantes collocantur, a tergo
F 79b. 1 reliqui exercitus,|| nunquam uero in illius fronte, tum ne hostium conspectum
eripiant, tum, etiam ne cæsi perturbate fugiant, qua fuga suorum acies furibundi
petunt, perturbant, conculcant, perimunt. Ac cum in bellum educuntur, altero è
cornibus, aut ambobus, per latera prodeunt, hostesque medios adoriri, eorum ductores
2 nituntur. Et elephantum quidem turmæ, plus terrent quam | officiant · potiusque,
ad ostentationem, quam ad uictoriam reportandam utiles sunt · æqualeque est
discrimen hostium, et sociorum, cum uulnerati obuium quemque adoriantur · facileque
tormentis abigantur · punctique in proboscide, pedem uelocissime referant · quibus
si equi assuescant, nihil mouentur. Balochiorum, qui camelis insident, *turmæ,[6]
3 in reliquo equitatu | numerantur. Quorum si ea copia sit, ut *phalangem[7] iustam
efficiant: certo loco, simul consistere iubentur. Par autem fere est, equorum, et
camelorum ad pugnandum agilitas, et ut ita dicam, dexteritas. Nec pugnacitate
sunt dispares. Nam cameli, dentibus, et calcibus, certant. Quodsi quenquam
4 corripiant, in eum genibus incumbunt, tamdiuque premunt, et tundunt, | quoad
enecent, miserumque conficiant.

A. reaches Peshāwar [Pīr Shahr?] and hastens to Kābul.
Rex itaque, ab ea statione, cum Pirxaurum uenisset; rerum, quæ in castris
Paharidis agerentur, certior factus, cum delecto equitatu, et auxiliaribus, *Dela-
zacquium[8] ducum turmis, magnis itineribus, Chabulum uersus ire contendit: rebus
F. 80a. 1 in hunc modum, ex || disciplina militari, sapientissime constitutis. Nam trans
Troops left in India.
Indum, intra fines sui regni, dimidiam legionem: cis Indum, ad Coam, tertiam fere
Salīm and Bhagwān Dās to camp at Jalālābād with the rear
legionis partem, consistere imperauit · quæ amnis transitum, *diligentissime[9] tuerentur.
Principi natu maximo, qui ei erat charissimus, annos nato quattuordecim, se ut in
2 extrema acie, cum reliquis copijs, et uniuerso | commeatu, ac thesauris, tormentisque,
ac reliquo belli apparatu sequeretur · et ut Gelalabadi, tridui a Chabulo itinere, ad

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[1] 1st: desueti.
[2] 1st: paucas
[3] 1st: suis esset terris inductus.
[4] 1st: dextri alterum, tertium sinistri cornu.
[5] 1st: copijs.
[6] 1st: phalanges.
[7] 1st: turmam.
[8] 1st: Delazacquiorum.
[9] 1st: accuratissime.

Coæ fluminis oram, castra poneret; ibique consisteret; edixit. Et in his castris
vxores, et filias, reliquamque mulierum cateruam, et rem omnem familiarem,
priuatamque supellectilem reliquit. At Bagoandam Regulum, Mancini patrem, |
3 domus principis præfectum, et militum magistrum, constituit.

Dilazāk contingent. Regem vero, præter duos Delazacquiorum duces, quos supra demonstrauimus,
300 Fanatics join the ranks. quorum quisque, ad quattuordecim equitum millia, in prælium educit: iuuenis
quidam, cum suorum satellitio, trecentorum fere militum, prosequutus est · genere
4 Paropanisas, uel Indoscytha. Cuius pater nouæ sectæ | author, ui quos poterat, in
suam sententiam, pertrahere nitebatur · ac nisi uicinorum principum diligentia, e
medio fuisset sublatus, non parum negotij Paropanisadis, uel Indoscythis, Gandaris,
Goriadis, et Suastenis, ipsisque Mongolis exhibuisset. Habebat enim sicariorum et
F. 80b. 1 ære alieno oppressorum,[1] || hominum quingentorum manum · qui rerum nouarum,
ut est natura Agarenorum (dummodo Mahammeddis, honorifica commemoratio, non
relinquatur) studio, et rei alienæ cupiditate, ei adhærebant · seseque illi, et eius
superstitioni, ita deuouerant, ut nullis, suorum principum, minis, nullis bellorum
2 incommodis, qui absumpti sunt, et qui superstites remanserunt, ab | eius disciplina,
neque a filij obsequio, qui ex patris exitio, euasit, dimoueri unquam potuerint. Qui
cum intellexissent, Zelaldinum aduentare, eius se fidei commiserunt · quos Zelaldinus
admisit: et cum omnes religiones uiolet, dum in sua quemque religione, uiuere
permittit: religionem tueri, arbitratus est, si eos sineret, securos in suo tractu
3 agere; suam | religionem sequi, ac more suo uiuere · et denique filio sui prophetæ
(ut ipsi dicunt) obsequi, honoremque tribuere.

Peshāwar burnt down by M. Hakīm. Porro Pirxaurum, municipium est, cum arce, in edito loco posita, nullis tamen
munitionibus instructa, quam Mirsachimus aliquandiu tenuit: sed cum aduentare,
fratris copias, quibus Mancinus præerat, intellexit: eam destituit, et intra |
4 *montium altitudines[2] sese recepit. Pacatis rebus, contribulium duo millia, in eo
municipio, præter arcis præsidia, numerari ferebatur. Eo quidem tempore, exustis
A. visits the Jogīs of Ghorkhatrī. tectis, soli cineres uidebantur. Ad eius municipij pomerium, uersus orientem solem,
Joguium statio est, eius superstitionis, et habitus, *atque uestitus,[3] eorum qui in
F. 81a 1 Balnati || iugo degunt, quæ ab incolis, Gorcathiri uocitatur: quod idem sonat, ac Gori
cella. Fabulantur uero, Gorum hunc, qui hic uixit, magistrum Balnati fuisse ·
tantamque loco, sanctitatem inesse prædicant, ut propter eius loci *sanctitudinem[4]
mundi opifex Deus, reliquum mundum *finxerit, et fabricarit.[5] Hanc Gori cellam,
2 Rex adijsse, et expansa | coma, oculis, manibusque in cœlum sublatis, Gorum
ueneratus fuisse ferebatur.

Salīm ascends the Khaibar. Princeps, postridie quam Rex profectus est, ab eo oppido castra mouit ·
biduoque, ad difficilem et angustum, arduumque altissimi montis, transitum *uenit,
qui ab incolis Caybári, a ueteribus Capissenus saltus dicebatur[6] · quem magno
omnium labore, superauit. Curauerat uero, ut arte, atque instrumentis, a fabris, |

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[1] The anonymous annotator has underlined in pencil nearly all the proper names on this page.

[2] 1st: saltus ? [3] Later addition. [4] 1st: sanctitatem. [5] 1st: condiderit, et excitarit.

[6] 1st: qui ab incolis Caybarus dicitur · uenit. The word "Caybarus" has been underlined by the anonymous annotator.

3 et calonibus, operisque castrorum, repararetur · secus enim, ægre elephantes (quorum
erat magna copia) conscendere: periculose cameli onusti, aliaque iumenta, atque
armenta superare potuissent. Quæ si prolapsa fuissent, in extremum uitæ periculum,
tum ipsa, tum etiam omnes, qui ipsis uehebantur, adducta fuissent. In quibus
4 Reginæ, et filiæ, aliæque | mulieres dignitate præstantes, connumerabantur · et in
The wife of Daūd Shāh. his, Dauidis, Patanæorum Regis matrum familias prima, è qua tyrannus filios sustulerat.
Quam Zelaldinus in liberali custodia, secum deduxerat · tum ob memoriam,
F. 81b. 1 et ostentationem uictoriæ, suæque magnitudinis, tum etiam, ne || nouarum rerum
moliendarum, ocasionem Patanæis daret: qui coacti, non sponte parent. In cuius
comitatu, filiæ ipsius aliquot ueniebant. Enimuero equi, minus in hoc ascensu
laborarunt. Sunt enim fortes, et expediti, et ad iter quam celerrime obeundum,
difficilesque transitus superandos, nati. Xecus uero princeps, a præcone, denuntiari
2 iussit: ne quis | iumentis anteuerteret regijs. A quibus, ubi ascensus relictus est
Salīm's gallantry towards his mother and sisters. uacuus: equi minori cum periculo, hoc iter peregerunt. Et princeps quidem ipse,
ut matri suæ, hoc officium, sororibusque præstaret, et cæteris mulieribus, honorem
deferret; in edita quadam montis rupe, tamdiu constitit, donec ad iugi fastigium
3 peruenirent. Et | in angusta quadam planitie, ad fontem, castra posuit: a quo
riuus aquæ dulcis, copiosus, et qui aquationi castrorum satis esset, ad torrentem
usque fluebat, cui immistus, illius uitio, dulcedinem amittebat. Regium uero
'Alī Masjid. tabernaculum, ad Ahalimexit, hoc est, Ahalidis templum fixit · in quo saxum
4 ostenditur, cui digitorum Ahalidis uestigias, | insculpta esse *falso [1] narrantur.

The fable of 'Alī Masjid. Fabula uero sic habet (nam huiusmodi narrare iuvat, ut uanitas Agarenicarum *Ysto se ha de escreuer.*[1]
superstitionum, non tantum *inuoluta [2] quadam notitia, sed etiam ex singulis rebus,
Christianis hominibus aperta sit). Cum Ahalis, Mahammeddis gener, orbem
F 82a.1 lustraret, ut ad perfidiam, et superstitionem soceri || sui, exleges · (Cafares dicunt
ipsi) pertraheret, in eum locum uenisse dicitur, et eius regionis, Tyranni filiam
rapuisse. Quod cum virginis pater, intellexisset: ira percitus, cum aperto marte,
nequiret cum eo pugnare, ex insidijs et superiore loco, impendet enim huic fano,
præruptus quidam, et altus mons, eum conficere statuit. Cum igitur, in eo loco,
2 Ahalis, | more Agarenico oraret: demissisque oculis, in terram esset; ingens saxum
in eum coniecit · quod Ahalis, nihil perturbatus, et in precatione persistens, sublatis
manibus, excepit; noluit .n. capitis discrimen subire · quasi uero, maior uirtus
manibus, quam reliquo corpori, ad declinandum periculum, prodigioque euadendum,
3 inesset. Et ut rei * euentus [3] appareret, | infixi eius digiti, in eo sunt, si Deo placet.

The fable of Khwāja Muīnu-d-dīn Chishtī at Ajmer. O hominum insaniam; quibus hæc uerisimilia uidentur, quasi uero adulterum, et
raptorem, miracula edere credendum sit. Quo fit ut, non minus huius fabulæ · fides
laboret; quam Qhojamundi cuiusdam, qui apud Azimirum, non procul a Fattepuro,
4 pro sancto, propterea colitur, quod Mahammeddis comes, cum | eius superstitionem
suaderet, omnes qui resisterent conficeret. At uero, mirum non est, homines decipi,
qui temporum nullam habent rationem: et qui mendacijs soleant, sibi, patriæ, sectæ
ipsi, suo denique uati, honorem, et dignitatem expiscari.[4] ||

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st: communi. [3] 1st: miraculum.

[4] The above two paragraphs are bracketed in the MS.

F. 82b. 1 Templi uero huius structura, et loci dignitas suo patrono respondet. Dicas enim
potius, porcorum stabulum, quam templum. Sunt enim parietinæ quædam angustæ,
The Masjid a ruinous structure. sine tegulis, et tecto, ne quidem iunci.

Inde profectus, ad fauces quasdam, eiusdem montis uenit: quibus utrinque, duo
At the Khaibar Pass. uertices, magnæ altitudinis impendent: ut centum pugnatores, hominum plurima |
2 millia, transitu prohibere queant. Vix enim, onustus elephas, penetrare potest. Ab
eo loco, ad cliuum eiusdem montis uenit, adeo pronum, ac præcipitem, ut uix extaret
spatium, in quo, firmum uestigium, iumenta ponerent: et pedites, deorsum currere,
cogerentur. Quare longos circuitus, equites petere, et qui uellaturam, iumentis *Vide Achegas pera o 2do Livro Fo. 30b.*[1]
3 faciebant, compellebantur. Suberat tamen campus, | qui satis erat ad castra figenda
Camping-ground. amplus · et in eo fons, qui è rupe defluebat, juxta quem, castra metari iussit. *Loco
nomen est Caybar, olim Capissa urbs.[2] In eo campo, obeliscus extabat, superiori, **Obeliscus V. 66a. 4.*[1]
Other obelisk of Rāmchandra. quem commemorauimus, et magnitudine, ac fabricæ dignitate, ac uetustate omnino
par · quem ferebant, Rhamxandi regni, alterum esse terminum. Atque hoc solo
4 *aditu, Paharuetus mons, a Paharopaniso, in | Indiam, uiatoribus, qui uiarum flexus
No shorter road. et mæandros declinare student:[3] peruius est · patetque in latum, milliaria fere
sexdecim, cuius medium ad septemtrionem, spatijs *quattuor[4] et triginta, fere uergit,
F. 83a. 1 **Long. & Lat.** a longitudinis || uero termino, spatijs fere *decem,[5] supra centum distat, atque ab
ortu, ad ocasum, prope decurrit.

Cæterum huic agro uersus ocasum, rupes imminet, in qua uestigia oppidi
Ruins of Landi Khāna. *apparent.[6] Quod uulgo, Landiqhanâ, ab indigenis uocatur: hoc est, mulierum
domus, ac fabulæ circumferuntur, non absimiles illis quæ de Amazonibus narrantur.
2 Ferunt enim, hoc oppidum, | olim mulieres incoluisse, quæ bellum cum vicinis
gentibus gerebant: atque ne genus eorum extingueretur, uiatores ab itinere, facto
Indian Amazons. impetu abripiebant, susceptosque masculos, aut necabant, aut exponebant: fœminas
educabant: et ad pugnam instituebant: quæ tandem uictæ, ac loco pulsæ: nomen
3 illis ruinis reliquerunt. Ac sublata | fabula, eo in loco, perditæ mulieres habitarunt · quæ similiter, ac, seruorum *fugitiuorum[7] manus · nomen loco dederunt.

Ruins of [Shahr-i-Ghulām ?] Est enim, haud procul a Landiqhanâ, uestigium quoddam oppidi, quod Xaregolamum, hoc est, seruorum ciuitatem dicunt: quam serui fugitiui, ut suam libertatem tuerentur, condiderunt: qui furtis, uictum quærebant · a quo loco feruntur,
4 difficili negotio, | fuisse pulsi. Est enim *aspera & montosa regio[8] · syluisque
munita[9] in quibus, cum bello a uicinis tyrannis petebantur, sese abdebant: ex-
4 Huge cisterns. cursionesque, inde in uicinos agros facere: et uias obsidere: ac præda diuites, suum
F. 83b. 1 asylum repetere soliti erant.[10] || Ac ne æstate, siti laborarent: *specus quattuor, miræ
amplitudinis, et altitudinis[11] sibi foderunt: ad quos collium omnes aquas deducebant.

Bissaur. [Basawal ?] Bedaulat Rock. His angustijs egressus princeps: in ora Coæ, ad oppidum Bissaurum, e regione,

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[1] Pencil notes by X. [2] Later addition.

[3] 1st: adytu, Paruetus mons, a Paropaniso, in Indiam, uiatoribus, qui magnos uiarum circuitus, et abductissima dispendia, lucrifacere student.

[4] 1st: tribus. [5] 1st: duodeuiginti. [6] 1st: uisuntur.

[7] 1st: profugarum. [8] 1st: tractus ille, montosus, et asper. [9] 1st: munitus.

[10] 1st: excursionesque, in uicinos agros faciebant: et uias obsidebant: ac præda diuites, suum asylum repetebant.

[11] 1st: cisternas quattuor, mirae magnitudinis, et profunditatis.

Beedaulati montis, castra collocauit. Est uero Beedaulatus, saxeus quidam mons,
2 duo millia pedum altus, longus quattuor, circuitu octo fere, | *e terra eminentis,
lapidis, qui sine rimis,[1] solidus, et integer est · ac denique, unum omnino saxum.
Qui quidem mons, a reliquis, uicinorum montium iugis,* deuexis omni ex parte lateribus,[2] disiunctus, uersus solis ortum procurrit · frontemque exporrigit, et duobus
fere millibus passuum, ab alijs iugis montium, abstrahitur. Quo in monte, diligentis-
3 sime obseruatum est: et | omnium ore circumferebatur: non arborem, non herbam,
Thus named by Humāyūn. nihil denique uiride, ne muscum quidem, apparere. Ob quam caussam, Emaumus
Zelaldini pater, cum in eo loco constitisset: et montis sterilitatem, obseruasset: ei
nomen Beedaulat, hoc est * ἄκαρις,[3] quod latinis est, sine gratia, imposuit. In cuius
4 latere, quod ad ocasum solis respicit, plurimarum cellarum ostia, | * τριγόνου[4] forma,
A former hermitage. apparent · quibus ad fornicem, tectumque, lapideum intratur, in quibus, heremitæ
egisse feruntur. Locus est sane asper, et ad uitam austere, et in luctu, squaloreque
traducendam aptus. Nec mihi persuadeo, gentilium heremitas, qui sola ostentatione
F 84a. 1 religionis, auram populi tantum, captare instituunt: || in eam se uitæ asperitatem,
unquam coniecisse · cum potissimum, hac ætate, desertæ sint, quæ hoc nebulonum
Monserrate's guess about its origin. genere, abundat. Dixerim potius, has cellas *a solitarijs Christianis, quos heremitas
dicimus, fabricatas[5] et inhabitatas fuisse · quoniam .D. Barptolomæum, in his
St. Bartholomew's Mission. regionibus, Euangelium disseminasse, memoriæ a Patribus, proditum est. [*Chabuli *Plin. lib.* 6 *cap.* [16 ?].
.n. regio a veteribus, Indiæ non secus, atque Aria, Aracosia, et Gedrosia annumerabatur · quas præfecturas, citeriorem Indiam, uno uocabulo appellabant.[6] *At .D.
Barptolomæum in Indiam citeriorem, quæ ei in orbis terrarum sortitione obuenerat,
progressum fuisse in Ecclesiasticis historijs legimus.[7]] Christianos, hanc regionem
2 tenuisse constat. Hoc autem uitæ genus *horridum atque aridum[6] | antiquis Patri- *Inf[ra] cum de te[rmino ?] dicetur.*[6]
bus, maxime cordi erat · et iuxta *flumina ac riuulos[8] libenter habitabant. Pulsis
uero Christianis, sine religiosis habitatoribus, ad pietatem colendam, quam accommodatissimæ, oportunoque loco *et in silice excauatæ cellæ,[9] relictæ sunt · ut uiatoribus, fabulandi argumentum præbeant.

Fort of [Behosh Palang ?] Ab hac statione, tribus fere milliaribus, Beoxpalangum, *i.e.*,* insana lynx,[10]
3 arx | apparet · a qua Mirsachimus, ad se præsidia euocauit · quam cæteri populares
deseruerunt: ne a Zelaldino opprimerentur.

At Jalālābād. Biduo Gelalabadam peruenit · quod* ardorem mentis ad Dei cultum[11] sonat.
Castra in ripa Coæ, milliario ab ipso municipio posuit · quo in loco, ut patris imperata
4 faceret: eius reditum expectauit. Eo etiam in loco, Sacerdos constitit. | Noluit
Monserrate to stop there. enim Rex, ut ardui itineris, et concitatæ profectionis, homo imbellis, et studijs religionis, ac litterarum deditus, *incommoda[12] potissimum ualetudine, laborem subiret.
Salīm's kindness. At uero filio commendauit, ut non minore sollicitudine, illi prospiceret, quam ipse
F. 84b. 1 solebat. Quod princeps, ut erat patris amantissimus, eiusque || dicto, diligentissime

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[1] 1st: eminentis, atque emicantis lapidis, qui sine commissura.

[2] 1st: quibus continuus est, cliuus, utrimque.

[3] *Sic*, instead of ἄχαρις.

[4] *Sic*, instead of τριγώνου.

[5] 1st: a Christianis heremitis, fabricatas.

[6] Later addition.

[7] Still later addition.

[8] 1st: fluenta.

[9] 1st: factæ, in uiuo lapide, casulæ.

[10] 1st: insanus [leo ?]

[11] 1st: zeli seruitutem, uel zelum ad seruitutem.

[12] 1st: affecta.

Playing the King. obsequens Sacerdoti uero beneuolus, summa cum beneuolentia, et amore præstitit.
Qui dum Gelalabadi fuit, ut patrem imitaretur, statis horis, quotidie, in publicum
præcinctus ense, prodibat · et satellitio iuuenum, suorum armigerorum, et militum
stipatus, ad quos, eius diei excubiæ, spectabant: negotijs expediendis, conficiendisque
2 cum | Bagoanda *regulo,[1] operam dabat. Atque non uulgare prudentiæ specimen
Miyān Khān sent to quell a tumult in camp. dedit, in sedando tumultu, qui in castris exortus, metum, trepidationemque incussit · ne forte proditio esset. *Meacanuum[2] enim, cursorum *tribunum,[3] cum manu
militum misit · qui ediceret tumultuantibus, ut extemplo conquiescerent, sin minus
e uestigio necarentur.

3 Atque hic quidem, Paropanisi | tractus, intra Cáybarim, Caybarénumque saltum
Snowy heights. ad urbem usque Chabuli, montosus est, et syluestris, et toto fere anno in montium
fastigijs, niuium candore *fulget.[4] Nam ipso Quintili mense, Baalanum iugum, quod
ab oppido uersus *austrum,[5] duodecim passuum millibus distat, è niuibus frigidum
4 aërem exhalabat. Quem è regione, milliario ab urbe, | mons alius niuosus excipiebat;
Extremes of cold and heat. atque in illam planitiem *identidem reciprocantem impellebat.[6] Quo factum est,
ut cum placido cœlo, Gelalabadum æstate utatur: optimo loco castra posita, aura
frigida, in maximis anni caloribus uterentur. Ac fecit rerum opifex Deus, ne uitæ
F. 85a. 1 necessarijs, eius regiones incolæ, destituerentur,|| ut* interualla[7] quædam agrorum, a
niuosis montibus *circumsepta,[8] eos solis ardores conciperent, quibus nihilo essent,
minus *apta,[9] ad procreandos fructus quam aliæ regiones, quæ a niuibus, longe
European fruits. disiunctæ sunt. Abundat enim, Gelalabadicus ager, vineis, hortisque, quibus insitæ
sunt *pyrus, uites, mali tum granatæ, tum persicæ, et mori,[10] ficusque, et id genus
2 cætera. Populares prouinciæ | Patanæi sunt. Præsidia Mongoli tenent. Ac Patanæi,
No boats or beasts of burden. qui a Mongolis Aufgan dicuntur, agricultura uiuunt, et adminiculo iumentorum, et
nauicularum *deficiuntur. Terra, ipsi sarcinas ferunt, quas, insertis in laqueum
Loads how carried. brachijs, hinc dextro, hinc sinistro, ueluti, thoracem induunt: et recti, sub onere
Down the river on inflated skins. incedunt. At fluuijs, commeatum, bouinis utribus, pice illequefacta perlitis, uehunt · quibus frumenta, et legumina includunt, et in ipsos simul colligati, |
3 rectores insiliunt · et se, rapido labentis fluminis gurgiti, committunt, vt directius
Dress. Music. gubernent.[11] Vestitu utuntur breui ad genu · sunt uero musicæ, impendio dediti, et ad
tibiam, et lyram libenter, et suauiter, libera, et elata uoce (Europæo more) non
inclinata, et ululante (more Asiatico) canunt.[12]

Jalālābād vacated by Farīdūn Khān. Jamuero Gelalabadi arx ingenio loci, magis quam, architectorum opere, satis
4 firma est. | Alluitur enim Coa flumine, ab ortu · cui prærupta ripa, et alta *imminet,
et quasi[13] minatur. Hanc tenebat Faridumcanus, quam inscio, et nolente Mirsachimo, Zeldaldini non ferens aduentum, destituit.
Its position. Est uero Gelalabadum,* in cliuo

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[1] 1st: tyranno. [2] 1st: Meacanuhum. [3] 1st: præfectum. [4] 1st: albicat.
[5] 1st: occasum. [6] 1st: reflectebat. [7] 1st: perkones [*sic*]. [8] 1st: circumseptæ.
[9] 1st: aptæ. [10] 1st: pyrus et malagranata.

[11] 1st: destituuntur. Terra ipsi sarcinas uehunt, quas ueluti, thoracem induunt; et recti, sub onere incedunt · et fluuijs commeatum, bouinis utribus, uehunt · quibus frumenta, et legumina includunt, et ipsis simul colligatis, directores insiliunt · et se, labentis fluminis uenæ, committunt.

[12] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS. [13] Later addition.

positum · quem cingit,[1] planities quædam, a qua, montes sese *extollere[2] incipiunt · ad Chabulum usque.

Kābul, a summer capital, and big mart.

F. 85b. 1 Quod || * in præcelso atque edito loco ædificatum,[3] tantis frigoribus hyeme
alget, ut eo relicto, Rex,* eius comitatus assectatoresque, et qui in aula sunt assidui
Gelalabadum descendere[4] cogantur. Contra uero æstate, tanta est cœli clementia,
ut * anni tempore grauissimo et caloribus maximis, æstiui menses et solstitia sine
solis ardoribus transigantur · Qhabulumque Gelalabado Rex commigret.[5] Eam
urbem, duo præcipue celebrem reddunt. Alterum est, regni solium, alterum, nego-
2 tiatorum | celebritas: qui ex India, Persia, et Tartaria, in eam conueniunt. Est
enim, in ipsis illorum montium, ueluti uisceribus, aut corde posita · qui ueluti,
brachijs quibusdam, in uicinas regiones, iniectis, Indiam,* Sogdianam, Bactrianam,[6]
et Tartariam, attingunt.

Orography of Afghānistān.

Hi sunt Caucasius Imaus, qui etiam Caspus · Paharopanisus, et Paharuëtus ·
3 quorum medius, Caucasius est. In eius fronte Chabulum, | quod olim (ut remur)
Carúra dicebatur, situm est. Paharuëtus, in quo sunt portæ, quas supra demons-
trauimus, ab austro, Caucasio obijcitur, Caucasij tergum, Paharopanisus tuetur, ab
Aquilone. Dextrum latus, ab ortu, Imaus tegit · a sinistro, Paharuëti quædam
flexio, quæ deinde, æquali fere ductu, cum Paharopaniso, interiectis magnis conualli-
4 bus, in | Aquilonem protenditur. Nostra ætate, montana hæc omnia, a Chabulo, in
eo tractu nomen habent ; ac Chabuli iuga dicuntur · quæ a ueteribus, promiscue,
Paharopanisus dicebantur. Temuri Claudi posteri, varijs bellis* iactati et agitati in
F. 86a. 1 hos montes et syluas constipati sunt[7] · unde postea effusi · uniuersa prope || Indiæ
mediterranea, ocuparunt. Ac ne montium nominibus, quispiam hallucinetur · duo
*ut sibi persuadeat,[8] necesse est. Alterum, eadem continuatione, uarios flexus montes
habere ; et pro eorum uarietate uaria nomina sortiri. Nam (liceat enim exemplis,
rem illustrare) a Geographis Imaus, cum jam Caspius est: et Caucasius, cum jam
2 Paharopanisus est, et uice uersa | nominantur. Alterum, nostro sæculo, longe alijs
nominibus *loca hæc appellari quam ueterum memoria[9] · verum adhibita, non
mediocri, diligentia, vera loca, uel saltem quæ ueris proxime accedunt, nos depre-
hendisse : vel eo, cæteris certiores, quod ea oculis conspeximus. *Quod vero Paharo-
panisum et Paharuëtum scribimus in caussa est quod "pahar" ab accolis mons dicitur.
Quæ reliqua sunt, propria montium nomina feruntur · ut si diceremus mons Panisus,
mons Uëtus.[10]

Old and new names.

Enimuero, cum princeps, Gelalabadi esset · uaria uulgo, ut fit ferebantur, quæ
3 omnia, Mirsachimo exitium, calamitatemque | comminabantur. Hoc uero compertum
est · quod cum fratrem in castris, uicinum esse intellexisset, in fugam se coniecit, in
qua minorem, è duobus liberis, filium amisit · qui ex equo lapsus, ab acie equitum,

M. Hakīm in flight.

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[1] 1st : in edito monte · quem ambit ; 2ndly : in edito monticulo positum, quem ambit.

[2] 1st : attolere.

[3] 1st : in præcelsi montis uertice positum.

[4] 1st : et aulici Gelalabadum descendere.

[5] 1st: sine æstiuis caloribus, in eo solstitia transigantur, eoque Gelalabado Rex commigret.

[6] Later addition.

[7] 1st : in arctum adducti, Regni solium Chabuli posuerunt.

[8] 1st : ut obseruet.

[9] 1st : appellari.

[10] Later addition. These last two paragraphs are bracketed in the MS.

His younger son killed. nec opinante, quæ concitatu cursu, ducem sequebatur, obculcatus, atque obtritus,
nec postea repertus est. Ille uero in editissimum, et præruptum montem, se recepit · |
4 unde e superiore loco, sequenti se fratri, si sequi se pergeret, resistere, et repugnare
posset · qui locus, uno tantum aditu, eoque angusto, peti poterat.

F. 86b. 1 Zelaldinus, ubi fratrem suum, sibi cessisse cognouit: per preconem ;|| denuntiari,
A. quiets the people of Kābul. Chabuli præcepit, populares, ut securi essent; sibi enim, bellum cum negotiatoribus,
opificibus et plebe non esse: sed cum fratris exercitu, qui iam cesserat. Ac cum
intellexit, pacatos esse ciues; primum, agrum lustrauit, deinde ouans, et triumphator,
Triumphal entry. Chabulum ingressus est, et in Regiam, cum triumpho deductus, id magni potissimum |
2 æstimauit; quod in auito Regni solio, in quo pater et maiores sui sedissent, Dei beneficio,
datum esset, ut ipse uno, et altero tantum, ab hoste, damni uulnere accepto,
sederet.

Losses: a. 15,000 gold mohurs seized by M. Hakīm. At vero damna, hæc fuere. Cum esset Paharis, in acie, quindecim aureorum
millia, quibus stipendia, eius exercitui soluerentur, ab eo missa, ab excubijs fratris,
3 intercepta | sunt · et quæstor ipse captus, iniurijsque lacessitus, ac tandem postea,
magno redemptus. Cui Rex, socordiam exprobrauit, dicebatur enim, cum militum
manum haberet, qua potuisset obsistere, metu latebras, et effugia petens, incolumis,
et nullo uulnere accepto, nedum *imposito,[1] fuisse captus. Iterum, cum ex insidijs,
4 Faridumcani antecursores, | Xecum Gemalum, Regis leuirum, qui cuneum, centum
b. Shaikh Jamāl, A.'s wife's brother, is beaten and absconds. equitum ducebat: adorti essent, hominem fuderunt. Qui, tum pudore, tum etiam,
Regis formidine, posito *baltheo,[2] Daruëxij ueste indutus, aperto capite, nudisque
pedibus, religiosam uitam more Agarenico, agere instituit. Nam id, culpa sua,
F. 87a. 1 factum fuisse, noscebat: qui reliquas copias, recto itinere sequi noluisset. || At Zelaldinus,
aspere solet, in eos, qui disciplinæ militari, non parent, animaduertere. At
quoniam, leuir suus erat, eum Rex, magna diligentia reuocauit · et *in memoriam
A. recalls him. illi redigens uariam esse, atque incertam Martis aleam, eius mœrorem lenire, et in
redeundo uerecundiam obiurgare, lenibus uerbis instituit, tantum abest, ut in illum
acerbius inueheretur.[3]

2 Septem uero diebus Chabuli, ut apertam, | omnibusque testatam, *relinqueret[4]
7 days at Kābul. uictoriam: *more maiorum suorum, constitit.[5] Ad quem soror uenit, quæ ueniam
A.'s sister intercedes for M. Hakīm. deprecata, et ut fratris uicti misereretur, ac Regnum, facti pœnitenti concederet:
hoc tantum obtinuit,* ut suæ uirtuti, fidei, felicitati Regnum Rex commendaret.[6] Sibi
Kābul given to her. nihil esse, cum Mirsachimo, cuius ne quidem nomen nosset, aut æquo animo audiret: |
3 atque ab ea se, cum liberet,* illud[7] repetiturum. *Habitaretne[8] Mirsachimus Chabuli,
aut in eo regno, sibi nihil curæ esse. Ei ut morem gereret, quod soror esset charissima,
Threats against M. Hakīm. mox loco cessurum · nullasque copias, aut præsidia, in regno ob fidem ipsius
relicturum. Hortari, ut Mirsachimo persuaderet, ne suorum studiorum, curam susci-

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[1] 1st: dato. [2] *Sic.*

[3] In MS: "redegit" instead of "redigens" and "quo" before "eius mœrorem." The sentence thus constructed is ungrammatical.—1st: in mentem illi reuocans, uariam esse, atque incertam Martis aleam, eius mœrorem lenire, et pudorem remouere, lenibus uerbis instituit, tantum abest, ut illum obiurgaret.

[4] 1st: faceret.

[5] 1st: more maiorum suorum, cum uictoria potiuntur, [2ndly: cum illam reportant] constitit.

[6] 1st: ut in suam tutelam Regnum Rex traderet. [7] Later addition. [8] 1st: ageretne.

4 peret. Sibi satis esse ætatis, | et rerum usus, quibus sciret, quid è re sua esset, cog-
noscere. Si conquiesceret : se fratrem esse · quod si pergeret insanire : non fore se
perinde, ac tunc erat *benignum, beneuolum, atque ad ueniam dandam, procliuem, ac
facilem comperturum.[1] Posse se (si uellet) rupis angustias, in qua latebat, ocupare · ||
F. 87b. 1 et commeatu, annonaque, ac quotidiano uictu carentem, tandiu fame, inediaque
uexare : ut a suis destitutus, esurieque enectus, manus, uel inuitus daret : sed id sibi,
in animo ideo non esse, quod ipsa, ut precaretur, uenisset.

A. returns to Jalālābād.

Atque ut hac oratione, sororem dimisit, mandataque scripsit, quibus regnum,
2 *eius fidei committebat :[2] ad profectionem, se accinxit, indictoque | reditus die, qua
copiæ mouerent · ipse magnis itineribus, ad Gelalabadica castra, cum parua manu,
selectorum tribunorum, et equitum uenit. Cui omnes, qui in castris constiterant, et

M. to make his victory known to Europe.

in ijs Sacerdos, gratulatum occurrerunt. Ac Sacerdotis gratulationem, hilari uultu
accepit · vel ob id maxime, quod eius opera existimaret, rei famam, ad Hispaniam,
usque peruagaturam. Est enim gloriæ percupidus. |

3 Vbi primum, omnes copiæ conuenerunt, Gelalabado, Fattepurum uersus, castra

Bloodless campaign and King Don Sebastian's disaster.

mouit. Et cum sine cruore, bellum confectum, animaduerteret : in frequenti, suorum
ducum, corona, a Sacerdote quæsiuit · quonam pacto Affricana clades, euenisset ?
4 qua intra quattuor horarum spatium, quattuor reges | peremti essent ? Quidue im-
pulisset Sebastianum, ut suppetias Agareno ferret ? et ei confideret ? Cui, cum rem
omnem ordine, Sacerdos explicasset : exclamauit · " Illorum ego fortitudinem, nun-
" quam satis laudabo, qui serio pugnant, manusque conserunt. At uestram ignauiam,
F. 88a. 1 " nunquam desinam accusare · || qui magis, corporum integritati, quam æternæ belli
" gloriæ, prospicitis. O strenuum (inquit) et fortissimum iuuenem, qui pugnandi
" auidus, mare traiecit, et in alienum regnum, rogatus inuasit : ut suam fortunam
" periclitaretur." Et cum eius naturæ sit, atque ingenij, quo Sebastianus fuit · hoc
est intrepidus, *et qui nullum periculum adire reformidet :[3] sæpissime eius facta, et
laudes percensebat. |

2 Cæterum Sacerdos, cum a Rege obtinuisset, ut castra bidui itinere, antecederet :

A zealot of the Qorān at the Khaibar and Monserrate.

quo Caybareni transitus, periculum declinaret · ubi eum collem conscendit, in aper-
tum discrimen deuenit, ne lapidibus necaretur. Est enim locus, plurimis lapidibus
instructus, quos *aquarum proluuies,[4] conuehit. Nam quidam Agarenus, propius ad
3 eum accessit, ac quæsiuit · " Credisne, | in nostrum prophetam ?" Cui Sacerdos ·
" Minime gentium." Tum Agarenus · " Quare ?"—" Quia," inquit Sacerdos, " non
fuit propheta." Rursus · " Credisne (ait) in Alcoranum ?"—" Non."—" Quare ?"
—" Eo quod non sit Dei liber."—" Proh (exclamauit) Deum immortalem ! Videte,"
inquit, ad frequentissimum, hominum prætereuntium, cœtum, " uidete exlegem.
4 " Negat Mahammeddem, esse prophetam · | et Alcoranum, esse librum Dei." Quod
contenta, uoce *atrociter[5] sæpe repetiuit · * et dubium non est quin hominem lapidibus
appetijssent et percussissent nisi inflammatum atque ignitum Regis furorem exhorruis-
sent, in ipsorum cæde, si eum interficerent, bacchaturi. Qua se cogitatione cæde
coercuerunt.[6]

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[1] 1st : benignum comperturum, beneuolum, . . . facilem. [2] 1st : in eius fidem tradebat.
[3] 1st : et qui se, nullis periculis subtrahat. [4] 1st : imbrium inundationes. [5] Later addition.
[6] 1st : cum uero plebem, commoueri Sacerdos uideret, honeste se eius furori subtraxit.

3000 Beggars at 'Ali Masjid. Porro, cum Rex, in Ahalidis templum uenit, quod in Caybaris fauce, ædificatum
esse, supra commemorauimus, magnos pauperum, seu potius nebulonum greges, qui
frequentissimi, castra sequebantur, ad tria fere millia, in eum locum conuenire,
F. 88b. 1 singulisque argentei nummi || stipem erogari imperauit · ipse vero preces, more Agare-
A. prays at the shrine. nico, in eo loco fudit.

Khaibar=Capissa, destroyed by Cyrus? Jamuero, ut diligentibus rerum antiquarum studiosis, aliquid impertiamur: non
dubijs coniecturis ducimur, ut existimemus Caybari, et Caybareno collibus, Capissam
urbem, quam diruit Cyrus, et Capissenas, nomen reliquisse · quod postea (ut fere fit)
2 temporum diuturnitate, | rerumque uicissitudine, in eam appellationem deuenerit, de-
flexa nonnihil, voce, et iteris immutatis, quam nostra memoria, tractus ille retinet.
Cum enim illhac transirem, mihi renuntiatum est, non procul a uia, ruinas uetustis-
simæ urbis, cuius nomen cum tectis exciderit, manere · et post gentes, Indo proximas, *Plin. lib. 6. cap. 23.*
3 hi primum montes occurrunt: | quos Capissenæ, habuisse traduntur.[1]

White tent and prayer discarded. Cæterum, cum Zelaldinus, intra aulæ septum, dum Chabulum peteret, candidum
tabernaculum, in quo precaretur, figi imperaret, in reditu, se animaduertere, num
poneretur, dissimulabat.

Recalcitrants E. of the Khaibar punished. Vbi vero, fauces Cáybaris, et* præruptas rupes[2] excessit · in campumque uenit,
4 aliquot oppida, iuxta Coam, incendi præcepit: quorum incolæ, cum Chabulum
ascenderet,* commeatum petenti, cibaria dare recusarunt · ac nec prece, nec pretio
adduci, potuerunt: ut uendendam annonam exponerent.[3] Qui cum intellexerunt,
regem redire, trans flumen, aufugerunt · suarumque rerum conflagrationem, ex
editiore, trans flumen, loco inermes, et miseri conspexerunt. Qui ut fidem Mirsa-
F. 89a. 1 chimo, seruarent, Zelaldini || offensionem incurrerunt, ut merito poeta dicat · *Hor. lib. 9. Epist. ad Lollium.*

"*Quicquid delyrant Reges, plectuntur Achiui.*"

Bridging the Indus before Atak. In ora Coæ, iuxta eum locum constitit, ubi, cum Indo commiscetur · * dum
ponte ligneo super nauiculis, e regione Nilabhi in angusta quadam fauce transitus
Indi coniungitur.[4] Cum enim, mense Septembri, in ea regione, algere cœlum incipiat:
2 et Imai | niues, minime liquentur: adeo amnis decrescit, ut pontem pati, integrumque
Sept. 1581. sustinere possit.

All troops cross. Quo absoluto, cum exercitum, et præsidia, quæ in ora Coæ locarat, ut sorori re-
A.'s 3 days' march upon Kashmir. ceperat, traduxisset: versus Casmiriam, castra* mouit,[5] triduoque iter, aduersus eam
regionem fecit. Nam erat illi in animo, eam præfecturam suo imperio adiungere, ut
3 eius | Tyrannus, 'Αχαριστίας criminis, pœnas daret · qui cum singulare, ab eo, benefi-
cium, non ita pridem, accepisset: beneficij immemor, cum per fines, regni sui,
Zelaldinus iter ageret: nullam, grati animi, significationem, edidisset. Debuisset
enim, si non ipse, per suos saltem legatos, regem prætereuntem salutare · missisque
4 munusculis, et aliquo ciborum | commeatu, subsidium, et obsequium deferre. Nam
Deterred by his 8 months' campaign and other difficulties. a patruo pulsus, a Zelaldino, paulo antea, regno fuerat restitutus. Verum suorum
consilio reuocatus est · qui in medium attulerunt, omnium copiarum defatigationem,

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[1] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS. [2] 1st: præcipitium.

[3] 1st: annonam petenti, recusarunt, ac nec prece . . . ut uendendam exponerent.

[4] 1st: pons ligneus nauiculis e regione Nilabhi in Indi angusta quadam fauce imponitur.

[5] 1st: direxit.

quæ octo mensium labore, in Chabulica *profectione,[1] desudassent, a quâ, confecto
bello, cum uictoria redirent: quibus relaxationem aliquam, et ab armis otium dari,
F. 89b. 1 oportebat. || Deinde elephantibus, impeditum esse iter, cum difficiliores essent,
montium altitudines, et ad superandum longe asperiores, quam fuerant Chabuli ·
Quin etiam, magnam montium partem, pedibus esse obeundam, cum equi, uix
possint, desiliente equite, expediti, iter carpere. Præterea ingruere hyemem · qua
2 altissimæ niues, | saltum omnem occupant, ut qua uia sit insistendum, omnino non
appareat · quo plerique, in præcipitem aliquem locum inciderent, et laberentur. Quare
Back towards Fatehpur.
iter, Fattepurum uersus flexit · atque in aliud tempus, acceptæ, ut ipse iudicabat,
iniuriæ, uindictam, magis autem, augendi imperij, cupiditatis explendæ, opportunitatem
reiecit.

3 Ac ut Ruytasium peruenit, Sacerdoti | renuntiauit, Rodolfum Ceynandi ægrotasse
Rohtās. Rudolf ill at Sirhind. Was St. Rudolf an Apostle?
· quæsiuitque, quid id nominis esset, num alicuius ex Apostolis, quorum nomina,
recenseri, et quot essent explicari præcepit. Cui sacerdos, ut fecit satis, adiecit:
quod Apostolus idem esset, quod *rassul.* Et Agarenos quidem, unum iactare apostolum:
4 Christianos, duodecim commemorare · qui cum | majores Mahammedde, et
potiores, et doctiores fuerint: Christum esse Dei filium, quod Mahammeddes diffitetur,
Monserrate to meet Rudolf.
docuerunt. Cumque summis precibus, ab eo contenderet, ut conueniendi Rodolfi,
sibi facultatem faceret, ut ei morem gereret, qui id ut suam confessionem exciperet,
F. 90a. 1 postularet: de hoc Sacramento, paucis disputatum est. Cumque Rex quid || id rei esset
Rudolf above Confession.
intellexit, ait, "Quibusnam uos peccatis, implicari credendum est? qui amore Dei,
"hoc uitæ genus, instituistis? et pullas uestes induistis?" Pullus enim color
tristitiæ, extremæque calamitatis symbolum, apud hanc gentem est. "Crediderim
equidem," Sacerdos respondit, "pauca, et exigua esse Rodolfi peccata. Est enim
2 "moribus, et uitæ integritate præstans. | Verum, statis quibusdam temporibus;
"acta, uerba, animique cogitata, Christi, et Ecclesiæ mandato, Sacerdotibus aperire
"iubemur. Quare incredibili beneficio, utrunque nostrum affeceris, si mihi facultatem,
How they love each other!
"eius adeundi concesseris. Nam magno præterea, mutuo uidendi nos, desyderio
"tenemur." Tunc Rex quibusdam, qui audiebant, dixit · "Videte, quanto se
3 "amore mutuo prosequantur." Ac Xeco Faridio dixit, ut ab eo quæreret, | quanta
pecunia ad uiæ sumptus, et ad æs alienum soluendum, opus esset: si quod Rodolfus,
Shaikh Farīd to provide for M. and R.'s expenses.
eo morbo, in medicamenta contraxisset? Cui cum rem exposuisset ac Xecus Faridius,
ad regem retulisset: duplo plus dari iussit, quam Sacerdos petijsset. Atque ab eo
4 dimissus, quatriduo concitatis | equis, Sacerdos, ad socium suum Rodolfum, trans-
A 4 days' ride to Lahore. M. falls ill at Lahore.
misso Bydaspe, Sandabalo, atque Adri, qui ab Aquilone urbem alluit Lahurum
uenit · ac diuino consilio, Sacerdos e castris discessisse, iudicari poterat: ut in grauissimo
morbo, subsidium a Rodolfo acciperet. Qui cum ad Regis pedes, ut discede- *Ysto se haa de escreuer.*
F. 90b. 1 ret, accidisset: ad quosdam primarios uiros, qui ad se, || a Mirsachimo, ea die, transfugerant,
et ad Sacerdotis aspectum, commoueri mirarique quisnam esset, uidebantur:
occurrit *Rex ac propter Sacerdotis personam quam sustinebat is quem ex ultimis
A Firingī Saint.
terris accersitum uenisse demirabantur dixit[2] · "Hic a Francis, habetur sanctus."[3]

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[1] 1st: expeditione. [2] 1st: Rex, ac dixit.

[3] Bracketed in the MS. from: Qui cum ad regis pedes (fol. 90*a*. 4).

R. welcomes Akbar at Lahore. Lahurum vt Zelaldinus uenit, ad castra Rodolfus occurrit, ut illi gratularetur :
quem ille lætissime, et amantissime accepit. Et cum ei, prospera omnia, Rodolfus
2 precatus esset : consilium | suum Rodolfo aperuit, esse, ut ad Hispaniarum Regem,
Embassy to Spain. legatum, et in eius comitatu, e Sacerdotibus alterum, mitteret. Et cum Rodolfus
Attack on Damān. narrasset, Mongolos in agrum Damanicum, excursionem fecisse ; se id ægerrime ferre,
significauit.

Lahore described. At, ne Lahurum taciti prætereamus, amplitudine, et frequentia, negotiatorum,
3 ex uniuersa prope | Asia, et opum diuitiarumque abundantia, Lahurum, urbs est,
nulli, siue in Asia, siue in Europa, ciuitati secunda. Imo uero, his omnibus rebus,
plerisque præcellit · nam et omne mercium genus, in eam conuehitur, et nullum est
artificium ad humanæ uitæ usum, cuius in ea opifices, non reperiantur. Tanta est
4 hominum celebritas, ut se mutuo, in uijs impediant. Solius | arcis, quæ * ex latere
et cæmento effecta est,[1] ambitus, tribus prope passuum millibus tenditur. Intra
arcem, forum est uenale, quod ad arcendos, æstiuos calores, et hyemis pluuias, repellendas, facto ex tabulis, fastigiato tecto, utrinque munitur : eo artificio, eaque rei
utilitate, ut imitatione dignum uideatur. Quo in foro, cum aromata uæneant, mirum
F. 91a. 1 est, primo mane, quam suauem || gratumque odorem, exhalent. Reliqua urbs, latissime protenditur · eius ædificia, e lateribus sunt extructa. Indigenæ ut plurimum,
Kashmīrīs = Jews? sunt Brachmanæ opulenti, et omnis generis gentiles, Casmirini præterea, panifici, et
focarij, et scrutorum propolæ, quod genus quæsturæ, proprium est eorum, quibus
est a Judæis genus. Ager uero est, admodum fœcundus, et fertilis.[2] |

2 Ad hanc usque urbem, Mirsachimus excurrit, et ad orientem solem ipsius, castra,
Mān Singh's defence of Lahore against M. Hakīm. iuxta hortos amplissimos, habuit · cum esset arcis præfectus, Mancinus Bagoandæ
filius · a quo Mirsachimus, arcem repetijt. Cui ille, " Ego * fidem quam Zelaldino
" fratri tuo dedi, qui mihi hanc arcem in tutelam tradidit, non fallam.[3] Si uis fortu-
3 " nam experiri, oppugnato · nam ego, ad resistendum præsto | sum. Si tu copijs
" tuis fidis, ego meorum fortitudine fretus sum · qui millies potius ocumbent, quam
" loco cedant. Eam *si expugnes, et obtineas,[4] mihi mei capitis, nihil curæ est, tan-
" tum ut Zelaldino, meo imperatori, fidem præstem." At Mirsachimus, sperans
amplissimam urbem, in suam potestatem uenturam, ut hominum animos in beneuo-
4 lentia contineret · a furtis, | et * urbis, quæ mœnibus caret, spoliatione,[5] direptioneque abstinuit · ac negotiatores omnes, atque * ciues[6] securos esse iussit ·
dicebatque, cum * arcis prætore,[7] sibi tantum bellum esse. At obsidionem, aduentu
fratris, ut supra demonstrauimus, relinquere coactus est.

A. back at Fatehpur. His mother. Rejoicings. A Lahuro Rex, paucorum dierum itinere, copiis fere omnibus, ad hyberna
dimissis, cum eo exercitu, quem solet, in urbe regia, ad custodiam, et dignitatem
F. 91b. 1 retinere, || Fattepurum uenit, ubi a matre, summa cum lætitia, et publicis (ut fieri
solet) ludorum spectaculis, acceptus est.

A.'s conquests. Cæterum, nemo est, qui non huius imperatoris, prosperos successus, miretur,
atque suspiciat. Nam maiorum memoria, a Temuro Claudo, nullus ex eius atauis,

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[1] 1st : lateritia est.

[2] This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.

[3] 1st : meam fidem Zelaldino, fratri tuo, huius urbis tuendæ obstrinxi.

[4] 1st : si obtineas, et debelles.

[5] 1st : urbis expoliatione.

[6] 1st : incolas.

[7] 1st : præsidiorum duce.

2 nec imperij magnitudine, nec uictoriarum multitudine, huic par, aut æqualis | fuit.
Nam hæreditarium, Delini regnum, superato Beyramcano Persa, qui reluctabatur,
obtinuit. Cui Maluanam præfecturam primum, deinde Gedrosiam, tum Gangaridem,
et Gangeticum littus, intra extraque Vxentum montem, qui populi olim Coccanágæ,
Sábaræ, Gangáridæ, et Dryllophilittæ, inter Tindum amnem, et Gangem fluuium
3 medij dicebantur : nostra | ætate, alijs nominibus, ijsque barbaris efferuntur · quibus
Kashmīr, Sind, the Jām subjected.
regnis, hoc bello · Chabulum, eo confecto, nuper Casmiriam, ut inceptarat, adiunxit,
*nuper Syndi & Jambi regna.[1] Nunc Decanico regno, Lusitanis finitimo, *et
The Dakhin coveted.
toparchijs infra Gangaridem inhiat,[1] et * illa [2] lento quodam bello, debilitat. Quibus
Dāūd Shāh,
prælijs, Dauidem, Patanæorum regem peremit. Ramapartaosinguem, cui duodecim
4 reguli parebant,* glande ex ignifera fistula confixum | peremit.[3] Simili fere exitu,
Rānā Partāb Singh, Meytar Singh [Mattar Sen ?] killed.
Meytarsingues ab eo perijt, cui etiam, aliquot Dynastæ suberant. Mussapharcanum,
Gedrosiæ regem fudit. Arachosiæ tyrannum, in fugam uertit, et regni partem ocupauit.
Muzaffar Khān defeated, etc.
Mirsachimum fratrem, in montium rupes compulit. Caspirinum principem obtinuit.
At uero toparchas, ac dinastas cæteros, qui commemoratis regibus parebant, arciumque
præfectos uel sustulit e medio, uel in deditionem accepit, ad quadraginta · ||
F. 92a. 1 quorum nomina barbara, et nimium dura, atque ijs, quæ paulo ante adduximus,
similia, consulto prætermitto. Cuius potentiam, finitimi reguli, cum reformidarent, et
se posse resistere desperarent, sponte ei uectigales, et stipendiarij facti sunt. Nec
mirum, cuiquam uideri debet, cum a Pseudostomo Gangis, ad Chabulum duodeuiginti
2 ferme *gradibus latitudo pateat,[4] et a littore Gedrosiæ, ad Vxenti | montis iuga,
An empire of 18° of long. and 21° of lat.
quæ ad Gangem uergunt, ab oriente sole, *undeuiginti gradibus,[5] longitudo decurrat :
si finibus Indi, et Gangis uix egressus, tot prouincias, atque conuentus, suo imperio
subdiderit, urbesque * expugnauerit.[6] Est enim India, omnium Asiæ prouinciarum,
M.'s second book.
maxima, longe, lateque amplissima, *cuius descriptionem sequenti libro, si Deus
dederit, explicabimus.[7]

3 Enimuero Fattepuri, | institutum Lahuri, de legatione, ad Philippum Hispaniarum
M. & Sayyid Muzaffar to go to Spain ; 'Abdullah, a Shī'ah, to go to Goa.
regem, sermonem repetijt, et cum Rodolfo egit · ut is Sacerdos, qui cum eo, in castris
uersatus erat, cum suis legatis proficisceretur. Duos enim designauit, alterum qui in
Hispaniam nauigaret, generis nobilitate illustrem · alterum qui Goæ consisteret, eundem
4 dem qui sacerdotes, ex Goæ insula adduxerat · uirum quidem | probum, quantum
perfidus animus sinit, ex factione Xaæorum : utpote qui Persa esset.

Quæ factio, a Xa Ismaele, Persidis Rege, annis abhinc, fere octoginta,* *i.e.*,
Shī'ah legends.
circiter annum millesimum et quingentesimum a Christi natali orbisque salutari die,[7]
'Alī and the Angel Gabriel.
noua superstitione, inducta est · cuius homines Ahalidem, tanquam Dei uices gerentem,
tem, Vahallah inclamant,* id est diuinæ dominationis iurisque uicarium, uel Dei sanctum.[7]
tum.[7] Ferunt enim, Gabrieli, Alcorani librum, ad Ahalidem afferenti (uidete anilem
F. 92b. 1 fabulam) || Mahammeddem occurrisse. Quem cum Gabriel interrogasset, "Tune
Ahalis es?" quæsiuit ipse. "Quid uero boni, ad eum affers?" Conspicabatur
enim librum. Cui angelus · "Librum hunc, a Deo, ueracem, quo homines, corrigendi,

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st : illud. [3] 1st : orbe plumbeo, ex tubo confecit.

[4] 1st : spatijs latitudo pateat (quæ Geographi gradus dicunt).

[5] 1st : septem et triginta spatijs. [6] 1st : debellauerit. [7] Later addition.

ac dirigendi sunt. Ipse enim est, Dei nuntius.'' Tunc Mahammeddes, tam honori-
2 ficæ prouinciæ, ac nominis cupidus, dixit · "Ego sum.'' Cui cum Gabriel | credi-
disset, librum tradidit: ab homine, angelus delusus, scilicet. Deus uero, ut stultis-
sime, impijssimeque confingunt, quoniam Mahammeddes, uir bonus, et Propheta
esset · rei euentum sequutus, ei librum permisit, et ut esset nuntius comprobauit.
Quare, cum Dei sententia, potior Ahalis sit, quam Mahammeddes · et a nuntij digni-
3 tate, Mahammeddis fallacia, et | Gabriele (si Deo placet) simplici exciderit: cum
Shi'ah and Sunnī feuds. melius sit, ut aiunt, mereri quam obtinere: et ad eum nuntij nomen, deferre neque-
ant: *uices apud homines et numen Dei tenentis[1] dignitatem, referunt. Quæ res,
omnium bellorum, inter Persas et Turcas seminarium, et fomes est. Hos cæteri Aga-
4 reni, contumelioso nomine, | * Rafficinos,[2] hoc est, hæreticos, uocant · qui profecto,
Shi'ahs, Rāfizī or heretics. ad simulachrorum uenerationem, quodammodo redire iudicantur. Nam Leoni, quasi
Ahalidis signo, uenerationem tribuunt cuiusdam fabulæ, cui Gabrielem immiscent,
'Alī's emblem. authoritate freti · quæ incerto quidem authore, sic fertur. Cum Mahammeddes, in
cœlum ascendisset, ei fremebundus leo occurrit. Cuius aspectu territus, cum pedem
referret: ait ei Gabriel, "Ne reformides. Anulum quem geris in digito, quo epistolas
F. 93a. 1 obsignas,|| in ipsius os conijcito.'' Quod cum fecisset, abijt leo. At, cum in terras
descendisset Mahammedes: ei Ahalis gratulabundus occurrit, anulum eum gestans,
quem ille in os eius, sub leonis effigie iniecerat. Videte quæso, quibus nænijs, Aga-
2 reni, fidem tribuant · quos duces sequantur, quorum uestigijs insistant: | quos pro-
phetas, quos nuntios, quos rerum diuinarum interpretes iactent. At illud execran-
dum est, quod Gabrielem suarum nugarum, internuntium, impudenter, et impie, in
hoc theatrum producant · qui Gabriel, in primis cœli principibus; et Dei administris,
a sacrorum librorum monumentis, et sanctorum patrum scriptis, ac a communi totius
A return to Mithraism. Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ, et omnium Christianorum consensu, adnumeratur. At uero
Persæ ad priscorum superstitionem redire eo iudicantur, quod prisci solem ab ipsis
Mithram nominatum coluerunt. Cuius simulachrum *rictu[3] leonis capite tiaram gestan-
[tis] qui prehensum cornibus [tau]rum teneret effingitur. Sic enim poeta quidam
cecinit.

Adsis, o memor hospitij, Iunoniaque arua
Dexter ames; seu te roseum Titana uocari
Gentis Achæmeniæ ritu; seu præstat Osirim
Frugiferum; seu Persei sub rupibus antri
Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.

Stat. lib. 1. *Th*[*eb. vv.* 716 –720].
Strab. lib. 15.

Nostro hoc etiam tempore Persæ in uexillo candido leonem pictum magno rictu,
et inuadenti ac frendenti similem gerunt, quod uexillum cum explicatur [Ahalim] in
ea effigie magnis et inconditis clamoribus uahallah salutant et [1 *line near the margin cut through*]..... Mithridatis nomen ..... [*some words missing* ?].[4]

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[1] 1st: uices Dei gerentis.

[2] 1st: Raffiginos (?). In the Index occurs the form "Ráffigi."

[3] This seems the right reading, especially as we have below: "leonem magno rictu." It is certainly not "uultu."

[4] The whole of this paragraph is bracketed in the MS.—"At uero Persæ (fol. 93*a*. 2) . . . Mithridatis nomen" is a later addition.

3 Verum hos missos | faciamus. Dum Fattepuri, legationis negotium transigitur,
A.'s aunt, Gulbadan Begam, goes to Mecca.
nuntium, ad sacerdotes uenit, Damani, cum Mongolis, propter Bútzárem, bellum esse. *Butsar, i.e., simulachrica-put.*
Est autem Bútzáris, oppidum agri Damanici, quod a Zelaldini Regis amita, cum esset
Suratæ, ut Meccam nauigaret, Lusitanis, dono datum est · quo si forte, in Lusitano-
4 rum classem incideret, amice, et beneuole, tractaretur. | Quæ posteaquam redijt, ut
Butsar given to Goa.
quæ Lusitanorum amicitia, non indigeret · Suratensibus, ut oppidum, cum agro, a
Promises broken. War with Damān. Moghul reverses.
Lusitanis repeterent, edixit. Qui cum equitum manum misissent, a Lusitanis fortiter
repulsi, aliquot milites amiserunt. Est etiam Regi, et Mongolorum genti, quæ super-
F. 93b. 1 ba, et arrogans est, utpote quæ, a tenera || ætate,* militia insolens fieri assuescat:[1] mo-
lestum et grave; quod ad tute nauigandum, Dium adire, et facultatem, quibusdam
conditionibus accipere, compellantur · quod si facere recusent, et in Lusitanorum
manus, eorum naues deueniant, illis perinde, ac si hostium essent, prædæ sint. Qua
ex re, cum magnum damnum, *Baroccij,[2] et Suratæ præfecti, accipiant: qui * contu-
2 macia[3] quadam, | naues, sine facultate, mittere non desistunt: magnum ob eam
Moghul ship seized. 9 of Diogo Lopes Coutinho's men taken
caussam, odium, in Lusitanos habent. Atque tum, propter plagam Bútzári acceptam, *Butsári.*[5]
tum propter nauem, a Lusitanis interceptam, eo res progressa est, *ut obscuræ simul-
tates a Mongolis susceptæ propter Regis erga Christianos beneuolentiam in apertas
inimicitias traducerentur. Nam speculatores, simulata amicitia, in agrum Damani-
and executed at Surat.
cum sceleratissime miserunt, et cum[4] Lusitana classis, quam Jacobus Lopezius
3 Coutignus ducebat: | in hostio esset Taphti fluuij, qui Surate, in mare illabitur: et
aliquot iuuenes, *amicitia Regis erga nos freti,[5] auiculas captandi, et animi relaxandi
caussa in littus descendissent: ex insidijs, quas noctu collocarant, inopinantes armis
sunt adorti, et cum cæteri aufugissent, et ægre, ad naues, et cum magno discrimine
Christian heroism.
peruenissent, ex ijs nouem interceperunt, quos Suratem, cum triumpho deduxerunt,
*ac postridie ad supplicium iniurijs affectos eo traxerunt, quod a se latam conditio-
4 nem, | quam putabant esse æquissimam repudiassent. Ea fuit ut[6] si uellent ad Aga-
renorum, atque adeo suam credulitatem, transire, non solum præsens, quod ante
oculos habebant, periculum euaderent, sed etiam multis diuitijs, honoribusque cu-
mularentur: nec defuturas, pulchras, ac nobiles mulieres, quibuscum matrimonium
F. 94 a. 1 coniungerent. Qui profecto iuuenes, forti, et constanti animo || *in datam optionem
et conditionem non descenderunt, sed potius illam ut impiam et execrandam et ipsum
Mahammeddem tanquam auspicium malum detestati supplicium subierunt.[7] *Qui-
bus ad martyrium veluti antesignanus fuit nobilis iuuenis et claro genere natus Idu-
Duarte Pereyra de Lacerda their leader.
ardus Pereyra a Lacerda, cuius fidei et constantiæ tantum reliqui sodales tribuebant
ut, quum ab Agarenis ad defectionem prope compellerentur, hac se responsione ex
eorum improbitate et audacia eximebant [*sic*: Read: eximerent]: "Quoquo uersus
se Eduardus feret nos sequemur." At ille constantissime perfidos homines ab se
suisque socijs datis ceruicibus abegit. Nam cæteri eius exemplum sequuti uitam pro
Christi religione mira fortitudine cum morte commutarunt, et in eas oras demigrarunt

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[1] 1st: in militia assuescat. [2] 1st: Barochij [3] 1st: proteruia.

[4] 1st: ut primum exploratores simulata amicitia in agrum Damanicum mitterent. Deinde cum

[5] Later addition.

[6] 1st: qui postridie ad supplicium producti sunt: quibus conditio proposita est ut.

[7] 1st: impositam conditionem abiecerunt · et ipsum Mahammeddem execrati, supplicium subierunt.

Heads carried to Fatehpur.

A. simulates ignorance.

Mīrān Sultān [? Kalij Kh.?] tells the news.

quas illi incolunt qui e uita honestissime et laudatissime acta exasseruntur. Fuit
illis quidem uita breuis, at cursus gloriæ sempiternus. Præter sacræ huius cohortis
signiferi nomen, reliquorum nomina assequi non potui.[1] Eorum uero capita, Fatte-
purum ad regem sunt deportata, quod Sacerdotes, se ignorare simulabant. Rex item
non solum se scire dissimulauit; sed cum rei fama, adeo peruulgata esset, ut Sura-
tensis arcis præfectus ipse, Sacerdotibus narraret · nec amplius, rem ignorare, præ se
2 ferre possent, | ab ijs interrogatus Rex, negauit se, occisorum capita uidisse: acce-
pisse tamen, atque id ægerrime tulisse, quod ad Damanum, et Suratem pugnatum esset.

Qutbu-d-dīn of Broach; Naurang Kh. of Champaner; Mīrān Sultān of Surat against Damān.

Qutbu-d-dīn killed (1583) by Muzaffar of Gujrāt.

Martin Alfonso de Mello, Fernão de Castro, Manoel de Saldanha,

Fernão de Miranda and João de Athide repel the Moghuls.

Enimuero, ulterius deductum est, belli, negotium. Nam coacto a Cutubdicano,
*Barocij[2] subregulo, quindecim millium equitum exercitu, tum ex sui conuentus,
stipendiarijs, tum Campaneriensis conuentus, quem Nourancanus, eius filius, qui
3 tum | temporis, apud Regem erat, tuebatur; quibus etiam se, Suratensis præfecturæ
copiæ, adiunxerunt · ipse in agrum Damanensem, animo arcem oppugnandi, uenit ·
et ab eo agro, omnem regionem ad Agassaini usque amnem, percurrit · et vastavit ·
miserosque agrorum colonos, et piscatores, reliquamque plebeculam, in scopulos ade-
4 git · ad quos, cum non possent Mongoli, accedere: tanquam ad | asylum miseri con-
fugiebant: verum æstu maris accedente, innumera muliercularum, et puerorum turba
perijt. Cuius sceleris pœnas, haud multo post Cutubdicanus dedit, a Mussafaris,
Gedrosiæ Regis, pulsi copijs uictus · et summo cum dedecore, a quodam milite, in
*gossipij[3] officina, latitans deprehensus, et continuo necatus. Mussafarus enim, ut
F. 94b. 1 patrium || regnum, ui, multaque iniuria, a Zelaldino ereptum, reciperet, inopinantium
Mongolorum præsidia adortus est. At uero Martini Alfonsi Melij, qui Damanum
tuebatur · Fernandi Castrij Xeuli præfecti, Emanuelis Saldanhae Bassaini præfecti,
et Fernandi Mirandæ, qui regiam classem ducebat; fortitudine, atque consilio, et
2 ueteranorum militum uirtute, Mongoli cum | damno abacti sunt. Nam ubi auditum
est, eos aduentare, auxilia, ex uicinis præsidijs, et præsidiorum quos commemorauimus
præfecti Damanum confluxerunt. Cum uero Mongoli, *Danuhum, qui uicus nec
magnum nec firmum Lusitanorum præsidium habebat,[4] obsiderent: virtute Joannis
Athaidij, *cuius erat uicus et præsidium,[5] elephante, et aliquot militibus amissis,
*eminus missilibus, telis et glandibus abacti[6] aufugerunt.

A.'s collusion.

Qutbu-d-dīn and Shihāb Kh. desist.

3 Quod, cum ad Sacerdotes perlatum fuisset, | et ipsi, animo offensi, Regi renunti-
assent, huius belli, se non fuisse conscium, deierauit. Aiebat enim, Cutubdicanum,
et Xaebcanum, homines senes, ea authoritate, qua apud se ualere intelligebant, et
senili quadam fiducia, multa adoriri, quæ tum ipse ignoraret, tum reprehendere non
4 auderet · quoniam in suam gratiam, et publicam utilitatem, facta | uiderentur · eo
quod Christiani, Agarenorum hostes habeantur. Quæ Regis responsio, ob id Sacer-
dotibus, quodammodo uerisimilis fiebat, quia duces illi, Regem ob inconstantiam
oderant · et quoniam ea sunt Mongoli sagacitate, *ut dum crudis et immaturis adhuc
rebus sui consilij et uoluntatis explendæ ocasionem et tempus expectant, nunquam
F. 95a. 1 suo officio desint || donec res maturescant.[7]

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[1] Later addition.

[2] 1st: Barochij.

[3] 1st: gausapis.

[4] 1st: uiculum, ubi exiguum Lusitanorum præsidium est.

[5] 1st: qui præsidio præerat.

[6] Later addition.

[7] 1st: ut nunquam suo officio desint, dum ocasionem et tempus expectant sui consilij et uoluntatis explendæ, quamdiu res acerbæ sunt, et immaturæ, donec maturescant.

At uero, cum expetentibus Sacerdotibus,* Rex[1] suo præcepto, illorum ducum
copias, ex Damanensi agro reuocasset, ac illi, dicto citius, paruissent: Regem in tot
Pedro de Menezes outwits the Moghuls at Diu.
tantisque sceleribus conniuere, et ocultum bellum fouere, non leui coniectura ducebantur.
Quod tum demum, uerum esse, compertum est · cum Dium, Petro Menesio
2 præfecto, magnam armorum | copiam, intra gossipij sarcinas inuehi, et Mongolos
simulata amicitia, illac iter agere, commeatum a Lusitanis quasi a socijs petere, et
quam nacti essent occasionem, dolo arcem occupandi, arripere imperauit. Qui accurate
iussa fecerunt · et *cibarijs pretio acceptis, tanquam amici[2] a præfecto, arcem
inermes pellustrare, permissi sunt · militibus Lusitanis, in excubijs, et suis locis constitutis,
3 qui Mongolos, aliquid | molientes, trucidarent. Maluit enim Petrus, insidias,
et proditionem, se nosse dissimulare · quam inconsulto Indiæ Subrege: bellum cum
finitimo, eoque copijs instructissimo Rege suscipere. Et Mongoli exitu frustrati,
4 postridie castra Dio mouerunt. Hæc cum agitarentur, Rex sæpenumero, a | Sacerdotibus
quæsiuit, quisnam Dij præfectus esset? Ac tunc quidem, quorsum Rex, eos
interrogaret, ne minimum quidem olfaciebant.

Recalled by the Provincial.

Per id tempus, a Præposito Prouinciæ, ad illos allatæ literæ sunt, quibus eos
ita reuocabat, ut tamen integrum illis esset, id agere, quod ad maiorem Dei gloriam,
*casurum[3] fore iudicarent. Qui cum Regem, per summam fraudem, et malitiam,
F. 95b. 1 amicitias cum hero | nostro, Hispaniarum Rege fingere, quasi manibus tangerent: ab
A. swears to his Innocence.
eo, abeundi facultatem, modeste quidem, et summa cum demissione, petierunt. Qui,
cum eos, superiorum bellorum tumultibus, offensos, eam facultatem petere, existimaret:
iure iurando, se illarum cædium, authorem non fuisse, affirmauit. Cui peieranti
2 cum minime crederent, nam Agarenorum iuri | iurando, nihil fidei tribuendum
est · ipsorum enim doctor Mahammeddes,* spurcissimus et ineptissimus illorum legis
architectus, homo post homines malos longe improbissimus,[4] hostibus peierare licere
Monserrate to return.
docet, nihilo secius tamen, hoc consilium ceperunt · uti alter, cum legatis proficisceretur
· Præpositumque Prouinciæ, omnium rerum, quæ actæ, et quo loco, tunc
essent, commonefaceret, alter remaneret · ne, dum aliqua spei lux, uel minima, ali-
3 cuius animarum | lucri, effulgéret, Regem deseruisse uiderentur. Licet enim ea, quæ
Hopeful signs.
dicta sunt, esse omnia ficta, et fraudibus plena ostenderent, alia tamen, quæ paucis
enumerabo, spem nostram, non mediocriter subleuabant.

Primum erat, quod posteaquam, Fattepurum, ex bello redijt, nouum ardorem,
4 diuinarum rerum perdiscendarum, concepisse uisus est. Nam ipso primo die | quo
A. seeks instruction again.
uenit, Rodolfo dixit · "Meus quidem animus, erga Christianam legem, Deo apertus,
"atque perspectus est · qui quanto studio, eam perdiscere optem, cognoscit. Verum,
"uos equidem percipere non possum, qui tres Deos esse dicitis."—"Nequaquam,"
occurrit Rodolfus, "o Rex, tres deos dicimus, hoc enim impium est, et a fide Christianorum
F. 96 a. 1 "anorum alienum · sed unum Deum || et tres personas, in uno Deo ueneramur, Patrem,
"Filium, et Spiritum sanctum." Quod cum suis dixisset, ad Rodolfum iterum,
Wanted, a Persian scholar, once a Moor.
"Scribite," inquit, "ad uestros, ut diligenter, hominem perquirant, qui bene Persicum,
"et Lusitanicum sermonem calleat, et si fieri possit, qui aliquando Agarenus

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[1] Later addition.
[2] 1st: cibarijs pro pretio, tanquam amici, acceptis.
[3] 1st: cessurum.
[4] Later addition.

2 " extiterit, et in utraque lege fuerit uersatus." Deinde in priuato | colloquio ei dixit,
League with Spain against the Turk. Embassy to Rome. Joy at R.'s staying on.
se aduersus Turcarum Regem, fœdus, cum Lusitaniæ Rege, uelle inire, pecuniaque
regem iuuare, tum ad Summum Pontificem, salutandum, socium eius, si ipse maneret,
mittere. Præterea, se inuitum dare, ambobus facultatem abeundi, apertissime osten-
debat. Et cum tandem, unum e duobus, mansurum intellexit: mirum in modum,
3 gauisus est · | illisque ob eam rem, bene precatus, eorum laudes, in magno suorum
cœtu prædicauit, ut eos, tam honorificæ prædicationis, puderet. Atque Rodolfo, qui
erat mansurus, dixit: "Procul dubio, *hîc si manseris Deo fore gratius existimo,
"quam si me solum deserueris.[1] Nam apud tuos, non desunt, qui * in tuum locum
4 "sufficiantur.[2] At si hinc abieris, nemo | est, qui *pro te substituatur."[3] Et in
Respect for the Pope
priuato quodam colloquio, cum de legationis argumento, inter tres tantum ageretur ·
et Pontificiæ dignitatis, amplitudinem, ab ipsis didicisset: rogareturque, quid suo
nomine, Summo Pontifici significari uellet (non sine animi dolore commemoro, cum in
*mentem[4] uenit, Pontificiam dignitatem, quam Agarenus Rex suspiciat, uel ea tantum
F. 96b. 1 caussa, quod Christi uicem gerere, ab externis hominibus, || audierit: ab ijs contemni,
et ludibrio haberi, qui se Christianos, sed iniuria, et nouos Euangelij restitutores
iactant) dixit · "Intellexisse me, dices, quam ampla, atque augusta Summi Ponti-
"ficis Romani, esset dignitas, quippe qui * Christi loco in terris sit · [5] et audiuisse me,
"reges omnes, ad eius pedes accidere · denique te, a me mitti, ut eius pedes meo
2 "nomine | osculeris, quando ego præsens, osculari coram non possum · et ut ab eo
"impetres, ut ad me aliqua* perscribi imperet,[6] quibus me Dei uiam doceat · (opto
"enim ueritatem cognoscere) et *modum quo regna, quæ mihi parent, in magno
"timore administrem, qui a reuerentia aduersus Deum oriatur, ut post cœli atque ter-
"rarum futuram deflagrationem quando grauissimum illud Dei judicium subiero,
"exigui meæ uitæ curriculi[7] reddere rationem sciam." Quibus alia adiecit, quæ a
3 pijssimo quodam Christiano Rege, prodire uidebantur. | Ad hæc se non esse Agare-
A. not a Moor, but a *Talab-Khudā* Seeks advice from the Pope or the General S. J.
num, professus est · nec Mahammeddis symbolo, quicquam tribuere · *prosequi
autem eorum sectam qui tantummodo Deum unum sine compare, ut eius verbis vtar,
inuocant et vestigijs odorantur, quæ est Sauphiorum schola · [8] ac nihili facere vxores,
Talabqhoda, i e., Dei vestigator.
filios, diuitias, regna, præ ut, ueritatem discat. Nec sibi fore quicquam impedimento,
quominus legem acciperet, si aut a Summo Pontifice, aut a Præposito Societatis, aut
4 ab ipsis, aut denique | a quouis pauperculo* et humili homine,[9] aliquid audiret, quod
*in eius animum et cor[10] penetraret. Quod vero, ad filios attinebat: se genus mater-
His sons, like Cingīz Khān's, to choose their own religion.
num, a Cinguiscano ducere, qui decem filios habuisse ferebatur, quorum nemini uim
attulit, ut unam potius, quam aliam legem sequeretur · ex quibus unus, fuisse Chris-
tianus ferebatur. Se similiter filijs integrum relinquere, ut quam malint legem *ac-
cipiant.[11]

F. 97a. 1 Nec synceri eius animi, uulgare argumentum || putabant, quod se adeo diligeret,

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[1] 1st: plus hic pietati, quæ in Dei uoluntate facienda est, manendo seruies, quam si me solum deseras.

[2] 1st: tuas uices subeant.

[3] 1st: tibi succedat.

[4] 1st: memoriam.

[5] 1st: uicem Christi in terris habeat.

[6] 1st: perscribat.

[7] 1st: rationem, qua regna, quæ mihi parent, cum Dei timore administrem, ut in extremo judicij die.

[8] 1st: esse uero Dei inuocatorem et uestigatorem.

[9] Later addition.

[10] 1st: in cor.

[11] 1st: amplectantur.

Kindness to R. & M. when ill.
homines peregrinos, et diuersæ omnino religionis, Sacerdotes: a quibus, libere, cum
res ferebat, commonefieret, eorumque curam perinde, ac si eius essent filij, ageret.
Orders to Bhagwān Dās and Jādū (?) Dās.
Quod aperte ostendit vtrique morbo laboranti; nam diligentissime, de eorum salute,
interrogabat, sumptus liberalissime dabat, et Bagoandæ regulo, Lahorum proficis-
2 centi, ut in sumptum *pecuniam, si qua[1] | indigerent, *elargiretur imperauit[2]: ac
cum alter, infirma ualetudine, Ceynandi remansisset, et ab Agarenis illi timeret:
Jadondæ Brachmanæ, Delini ciui, edixit, ut a suis familiaribus, eum Fattepurum usque,
datis sumptibus,* non solum necessarijs, sed etiam liberalibus[3] deduci curaret.

Cum igitur his omnibus ducti, *et[4] satius esse in hac re falli, quam nimium
3 cautos esse: iudicarent, rei | euentum Deo committere, nec amplius, de Regis uolun-
Murād taught by Rudolf.
tate dubitare, statuerunt. Ac Rodolfus, qui mansurus erat, instituendi regis filij
uram suscepit · alter sese ad iter parare instituit.

At Rex *recentis,[5] uictoriæ recordatione, iucundus · festos dies agere, mense
4 Martio, constituit · qui Naorus, hoc est nouemdialia, uel noui dies | dicuntur. Nam
The Nauroz (March 1582).
a mense Martio, more Judæorum, gentilica institutione, non quidem ex Mahammeddis
præscripto, Mongoli annum inchoant · diesque festos, hos *veteri consuetudine insti-
tutoque maiorum anniuersarios agunt.[6] Nam mense Martio, Sogdianis, Bactris, ||
F. 97 b. 1 Scythis, et cæteris gentibus, qui ultra trigesimum sextum gradum, ad Aquilonem,
habitant, non aliter quam in Europa, ineunte uere, *agri fruges pubescunt, florum
omnium varietate arbores uestiuntur, odorum suauitates e floribus afflantur, omnia
denique ridere campis collibusque nitidissimis et uiridissimis uidentur.[7] Quare primis,
eius mensis, nouem diebus, *hi populi[8] a laboribus cessant, in agros exeunt, hortos
petunt, splendide epulantur, *et pretiosiore atque lautiore uestitu tecti procedunt.[9]
2 Sunt uero | *hæc nouendialia, argento, ueste, omni apparatu ornatuque visendo,
Unusual splendour.
ludisque magnificentissimis a Zelaldino acta, sic, inquam, ut[10] a plerisque diceretur, a
triginta annis, *perinde ut hæc dabantur, a prioribus regibus, non fuisse celebrata.[11]
Nam parietes, et columnas atrij, aurea, serica, bombycinaque stragula, *et peristro-
mata[8] uestiebant. Ludi fiebant · et spectacula dabantur, a Rege quotidie. Ipse
regijs insignibus, *in sella aurea coronatus[12] in quam per gradus ascendebatur, sedit.
3 Munera, *plerisque ducibus, qui eum fuerant comitati, largitus est.[13] Denique | omni
hominum generi *indici iussit,[14] ut uel saltando, uel canendo, aut pulsando, indicium
lætitiæ daret. *Omnium qui ea caussa uenerunt, multitudinem muneribus congiarijs
Jogī dances.
epulisque leniuit.[15] Quo factum est · ut integræ Joguium familiæ cum suis præsidibus
4 uenirent. Qui cum speciem tantum, non rem assequuti | sint religionis: profanè, et
triuialiter, deposita religionis persona, impudenter, et impudicè saltabant, et ca-
Women visit the palace.
nendo, Regis laudes percensebant. Facultas data est fœminis, ut regiam adirent · quo
eius* magnificum[8] apparatum spectarent. Verum, adeo inter Agarenos increbuerat:

Tudo esta trellado.[8]

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[1] 1st: æs, si quod.
[2] 1st: tribueret.
[3] Later addition.
[4] Redundant.
[5] 1st: pristinæ.
[6] 1st: eius nationis consuetudo induxit.
[7] 1st: agri pubescunt, arbores flores emittunt, omnia denique ridere uidentur.
[8] Later addition.
[9] 1st: et ornatu se uestiunt.
[10] 1st: tanto apparatu hæc nouendialia a Zelaldino acta, ut; 2ndly: "auro" deleted after "argento."
[11] 1st: huiusmodi a superioribus regibus non esse acta
[12] 1st: in gestatoria sella
[13] 1st: in plerosque duces qui eum sunt comitati contulit.
[14] 1st: indictum est.
[15] 1st: omnibus, qui ea caussa uenirent, cibaria dari imperauit.

F. 98a. 1 Regem || Deiparæ Virgini Mariæ, addictum esse: ut e *proceribus[1] quidam, qui necessitudine
The ‘*Abd-ul-Sāmān* shows *Bībī Miriam’s* picture.
cognationis, cum Rege coniunctus erat, Virginis effigiem pulcherrimam, quæ
apud regem erat, clam, a supellectilium custode petitam, illo inscio, in eo peristilij
triclinio, qui e regione regiæ cuiusdam mænianæ, in eodem atrio, in quo Rex considere,
2 et se uidendum, alloquendumque, præbere solet · elegantissimo, et | præstantissimo,
aureorum stragulorum, et linteorum instructu atque ornatu, circumscriptam,
*circumuestitam ac circumseptam[2] collocarat · utpote qui, id regi fore gratissimum,
intelligebat. Nec eum fefellit opinio, nam eius uoluntatem collaudauit: quod etiam,
Sacerdotes non mediocri lætitia affecit · cum illius effigiem, *ab alienis a Christianæ
3 religionis institutis[3] coli, et honore affici uiderent · et quasi ueritate coactos, | non
denegare eius imagini cultum, quam laudant astra matutina, cuius pulchritudinem
Sol, et Luna mirantur · cui impudenter conuitiantur, quidam qui se Christum sequi,
et Euangelij ministros esse, uanissime jactant · qui, uel ipsis Agarenis, sunt deteriores.

Abdul saman · muneris huius nomen est, i.e., rutorum cæsorum seruus.[2]

Long discussion.
Jamvero cum inter *mystagogos[4] Regios, sermo incidisset, de Bethsabe, uxore
4 Vriæ: accersiri Sacerdotes, rex iussit, ut ab eis rei | gestæ ueritatem, audiret: quod
David and Bethsabe.
ansam disputationi dedit, quæ ad dimidiam usque noctem, producta est. Cuius summa
Conflicting texts of the Qorān.
capita, tantum proponam. Atque in primis Sacerdotes quæsierunt, quonam
“ Unbelievers can be saved.”
pacto, eam sententiam Mahammeddis interpretarentur, qua secundo capite *Synthematis,[5]
Ch. II Sūratu’l Baqarah.
Albaccara, *i.e.*, uacca, asserit: unumquemque in sua lege saluum esse posse:
cum multis alijs locis, damnet eos, qui Alcorano, et sibi non credunt · quos sæpe iniquos,
atque infideles, et exleges nominat. Qua quæstione perculsi, cum imparati
essent (nec enim adeo sunt religioni dediti, ut suarum superstitionum, librum uersent,||
F. 98b 1 et addiscant) primum inficiati sunt, sic esse in Alcorano scriptum. At, cum a Sacerdotibus,
adducto libro, locus esset apertissime, omnibus commonstratus, uarie locum,
sed insulse, atque inepte, et præter rem, interpretari conati sunt. Quidam eorum
dixit, se per duos annos, diligenter, et accurate eius sententiæ, sensum peruestigasse,
2 nec reperire potuisse. Reliqui, Sacerdotum interpretationem, | sunt sequuti: esse
scilicet, temere, et false dictum. Quidam occurrit, intelligendum esse, si credant in
Prophetam, et unum Deum, sine participe inclament · Laillah illallah · non est Deus
præter Deum. Cui Rodolfus, “Si id uerum est, non est opus, ut in Mahammeddis
“symbolo, dicatur · Mahammed rassul allah · hoc est Mahammeddes, Dei nuntius.”
3 *Quod omnes non probarunt tantum, sed etiam laudarunt;[6] | et in ijs præcipue, Rex
ipse, qui ægre, *ferebat,[7] Mahammeddis nomen inclamari · quem ipse nulla sanctitatis
laude ornatum, sed flagitiosissimum, et impijssimum hominem fuisse, nec ab re,
*opinabatur.[8] At ille hac consectaria conclusione perculsus et ultra disputando
urgere uerecundans manus dedit. At vero interpretatio qua hunc locum exposuit
inepta fuisse ostenditur. Nam si quis repudiet legem cui parebat et effectus Musselemanus
moriatur atque animo saluus et incolumis conseruetur (quod non damus) jam
non in ea lege quam perrupit seruatur sed in Mahammeddis lege quam accepit. Secum
ergo Mahammedes pugnat cum asserit neminem qui legem suam non obseruauerit

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[1] 1st: magnatibus.
[2] Later addition.
[3] 1st: ab exsortibus Christianæ religionis.
[4] 1st: literatores.
[5] 1st: Alcorani.
[6] 1st: quod omnes probarunt, et laudarunt.
[7] 1st: fert.
[8] 1st: opinatur.

posse animo incolumi conseruari: et posse unamquamque legem eos qui eam diligenter obseruent et Musselemani non sint saluos præstare. Quod si ita accepisset, ut iste interpretabatur, nullus post homines generatos æque atque ipse indoctus, rusticus, et agrestus fuisse reperiretur, qui legem homini qui illam neglexerit fore salutarem fuerit arbitratus. Asserebat autem Mahammeddes posse unumquemque in sua lege saluum conseruari, tum quod fateretur legum libros Thorah Pentateucum, Zabur Psalmos, Ingil Euangelium, a Deo prodijsse, tum ne uoluntatem Judæorum et Christianorum a se penitus abalienaret. Neminem uero saluum conseruatum iri qui in legem a se latam non iurasset, ideo scripsisse credendus est, ut a se homines inescatos et quasi pisces jam hamo captos, ne sese ex laqueis extricarent [1 *or 2 lines cut off from the lower margin*].[1]

Obiecerunt sacerdotes, quod e superiore *argumentatione[2] efficiebatur, non
obscuram esse, in Alcorano, locorum concursationem, et contentionem. Quod cum
4 præterea ostenderetur, ex plerisque Alcorani locis, compulsi | sunt locos conciliare.
Qua in re, cum frustra laborarent, ait Rodolfus, "Quare in re manifesta, et in
medio posita, et aperta discruciamini?" Et Rex, "Vera prædicat." Ipsi, rem
Adam, Noah, Moses, Christ, the exponents of Revelation.
interrogaturi a Mahammede, apud inferos, conticuerunt. Addidit, locum illum,
mendacium continere, eo quod ab orbe condito, una tantum fuerit lex, hominibus a
Deo data, alio quidem, atque alio modo, ab ipso Deo explicata. Ac in primis temporibus, Adamus, et Noes primi interpretes, posteris, eius pauca præcepta tradiderunt.
F 99a. 1 Moyses in monte, cui Deus sub rubi flamma || apparuit, quam accepit explicationem
legis, posteritati promulgauit. At uero, Christus Dei Filius · Patris Verbum, qui nos
in libertatem uindicauit · ut audiuit a Patre, quem semper, absque principio, audit,
nobis interpretatus est · quæ interpretatio Euangelio, cui credimus continetur. Ad
quæ, ne uerbum quidem. Cum a Sacerdotibus demonstrationem peterent, earum
2 rerum, quas docebant: num | quæ ad credendum proponebantur, demonstratione
"Faith its own proof, and a gift of God."
egerent, disputatum est: atque effectum, fidem loco demonstrationis esse, earum rerum, quæ ad credendum, propositæ a Deo sunt · stultumque *simul,[3] et impium
esse, earum rerum demonstrationem quærere, quæ altiora sunt, quam ut eas, nos
humi strati suspicere possimus. Quod Regi, Abdulfasilio, et medicorum supremo,
3 cum esset persuasum: | fidem donum esse Dei, Rex, et Abdulfasilius non admiserunt ·
et fidem gratiamque, eandem esse uirtutem, instabant, atque urgebant. At Sacer-
Faith and grace confused by A. and Abu-l-Fazl.
dotes, cum uerborum inopia, et accommodato interprete laborarent: et quædam, ab
illis, Arabice dicerentur, uerbi esse quæstionem suspicati, non admodum obsistendum
existimarunt. Erat enim aliquando futurum, ut ocasionem, rei explicationem enar-
4 randi | nanciscerentnr. Tandem cum durum esse dicerent, Deo filium tribuere · et
"Christ, not the Son, but the Spirit & the Word, of God."
Christum Dei Filium esse dicere: responderunt durius esse Christum *Rhohallah*, hoc
est Dei halitum, uel spiritum nominare: quam **Ebenallah*,[4] hoc est Dei Filium · faciliusque esse, posito aliquo fidei fundamento, hoc efficere: cum esse *quelemetollah*, hoc
est Dei uerbum, non Euangelium, solum sed ipsum etiam Alcoranum, capite quarto,
F. 99b. 1 Elnessa, affirmet · quam Dei halitum || esse confirmare · cum Deus, corpore careat,

Qorān, Ch. IV, Sūratu'n Nisā.

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[1] Later addition from: "At ille . . ." (fol. 98*b*. 3) and cancelled.

[2] Later addition. [3] 1st: iuxta. [4] 1st: Abenallah.

quo halitum contineat, et pectore, pulmoneque: quo retrahat, et exhalet · et Alcoranum *quoad eam uocem, *calametollah*[1] cum primis Euangelij uerbis consentire: quæ sic habent: "In principio erat uerbum." Quæ Persice Rodolfus explicauit · et *Joan.* I. adiecit, Deum carere accidentibus, ut omnia quæ in Deo sunt, sint ipse Deus. Ac 2 cum, ad multam noctem disputatum | esset · et omnia Rex probasset, ipse cubitum discessit · qui initio huius disputationis in Sacerdotum aures insusurrauit · "Istorum caussa, uos oro, ut nulli aculei, contumeliarum aduersus Mahammeddem, in hac disputatione insint." Quod illi, diligentissime obseruarunt.

Ac cum Rex semper, in animo uersaret, in ea cogitatione defixus: apud quam gentem, vera Dei religio permaneret: rationem id exquirendi, non ineptam excogitauit. 3 Et quadam nocte, duces omnes, | *tum Agarenorum, tum[2] gentilium mystagogos, **A Congress of Religions.** nostros denique Sacerdotes, in interius atrium Regiæ, conuenire iussit · cumque singulos duces, quasi per acies quasdam, ordine collocasset: literarum peritos omnes, et sacrorum magistros, coram se stare imperauit: et de uarijs rebus quæsiuit. Nostri vero Sacerdotes hanc occasionem nacti (quod iam antea secum constituerant) *rem 4 quandam maxime dubitandam in contentione posuerunt.[3] "Cum (aiunt) | in * Syn- **The Qorān & the mountain.** "themate[4] scriptum sit, 'Si liber hic, ad montem mittatur, discissus mons dehiscet': "quærimus duo. Primum de quo libro, id intellexerit, num de illo, qui e cœlo dicitur "delapsus, et a Gabriele Mahammeddi traditus? an de omnibus alijs, qui ex eo des- "cripti feruntur? Nam si de his intelligeret: quid erat cur, mons in quo eramus, non "dehisceret, cum veracem prophetam esse oporteret? Plurimi enim libri, in eo monte F. 100a. 1 "erant. Quod si de libro, e cœlis allato intelligerent, || secundo quærebant · ubinam is "esset? Num montem aliquem discidisset?" Ingenue fassi sunt, non esse illa uerba, de ijs libris, qui passim circumferuntur, intelligenda. Cæterum, ubinam liber ille esset, cum certi nihil auderent affirmare, subterfugere conati, uaria commenta fingebant. 2 Quidam qui Sultanus Mekkæ, eo quod diu, illic fuisset, dicebatur: a Rege | ipso inter- **Sultān Khwājah Abdul 'Azīm in a fix.** rogatus, num Mekkæ servaretur? se plane ignorare respondit. Et ad Sacerdotes · "Videte, patres, ne existimetis, meos doctores, uobis ad unguem, uti est in Alcorano, "responsuros. Unus enim quisque, ex suo sensu respondet." Tum Sacerdotes · "Omnibus qui adsunt *potestatem optionemque facimus ut eligant utrum uelint, "aut librum perquirant,[5] inuentum adducant, in campum descendant · nos in 3 "monte | relinquant, ad montem librum mittant. Si mons dehiscat, nos peri- "culum subire parati sumus,* aut si non dehiscat, librum esse totum ex fraude "et mendacio compositum, nec a Deo missum, fateantur, cum ostenti promisso, "ac recepto quod continet, ut esse Dei liber comprobetur, non satisfaciat nec fidem "sponsoris liberet."[6] Occurrit quidam, ὑπερβόληκῶς, esse dictum. Cui illi, "Si verum 4 "diceret, ad ὑπερβόλην esse illud etiam referendum, quod | Mahammeddis, dimidiatam **The clefting of the moon no hyperbole?** "lunam, linteæ interioris uestis, manica una, excepisset, altera, ut reliquæ parti iunge- "retur, in cœlum emisisset · quod Agareni in præcipuis Mahammeddis miraculis, con-

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st: et literatores, ac. [3] 1st: dubium hoc proposuerunt.

[4] 1st: Alcorano. [5] 1st: optionem damus, ut librum perquirant.

[6] 1st: sed si non dehiscat intelligant librum esse mendacem · nec a Deo missum, cum ostenti promissis, quæ continet, ut se esse Dei librum probet, fallax et mendax sit.

''numerant. Quod si nulla subest,'' aiunt, ''huic dicto ὑπερβολή, nec illi ὑπερβόλημ[1] ad-
A.'s speech. '' misceri dicendum est.'' Post hanc disputationem, breui oratione, omnes qui aderant,
5 Rex alloquutus est. ''Video,'' | inquit, ''uaria esse diuersarum uiarum, instituta; Gen-
F. 100b. 1 ''tiles enim aliud, nos aliud, *Jazdini † aliud, Judæi item, et Christiani, diuersa || do- † *Gabræi.*[2]
'' cent. Uniuscuiusque uero factionis homines, se optimis institutis, suæ religionis, alio-
'' rum religionum hominibus, præcellere opinantur, non tantum, uerum etiam, ad suam
'' credulitatem, reliquos pertrahere, contendunt. Quos, si non in eam transeant, non
Other meetings to be held. ''solum contemnant, sed etiam *ex eo sibi illos[3] hostes habent · quod animo meo,
'' non tenuem scrupulum, et dubitationem inijcit. Quare uellem, statis diebus, ut
2 '' libri omnium, legum | adducerentur, et magistri, ut eos audirem, conuenirent, atque
''ut unusquisque obseruaret, quænam uerior, ac potior religio uideretur.'' Et ad
Sacerdotes orationem conuertit, et interrogauit, quænam auspicata dies, ac bona, ut
All days auspicious. ipse dicebat, futura uideretur? Cui illi, inauspicatam, et malam diem nullam esse,
etsi alias, aliis esse meliores contingeret, responderunt. '' Nam cum dies omnis, Dei
3 ''mandato elucesceret, qui malum non facit, | nulla dies mala, si ipsa consyderetur,
''dici potest. Quod enim in Euangelio scribitur (hoc enim nomine, Testamentum
''Nouum, Agareni, cum quibus agebatur appellant) · 'Videte, fratres, quomodo *Ephes.* 5. *D.*
'' caute ambuletis, non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes, redimentes tempus, quo-
''niam dies mali sunt': eo dictum est, quod eius ætatis homines, mali essent uel
''etiam, quod ea ætas, Antechristi aduentui proxima, calamitosa, et ijs qui Christo
4 '' crederent exitiosa esset. Dicimus uero, lucem ei male | *cecidisse,[4] qui se flagitijs
''contaminat, suo, non diei, uitio. Christus etiam, per συνεκδόχημ dixit, 'Sufficit diei
'' malitia sua.' Bonæ item dies, aut meliores, ab ijs, quæ nobis *in illis[3] eueniunt,
''eadem figura loquendi, *denominantur.[5] Ac cum res quæ ad laudem, et honorem
'' Dei, et animarum utilitatem conferunt, inchoandæ sunt, nihil opus est inuestigare,
5 '' auspicatane, | ac bona, dies sit: an vero inauspicata et mala · cum nec natura sua,
'' ut dictum est, nec ab affectis rebus, mala, et inauspicata || existat.'' Quæ quidem,
F. 101a 1 cum omnibus qui audiebant paradoxa uiderentur (existimant .n. esse dies aliquas,
*fato quod euitari non possit,[6] malas, et inauspicatas, quam ob caussam, sortibus, et
auspicijs ac diuinationibus *summa eaque superstitiosa[7] sollicitudine, prope incredibili,
exquirunt num inceptari rem, hac, aut illa luce oporteat) obloqui tamen, nemo ausus
est. Et Rex dimisso concilio, discessit.

2 Die crastino iterum, | cæterarum sectarum, magistros aliquot, et Sacerdotes, ac-
The next meeting. ciri iussit. Ad quem cum uenissent, ad nostros, ait, '' Vellem ut quod hesterna nocte
''proposui, facere inciperemus. Oro uos, ut libenti animo faciatis, nam Deus Opti-
''mus, Maximus mihi mentem iniecit ut illud ordirer quod uos exoptabatis, et sæpe-
''numero flagitastis. Nouit autem Deus, *bonam mihi in proposito susceptoque
3 ''consilio mentem uoluntatemque | esse.''[8] Assidebant autem, duo filij, maiores
natu, et circumstabant Regem, tyranni, et reguli nonnulli. Ad quem Sacerdotes ·
'' *Nos moram et impedimentum tibi non inferemus,[9] quominus tuis hisce studijs fiat

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[1] The Greek words should be ὑπερβολικῶς, ὑπερβολήν, and *infra* συνεκδοχήν.

[2] Later note. [3] Later addition. [4] 1st: cessisse. [5] 1st: dicuntur. [6] 1st: ineuitabili fato.

[7] Later addition [8] 1st: rectam mihi in hoc opere mentem atque consilium esse. [9] 1st: Per nos non stabit.

The Gospel explained. **Badly attended meetings.** **Persian writings.** **The meetings given up.** **A.'s leanings to Hinduism**

satis.'' Ac statim, interpretandi initium ab Euangelio fecerunt. At uero reliqui,
paulatim, in assignatum locum uenire, destiterunt · et soli nostri, Regi libentissime
4 sunt obsequuti. Cui quæ describebantur, cum statutis | diebus afferrent; aliqua
interrogabat, eo magis instituto, ne inconstantiæ insimularetur, quam ut, in sententia,
persisteret: et cum nouum aliquid moliri, et ex institutis omnium, nouam sectam
conflare illi esse in animo suspicarentur: paulatim se etiam Sacerdotes de opere subduxerunt.
Nam cum in dies magis ac magis, gentilibus faueret, et eorum postulatione
5 bubulas | carnes, in macello uænire prohiberet · indignum esse existimarunt, cui
Euangelicas margaritas, pedibus obculcandas *et proterendas[1] traderent. Accedebat,
F. 101b. 1 quod ligneum tectum, affabre construi iusserat || idque in eminentissimum, aulæ

& sun-worship.

locum, *ferri,[2] et in eo collocari · ex quo, solem, cum primum oriretur, aspiceret, ac
ueneraretur. Nihilo secius, meliora precati, a legatione obeunda, non esse desistendum,
existimarunt.

The embassy starts.

Quapropter, post diuturnas moras, cum legatis, alter sacerdos, Ágara Góam uersus,
iter *longum ingressus est,[3] quod, cum non obscuris periculis confecit. Quæ
2 Dei beneficio, cuius | caussa *illud inierat,[4] incolumis euasit. Nam cum Sáydius

Ysto se deyxa pera outro lugar omde milhor couber ate este sinal †.

Saiyid Muzaffar fears for his life and plots M.'s death.

Musaphárus, inuitus, ad eam peregrinationem, esset a Rege coactus, quam ipse
longinquam, et prope perpetuam, et alterum quasi exilium esse, sibi persuaserat: et
intellexisset, Sacerdoti datum esse mandatum *obsignatum,[5] quod Surate *resignaret:[6]
ac sibi ab eo mandato timeret: (erat enim, non ita pridem eius nomen ad
3 Regem delatum, | quod Xamansuri conspirationem, sequutus esset) cum eo sæpe
egerat, ut *illud aperiret.[7] Quod cum Sacerdos, ut Rodolfi præcepto, obsequeretur,
facere renuisset; non semel, aut iterum, cum collega egit, ut Sacerdotem clam (quod
erat facile) interficerent · cuius nece, legatione, quam eius, et socij opera, institutam,
4 imprudenter satis, ac falso prorsus, Rex ipsi significauerat, | impedita; ipsi suos lares

'Abdullah friendly.

repeterent. Sed factum, Dei beneficio, est, ut cum legatus alter, Sacerdoti amicus esset,
nec grauiter ferret, legatione apud Indiæ, pro rege,* Præsidem[8] fungi; *ut[9] eum,
ab hoc facinore, deterreret. Indignum quippe esse, Agarenica fide, dicebat, insontem
hominem, et bene moratum, qui eorum amicitiæ plurimum confideret, non alia caussa,
interficere, quam quod, Regis mandato obediret · quem scirent, nihil moliri aduersus
F. 102a. 1 eos mali. Et cum regiæ litteræ, quibus mandatum || inerat, Suratæ essent reserandæ,

Saiyid Muzaffar to consult Kutbu-d-dīn Khān of Broach. **M. to go to Damān.**

posset, quod mallet eligere; si quid formidandum afferrent, consistere; sin minus,
progredi. Quibus mitigatus, et a sententia deiectus, consilium inijt, Cutubdicanum,
*Baroccij[10] præfectum adire, cui *propinquus et[11] necessarius erat, et cum eo consilium
capere, quid opus esset facto. Et cum magnis itineribus, Sacerdoti properandum
2 esset, ut | Damani, nauigium legatis, ad transmittendum, præsto esse curaret, octo,
ex suis familiaribus, qui Mandhoum tantum, eum deducerent, in comitatu dedit.
Vnde cum proficisceretur, ab eis destitutus, præter opinionem, in maximum discrimen

Robbers.

deuenit. Nam latrunculi, passim uias obsident; Agarenis, uel ipsum Christiani, et
3 Franci nomen, graue est, et odiosum · | facilique negotio, ut Christianos, e medio

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[1] Later addition.
[2] 1st: subuehi.
[3] 1st: instituit.
[4] 1st: id susceperat.
[5] Later addition.
[6] 1st: aperiret.
[7] 1st: id recluderet.
[8] 1st: præfectum.
[9] Redundant.
[10] 1st: Barochij.
[11] Later addition.

Māndu.

tollant adducuntur. Præterea, ex Regis præscripto, Præfectus Mandhoi, militi cuidam,
The Narbadā. Nearly murdered.
genere Mongolo, ut Sacerdotem, Angertum usque, deduceret, imperauit. Cui
quattuor adhibuit comites, qui ad Naruadæ ripam, tantum irent, eumque trans *Hic est Naruadus.*[6]
amnem duci, curarent. *Vbi amnem transmisit,[1] existimauit Mongolus, necandi
4 illum, | et si quid pecuniarum haberet, abripiendi tempus, se nactum esse: si Sacerdotem,
quantum posset, a uia abduceret. Finxit itaque, in quibusdam pagis, sibi esse
negotia: Sacerdotemque eo pertrahere conabatur. Cui nec opinanti, cœlesti quodam
mentis instinctu, animo insedit, ut non sineret se, longe a suorum sodalitio, et a
iuuenis cuiusdam Christiani, abduci. Quo factum est, ut non ausus fuerit Mongolus,
F. 102b. 1 nec *latrones in insidijs,[2] certis locis, eius hortatu *locati,[3] illum || et eius exiguam
Angerte (?) Fort and the son of the Prefect of Māndu.
manum, adoriri · et Angertum Dei auxilio se protegente, incolumis peruenit · vbi,
ab adoptiuo, Mandhoi præfecti filio, tanta est humanitate acceptus, ut nihil amplius,
desyderari posset. Quo cum peruenisset, aperte, ab eo Christiano iuuene, qui se coarguit
quod solus cum Mongolo, longiuscule abduci, se passus esset: intellexit: Mongolum
2 pridie in diuersorio, | cum accepisset, a quibusdam, Sacerdotem Christianum esse,
et a rege euocatum, ut ab eo Christianam religionem, edisceret: dixisse · non solum
Avas Mts. Robbers again.
eum, sed ipsum etiam regem, si daretur ocasio, necaturum. In Auazi saltu, *turmam[4]
prædonum, *collecta[5] suorum manu, euasit. Edixit enim, ut simul, et quasi
manibus connexis, incederent. Quod cum animaduertissent prædones, qui post syluas,
3 et dumeta | latentes, *conspecti tamen pone arbusta et uirgulta quæ uiam intercludebant,[6]
eius vestigijs, moliebantur insidias: eum sequi destiterunt.

Portuguese fleet off Surat.
Ad fines Surates tandem, cum eo tempore peruenisset, quo classis Lusitana, iniurijs
M. seized by the Captain of Beara (?).
lacessita, Taphtij amnis *ostia[7] obsidebat, ut eas naues interciperet, quæ Mekkam,
sine facultate, nauigassent, *is euentus[6] non parum illi negotij exhibuit. Nam a
4 Bearaæno prætore captus, et tribus militibus traditus, Suratem | deductus est · ubi
ædibus quibusdam, *muro fortissimo septis,[8] adhibitis custodibus, et janitore, illatus,
honorifica custodia, potius, quam amico hospitio, acceptus est · illique, ab urbis
In prison at Surat.
Gubernatore, obiectum est: quod Suratem uenire refugisset. Cuius rei, cum caussam
accepisset · non nihil conquiescere uisus est, et iterum obiecit, "Nullum ostendis
"Regis diploma, uel mandatum, quo explorate comperiamus, vera esse quæ narras." ||
F. 103a. 1 "En," inquit, "tibi diplomatis exemplar, et collegarum meorum testimonium. In
Showing Akbar's seal.
"his uero alijs mandatis, sigillum Regis agnosce; en tibi, libere trado, tecum *fer,[9]
"diligenter inspice, me ueracem reperies."—"At," inquit, "huc uenire recusabas."
Tum ille, "Veni tandem." Ait, "Optatus uenisti," et abijt. At præfectus urbis
2 cibaria, beneuolentiæ significandæ, aut potius, simulandæ, | caussa · large satis, ac
Help from Daytan (?).
liberaliter misit. Verum diuino motu, factum fuisse uidetur, ut iuuenis ille, cuius
ante memini, Christianus · Daytano, post triduum, quam Sacerdos detinebatur,
ueniret: (ea in urbe, quæ reguli cuiusdam est, ut quo uehebatur, equo mederetur, constiterat)
a quo, et eius famulis, cum comperisset præfectus, et prætor, cæterique senatores,
3 | quæ Sacerdos diceret, uera esse: eum amplissimo honore a se ornatum, soluere

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[1] 1st: Transmisso itaque amne. [2] 1st: insidiæ. [3] 1st: locatæ. [4] 1st: manum.
[5] 1st: conserta. [6] Later addition. [7] "hostia" in MS.
[8] 1st: murorum fortitudine firmis. [9] 1st: deuehe.

Believed at last. decreuerunt · quo tum eius animum, si offensus, dissimulatis uinculis esset, demulcerent, ne rem Regi, cui sciebant illum esse charissimum, perscriberet: tum etiam, ut
eam caussam, si expostularet, afferrent: ob id, domi ut se contineret, præcepisse:
4 quoad tempus suppeteret, maiores | homini honores *tribuendi,[1] qui ab eius conspectu ueniret. Nam antea, non semel *concilium,[2] de eo necando *conuocatum[3]
An honest Rūmī. est. Quod fortasse fecissent, nisi Græcus Turca (*Rumem[4] dicunt) obstitisset qui
dixit, honorem potius esse habendum, homini peregrino, qui a Regis conspectu,
ueniret: quam pœnam, insonti, ea sola caussa, quod Christianus esset, etiamsi Lusitani amnis faucibus imminerent, statuendam. Illum itaque ad conuiuium, statuta
F. 103b. 1 die, || uocat præfectus, qua vexillis, arce ornata, ordinibusque peditum, per murum *Miram Sultã dicebatur.*[7]
Honoured by Mīrān Sultān, the Prefect of Surat. dispositis, equitatu omni, in aciem producto · collocatisque Elephantum *cuneis,[5] ipse
in campum, qui pro foribus arcis est, cum magno comitatu prodijt · et in tabernaculo
resedit, unde suæ rei familiaris, procuratorem, cum aliquot equitibus, ad euocandum,
2 et adducendum Sacerdotem, misit. | Eos ille sequutus, posteaquam ex equo, præfecto procul conspecto, desiluit: eumque, et assidentes salutauit; et resedit: arcis
tormenta maxima, primum disploduntur, deinde minora · tertio *ferreæ fistulæ,
quæ[6] in humero gestantur · ultimo loco a tota acie, ter Allah · **i.e.*, Deus,[7] conclamatum est · præfectoque surgenti, ille assurrexit · conscensisque equis, in eius domum
Banquet. 3 itum est · ubi lautissimo conuiuio, | est acceptus. Omnis hæc officij, et hospitalitatis
significatio, inscio sacerdoti, et nec opinanti; ac mœsto potius, impensa est. Nam
postridie quam Suratem uenit: audiuit, pridie eius diei, duos iuuenes necatos esse, *Pridie Nonas Augusti 1582.*
2 Christians killed at Surat on Aug. 4, 1582. qui ab alijs duobus perfugis, et fidei desertoribus, proditi: et interrogati, num essent
*speculatores,[8] ingenue confessi sunt. Quibus cum optio esset data, ut nisi necari |
4 mallent, fidem Christianam abnegarent, et ad Agarenos transirent, forti animo responderunt, se malle millies necari, quam Dei religionem, et Christianam fidem deserere.
Offer of ransom from Jain baniyās. Ac etiamsi, a Vanianibus, redimerentur mille aureis, quos e uestigio numerarunt: præfecti iussu, continuo necati sunt. Ac Vanianes gentiles sunt Pythagoræi, qui uiuentibus abstinent, et pulices, *cimices,[9] pediculos, uermiculos, et auiculas, omne deni-
F. 104 a. 1 que quod spirat, si || possunt, *redimunt[10] · ne conficiatur, et enecetur. Hos Germanes olim dictos esse, crediderim: eo quod, cum *Brachmanis,[11] de suis institutis *Strab. lib. 15.*
certent. Ipsi se Vaniaa nominant; Brachmanæ vero *seipsos[12] Bamen.

Enimuero sublatis mensis, Sacerdoti facultas facta est, classem adeundi · in qua,
ut Agarenis significaretur, quanti fierent, a Lusitanis, Sacerdotes: magni etiam |
2 honores, illi inuito, et reluctanti, habiti sunt. Est enim a Fernando Mirandensi,
M. on board João de Miranda's fleet. classis *præfecto,[13] cum quo Sacerdoti, antiqua iam inde a Lusitania, et magna familiaritas intercesserat; ornatissima, uexillis positis, classe, et tormentis displosis, exceptus; cum quo de multis rebus, integram fere noctem colloquutus, ubi primum diluxit
3 Suratem, non sine popularium, magno stupore, | redijt. Dicebant enim · "Vir iste
He keeps his word. "nihil fictum, *et adumbratum,[14] gerit, qui huc redit, cum impune potuisset, cum

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[1] 1st: habendi. [2] 1st: consilium. [3] 1st: coactum. [4] 1st: Rume (?). [5] 1st: phalangibus.
[6] 1st: ferrei tubi, qui. [7] Later addition. [8] 1st: exploratores. [9] "simices" in MS.
[10] The paper is injured at this place: only "... munt" is left of the word. I propose "redimunt." It is certainly not "remouent" or "dimouent."
[11] 1st: Bragmanis. [12] Later addition. [13] 1st: duce. [14] 1st: aut fallax.

"suis permanere." Quo factum est, ut dum profectionem Damanum parat, certatim
a præfecto, et prætore inuitaretur · a quibus, cum beneuolentiæ significatione dimissus, Damanum venit.

Ship from Mecca seized. Turks and renegades prisoners. Moghuls free.

S. Muzaffar absconds in the Dakhin.

'Abdullah at Dāman.

Ubi, dum aduentum collegarum præstolatur, classis præfectus, nauem, quæ
4 Mekka | Suratem petebat, in deditionem accepit, ea conditione, ut præter Turcas, et
transfugas, desertoresque Christianos, reliquos dimitteret, in qua re, cum a præfecto
cessaretur, et inedia multi, squalore, situ, sitique conficerentur, nonnulli in seruitutem,
iniuria, a malis quibusdam Christianis, abriperentur: diligentia eius factum est, ut
data fides præstaretur. Nam cum libenter præfectus, ipsius monitis | pareret, eidem
5 eam prouinciam dedit, ut quinam Turcæ, quinam essent Christiani, disquireret · qua
diligentissime, uno, et altero die, retentis Turcis aliquot, et Christianis, cæteris uero
F. 104b. 1 (qui Mongoli || erant) dimissis, perfunctus est. At uero Muzapharus, quem inuitum
uenire diximus, cum Cutubdicanus, quem consilij capiendi caussa conuenerat, *nisi
Regis iussa faceret, illum attendere noluisset: (abnuit,[1] enim senex, et sapiens, eius
*perduellionis[2] periculum præstare) clam relictis rebus omnibus, ad Sedanorum regem
2 (qui Decanij nunc dicuntur) transfugit. At vero Ebadullas, | alter legatus, Damanum
uenit · unde cum Sacerdote Goam nauigauit.[3]

Reception at Goa.

The embassy is postponed

and collapses.

Franciscus Mascarenius, Villæ Ortensis dynasta.[4]

Jamuero Indiæ præses, Sacerdotem, deinde legatum *perofficiose et peramanter[5]
accepit · et cum caussam aduentus, legationisque pondus, et momentum cognouisset:
et consilium cum proceribus cepisset: omnes sumptus, ad nauigationem necessarios,
3 liberaliter *pollicitus est et[4] detulit. Præpositus item Societatis, eius prouinciæ, | rem
cum patribus, ex more, et instituto Societatis, communicat · et Sacerdoti, proficiscendi, cum legato, potestatem facit. At uero, cum eo anno, una tantum nauis, ex
Lusitania, in Indiam appulisset, omnium sententia fuit, dignitati tantorum regum,
non esse consentaneum, ut legatus, ea naui, in Lusitaniam deportaretur, quæ esset
4 angusta, et multis uectoribus impedita · | annumque alium, esse expectandum. Ad
quem, cum profectio esset dilata, Sacerdos, ad ministerij sui munera obeunda, suas
curas cogitationesque transtulit · ac, cum posterus annus, alia consilia, cogitationesque attulisset · legationis negotium, omnino prætermissum, et æternæ obliuioni traditum est.

Rudolf's return and martyrdom.

A.'s grief.

At uero Rodolfus, tum Regis inconstantiæ pertæsus, qui se, in plures figuras,
5 quam | *Proteus[6] uertebat, tum etiam, quod a Præposito, crebris litteris euocaretur,
ueniendi facultatem, difficili admodum negotio, et facta redeundi sponsione, si esset
F. 105a. 1 in se situm, obtinuit. Et || anno insequenti (is fuit octuagesimus tertius, ad sesquimillesimum) Goam uenit · atque insequenti Julio mense, in Salsetano conuentu,
Conculini, a simulachrorum cultoribus, interemptus est. Cuius cædem, cum Zelaldinus audiuit, grauiter eius mortem mœruit · inditoque in os digito, dixisse fertur,
2 "Heu me, pater, opportune tibi dicebam, ne abires, at tu me audire | noluisti."
*Qua profecto, Mongolana prima legatio, de qua sermo habetur et in Lusitaniam pro-

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[1] 1st: minus intendisset, nisi Regis iussa faceret, noluit

[2] 1st: inobedientiæ.

[3] Cancelled in MS. from: Nam cum Saydius...(fol. 101 *b*. 2). In the margin at fol. 101 *b*. 2, opposite the words "Nam cum Saydius," is found a note in Portuguese: "Ysto se deixa, pera outro lugar omde milhor couber ate est [e] signal †." The † occurs after our note 4 (fol. 104*b*. 2). Why there, is not clear.

[4] Later addition.

[5] 1st: peramanter, et honorifice

[6] 1st: Protheus.

fectio, finem accepit; et ita derelicta est ut amplius ab altero socio non sit repetita.[1]
This Mission not the work of God. Ex quo, suspicari iure optimo, possumus, non diuino instinctu aliquo, sed curiositate
quadam, et nimia diligentia res nouas audiendi, aut aliquid noui, in perniciem ani-
3 marum, moliendi incitatum fuisse Zelaldinum, ad euocandos, ad se, | Christianos
sacerdotes. Nam si opus hoc, a Deo fuisset nullis incommodis, aut obstaculis,
impediri potuisset. At uero, quia non erat a Deo, per seipsum, etiam renitente *Act.* 5.
Rege, concidit et dissolutum est.

Rudolf's holy life at Fatehpur. Fuit vero Rodolfus suauibus admodum moribus, simplex, et qui ex sua natura,
cæteros fingeret, studijs commentationum, et orationum apprime deditus, a quibus,
4 solo | Persicæ linguæ, aut alius rei, necessario studio, abducebatur. Dei assidue
memor, ut ei conuenire uideretur · "Oculi mei, semper ad Dominum." Ac ne de- *Ps.* 24.
fatigaretur,* breues precationes,[2] quas jaculatorias uocamus, deambulans *summissa
leniter uoce canebat.[3] Sui uero immemor, sæpissime, integras noctes, indutus, ut
erat, cum dabat operam, uel sedens, aut, ut forte *arctiore somno complexus[4] jacu-
F. 105b. 1 erat, situ corporis, || potius ad supplicium, et pœnam perferendam, quam ad quietem
capiendam, accommodato dormiebat. Cilicio utebatur, verberibus se *cædebat,[5]
frequentissime abstinebat. Sæpe sibimet, silentium, et solitudinem indicebat, cubi-
culo solummodo, ut sacrificaret egrediens. Virginitatem perpetuo coluit, quam ut
2 tueretur, Deiparam Virginem, in cuius se tutelam tradiderat, | adiutricem aduocabat,
cui se uoto obstrinxerat, de eius laudibus, cum ocasionem nancisceretur, agere. Cui
libenter, extempore, a se excogitatas *cantilenas, summisse, decantabat.[6] Instituti,
et morum Societatis, præcipue uero paupertatis, obseruantissimus erat. *Attritis,[7] et
3 ueteribus uestibus, ac calceis, libentissime utebatur. | Deo continuo defixus, rerum
quas agebat, obliuiscebatur. Frequentissime quo loco pileus, specula, libri, et similia
a se relicta essent, ex ipsius memoria excidebat. Virgineum pudorem præ se ferebat.
Nam quoties, cum Rege agebat, *pudorem rubor consequebatur.[8] Patientia erat
mirabili, demissione maxima. Se ipsum ioco appellabat, genere ac natura *ineptum. |
4 Cæterum, semestri spatio,[9] linguam Persicam, elegantiorem qua uiri eruditi utuntur,
Proficiency in Persian. quæ Arabica permixta est, ita didicit, ut ea cum omnium admiratione,* quam maxime
ad acuitatem accommodate,[10] sua sensa explicaret: ob quam caussam, magnam

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[1] This sentence gave Monserrate considerable trouble. Above, we have the final form; but, in 1590, during his captivity in Arabia, M. had written: "*Qua profecto, Mongolana legatio, et in Lusitaniam profectio, finem accepit; et ita derelicta* [*est*] *ut amplius repetita non sit.*" The Mission was, however, again attempted in 1591, and a third time in 1595. In both cases, three Jesuits were sent; but, it is scarcely possible that Monserrate should have heard in Arabia about the Mission of 1591. Hence, it must have been after his return to India in 1596 that he modified his text as follows: "*et ita derelicta* [*est*] *ut amplius repetita cum utilitate non sit.*" This seemed to contain a slur on the work of his successors then in progress. He tried once more: "*et ita derelicta* [*est*] *ut non, etsi bis fuerit suscepta et tres e Societate cum illo* [understand: *Akbar*] *versentur.*" Here he broke off, erased his unfinished sentence, and recast it in the final form above, where by "*ab altero socio*" we must understand Monserrate himself.—When modifying his text for the first time after 1596, M. must have bracketed the remark he had written in 1590 on the futility of the first Mission, *i.e.*: Ex quo, suspicari . . . dissolutum est. I have let this remark stand in the text above, but it would be better placed in the note here.

[2] 1st: precatiunculas. [3] 1st: cantillabat. [4] 1st: a somno uictus.

[5] The verb "cædere" is written regularly "cedere" in the MS.

[6] 1st: cantilenas latino-persicas, et latino-lusitanicas, et italo-latinas, summissa uoce decantabat.

[7] 1st: laceris, attritis. [8] 1st: rubore suffundebatur.

[9] 1st: ineptum (Lusitani dicunt desmaselado). Cæterum, ingenij acumine pollebat. Semestri spatio.

[10] 1st: accommodate, et eleganter.

*præstantis ingenij, atque eruditionis perfectæ,[1] opinionem, ac nomen apud Regem,
Abu-l-Fazl seeks his opinion.
5 et eruditos assequutus erat: ut quod ipse assereret, etiam de sua | ipsorum lege, et
libro, nemo temere auderet, refellere. Quin potius plerique, et in his Abdulfasilius,
F. 106a. 1 qui acumine ingenij facile || omnes superabat: eius sententiam, consulto expectabant,
ne postea, adducto libro, cogerentur palinodiam canere, uel oppositis ab ipso argumentationibus, cum dedecore manus dare. * In Philosophiæ, et Theologiæ scientijs,
Zeal for A.'s conversion.
multum studij posuerat · et in ijs erat cum laude uersatus.[2] Mirum est sane quanto
animi ardore huius Regis, *de quo hactenus loquuti sumus,[2] *ad Dei cultum a vitæ
2 prauitate,[3] conuersionem optauerit · ut, | nullum non lapidem mouerit: quo eum,
A.'s love for him.
ad fidem pertraheret. Quod cum Rex intelligeret, eum *ex animo[4] amabat · non ·
quod, in animo haberet, Christianus fieri, aut nostram religionem, magno æstimaret:
sed quod,* (ut ipse dicebat)[3] cum intelligeret, Rodolfum, fidem, et religionem quam
3 colebat, optimam existimare; *uidebat[5] sui adeo amantem esse, ut ad id | quod ipse,
ad animæ salutem, optimum iudicabat, quodque propterea sequebatur · se pellicere
conaretur. Quæ, optimi Sacerdotis, consilia, quos conatus, *Deus optimus .max. e
summa[6] cœli sede perspiciens, amplissimum illi præmium dedit, amplissimis eum
4 *honoribus, decorauit.[7] Nam, e media, | Agarenorum barbarie, et immani feritate,
in qua omnia mortem, exitiumque minantur, *et a periculis uitæ in quæ casu, ut fere
fit, ac fortuitu [*sic*] uenit, incolumis,[3] a Deo ereptus, in ipsa prope patria, a uectigalibus,
R.'s narrow escapes from death.
et subditis hominibus, interemptus est. *Nam Surate semel, et Fatepuri iterum, rheda qua concitato cursu uehebatur, uelocitate ducta, prolapsa, confracta et comminuta, raptatus parum abfuit quin dilaniaretur, aut certe ita terræ impingeretur ut animam efflaret. Illisus et ægre se erexit et domum prope exanimatus et decolor redijt. Bis etiam in periculum uenit ne ab elephantibus opprimeretur: nam Regis imperio in circum descendebat, ubi Rex erat, et efferati elephantes concursu per uim decertabant. Est autem elephantis a natura insitum ut in certamine eorum ferocitas ita efferuescat ut, conspectis alijs, qui ad pugnam in campum descenderunt, quamuis unco a moderatore insidente coerceantur, in homines cæco impetu incurrant, uel cum uicti fugiunt in conspectum quemque hominem irruant, arreptum conficiant. Semel fugiens elephantem, pallium, quod pedibus trepidanti inuolutum fugam retardabat, medium discidit. Iterum, nisi a socio fuisset reuocatus: non dubium est quin ab elephante fuisset necatus: nam ad locum quendam tanquam ad perfugium properabat, [cum bellua?] hominem si non corripuit, at proboscide uerberauit. Nam ad commune omnium discrimen qui in circo sunt [1 *or* 2 *lines missing*].[8] Ardebat
Longing for martyrdom.
quidem, martyrij magno desyderio. Nam sæpe repetebat: "Num his martyres efficiemur?" Cui cum alter sacerdos, responderet, "Nimium a Rege diligimur, nemo enim,
5 nos audebit attingere," frontem, | quodam intimo mœrore perculsus, contrahebat.
At Deus, oculto suo iudicio, cum expectaret ille martyrium, optanti subtraxit, nec

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[1] 1st: litteraturæ, atque eruditionis. [2] Bracketed. [3] Later addition. [4] 1st: impensissime.

[5] 1st: eius studium, et animum amplectebatur, quem uidebat.

[6] 1st: Deus optimus .max. cui omne cor patet, et omnis uoluntas loquitur, et quem, nullum latet secretum, e summa.

[7] 1st: honoribus, ijsque extraordinarijs decorauit.

[8] Later addition from: Nam Surate (fol. 106*a*. 4). One or two lines were cut off from the margin below, when the MS. was bound.

F. 106b. 1 opinanti suppeditauit · quamuis, non audeam dicere, inopinantem: || Rodolfum, a
barbaris esse oppressum[1] · cui è uestigio, collum extendere, et iugulum præbere, succur-
Death at Cuncolim (Salsette, Goa), July, 15, 1583, O.S. rerit. Ex quo potius coniecturam facio, assidue secum solitum esse, de martyrio
meditari, martyrium a Deo precibus postulare, et cum, ab exlegibus, et perfidis,
telis, et gladijs peteretur dixisse · "Ecce quod concupiui iam uideo, quod speraui *Agnetis Virginis Romanæ exemplo.*
2 "iam teneo, ipsi iungar in | cœlis, quem in terris positus, tota deuotione dilexi."
Sunt autem, quinque maxima vulnera, optimo adulescenti imposita · in genuum flexu
duo, in iugulo vnum, quartum in uertice, in medio pectore quintum · ex quo, quarto
post necem die, incorruptus cruor effluebat. Annos natus, duos, et triginta, cum in
3 Societate Jesu, pubertatis annos exegisset, Idibus Julij, anni | millesimi, quingente-
simi, octuagesimi tertij · Conculini interemptus est, cuius sodales fuerunt, Alphonsus,
Antonius, et Petrus, sacerdotes; et Franciscus, eiusdem Societatis, quidem religiosus,
non tamen ad sacrorum munerum functionem initiatus, et paria fere uulnera acceperunt.
Peremptus uero est, eodem die, quo a Jacobo Soria, Ignatius Azeuedius, anno
4 septuagesimo, et | socij, quadraginta nouem, ad Insulam Palmæ, necati sunt · hoc
The son of the Duke of Atri. est post annos tredecim. Erat uero Rodolfus, Ducis Atriæ, ex uxore coniuge, filius ·
Patris Claudij Aquauiua, totius Societatis Præpositi, ex fratre nepos.[2]

Character-sketch of Akbar. Jamuero, ad Zelaldinum, a quo, cædis Rodolfi, narratio nos parumper abduxit, Liber [2 ?].[3]
5 redeamus.[4] | *Erat[5] Zelaldinus facie, et statura, ad regiam dignitatem apposita, ut
facile Regem, vel ipso primo intuitu, quiuis agnosceret, latis humeris, incuruis
His physique. cruribus, et leuiter inflexis, et ad equitandum accommodatis, colore candido, modico
F. 107a. 1 nigrore || suffuso, obstipo capite, et in dexterum* humerum[6], inflexo, fronte lata, et
aperta, micantibus oculis, et qui quasi mare, cum a sole collucet uibrare uideantur ·
deductis in longum, palpebris, ut sunt Sauromatum, Sinarum, et Niphonum, et *Japones Nipho[nes] Niphonzi.*
omnium fere Asianorum, quorum regiones, ad arctos uergunt · tenui supercilio, naso
2 mediocri, et demisso, ex quo tamen, os medium, eminet · | patentibus, quasi
succenseat, naribus: in quarum sinistra, uerrucam, superiori labio coniunctam,
No beard; moustache. habet. Barbam abradit, excepto superiore labro, ut Turcæ,* anteaquam ex ephebis
excedant et togam prætextam deponant, quam ubi deponunt et puram virilemque
sumunt, barbam nutriunt et componunt.[6] Comam non tondet, præter morem
Headgear. maiorum suorum, nec pileo utitur, sed uelo redimitus, capillos inuoluit · quod factitare
ferunt, ut sese, ad Indorum, morem, usumque transferat · et sibi eorum animos, conci-
3 liet. | Crus sinistrum, quasi claudus trahit; cum tamen, pede læsus non sit. Corpore
uero, optime constituto, nec exili, et macro, nec pingui, et concreto, multum animi
habet, atque roboris. Dum ridet, deformior fit, ac tranquilla, et serena fronte,
Appearance. liberalem præ se fert speciem, et magnam dignitatem, in stomacho autem, magnam

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[1] Here Monserrate inserted later, and subsequently cancelled the following: post ipsius reditum in Indiam quo iussu Prouinciæ Præpositi remigrauit. Nam cum Regis studia perspexisset, nec aliud Regem laborare intellexisset, nisi ut tanquam Deus aut uates magnus haberetur, ea de re Præpositum et socium, qui cum regijs legatis Goam anno superiore profectus erat, per litteras admonuit, ad quem Præpositus rescripsit.

[2] Bracketed from: et cum ab exlegibus (fol. 106*b*. 1).

[3] Later addition; erased.

[4] Later cancelled addition: *Aqui se ha de tornar despoys de tratar ate o cabo o q̃ comeca aas folhas* 119 *e daqui continuar ate estas mesmas folhas* 119.

[5] ist: est.

[6] Later addition.

4 magestatem. Ac quo tempore ad eum | Sacerdotes uenerunt, annos erat natus, octo,
His age in 1580. et triginta. Difficile dictu est, quam facilem se, in hominibus audiendis, admittendisque
Affability. præbeat. Singulis enim, prope diebus, omnibus, tum popularibus, tum
proceribus, colloquij sui, copiam facit et in omni sermone, affabilem se esse mauult,
5 quam difficilem. Quæ comitas, affabilitasque sermonis, | mirum est, quantopere
suorum illi animos conciliet. Nam, cum in Mahammeddana superstitione, uideretur,
F. 107b. 1 iure optimo nutare: quod Agareni iniquissime ferre solent · || a nemine est interemptus.
Mental qualities. Vir est ingenio peracutus, et prudens, et tum, ad pericula prospicienda, tum
etiam, ad captandam, rei bene gerendæ, occasionem, sagax. Quæ quidem cum
animi, tum corporis ornamenta, quod fidei *nitore[1] careant, plurimum sui splendoris,
et pulchritudinis deperdunt.

2 Ad ferarum quidem uenationem, ualde | procliuis, non perinde *alituum aucupio,[2]
Hunting. Hawking. delectatur. Et quod, melancholicus sit, uarijs se, simul ludis oblectat, atque id
Moroseness. Amusements. palam, ut eadem opera, optimatibus, et populo det spectaculum. Ludi uero quibus,
se, et spectatores oblectat, hi sunt. Pilæ, malleique ludus, ad equum; pugnæ
3 Elephantum, Bubalorum, et Damarum, et Gallinaceorum gallorum conflictus · | deinde
luctæ pugilum, *ludi[3] gladiatorum · certamina pugnantium pugno, columbarum
uolatus, quæ se *in aere[4] resupinæ uersant · auium peregrinarum et rerum nouarum
inspectio.. Delectatur etiam cantu, et *symphonia,[5] tum etiam choreis, et præstigiatorum,
4 *fallacijs et captionibus[6] · ad hæc | parasitorum facetijs, *quorum est perstudiosus[7]
· ac tum profecto, cum in otio esse uidetur, quoddam ueluti negotiorum
Concourse at Court. pondus, quibus modum finemque imponit, quasi in orbem uersare non desistit. At uero
nulla re magis *tenetur,[8] quam hominum frequentissimo conspectu, quo fit, ut aula,
F. 108a. 1 maxima celebritate omnis generis hominum floreat · præcipue optimatum || quos ex
suis prouincijs, semel unoquoque anno, ad se uenire, et in aula uersari iubet, et se,
cum prodit foras, ut armis pedites, tamdiu stipent, et prosequantur, quod illis
nutu imperet, ut equos conscendant. Quæ omnia miram Regis curiæ magestatem,
et amplitudinem conciliant.

2 Ex instituto, improbi Mahammeddis; usuque Agarenorum: toga | ad suras,
Dress. caligis ad talos, tantum demissis, ijsque lineis uel laneis, aut *ex gossipio, xylinis,[9]
candidis, et calceis, ex præscripti forma factis, uti, ijs qui ad amussim (ut aiunt)
legem obseruant, fas est. At ille, tanti fallacis legislatoris, instituta, moresque facit:
ut sericis, auroque intextis, *picturaque collustratis[10] uestibus utatur · sago videlicet,
3 ad poplites, ut est Christianorum | consuetudo, at caligis, quæ talos tegant · et
Jewelry. calceorum forma, a se excogitata. Auro autem se, margaritis et gemmis ornat.
Weapons. Ensem, et pugionem Europæum gestat libentissime. Inermis nunquam est. Quin
Guard. potius uiginti fere satellites, illum intra priuatos parietes, uarijs armis instructi,
4 assidue circumsistunt. Hispaniensem uestitum, ualde | probat, eoque se induit, loco
European dress in private. arbitris remoto.

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[1] 1st: splendore. [2] 1st: altilium captura. "Alituum" in MS. [3] 1st: digladiationes. [4] Later addition.
[5] 1st: pulsu musicorum instrumentorum. [6] 1st: ac joculatorum gesticulationibus.
[7] 1st: quorum est in eius aula, maximus prouentus, et copia. [8] 1st: capitur et delinitur.
[9] 1st: gausapinis. The MS. has 'xilinis.' [10] 1st: picturatisque.

Riding and driving. Elephantos, camelos, equos, et rhedam duobus equis iunctam, magna cum
Mode of sitting. dignitate, dirigit, et moderatur. Complicatis cruribus, in thoro, conchiliatis peristromatis
strato, ut plurimum recumbit. At uero, secundum se, sellam Lusitanicam, ex
5 serico | uilloso gestari iubet · in qua sæpissime sedet.

His table. Lautissima utitur mensa: in quam epularum fercula, amplius, quadraginta
F. 108b. 1 inferuntur, maximis patinis: quæ || operculis tecta, et linteis obuoluta, a coco obsignata,
ut ueneni periculum, et suspicio declinetur: aparitoribus præeuntibus, œconomo
subsequente, ad conclauis uestibulum, iuuenes deferunt, ubi ab eunuchis accepta,
ancillis traduntur quæ regiæ mensæ ministrant. Palam epulari, nisi ad publicum
2 conuiuium inuitatus, non consueuit. Vinum raro potat. | Posti potione, uel aqua
Drinking *post.* sitim depellit · cuius immodico potu, stupefactus sedet, et oscitatur. Solus in
triclinio cubat; lecto ad uulgarem, et popularem formam, fabrefacto, culcitra, et
puluinis tenui lana, exoticæ, cuiusdam herbæ factis, et sericis stragulis, ornato, et
strato.

Splendour of his palaces. Jamuero, magnificentia ædium regiarum, ad splendorem, Europæorum ædificio-
3 rum, | proxime accedit. Sunt enim, magnificis operibus, non solum pictæ, sed
etiam sculptæ, è dolatis saxis, ab imo fundamento, ad crepidinem ædificatæ: et
Moghul architecture. quantum satis est, in altum, editæ, longe diuersa ratione, reliquorum ædificiorum,
quæ ab alijs, Indiæ regibus, extrui solent · quæ depressa, et humilia sunt · haud
4 aliter quam simulachrorum | delubra: eo sane ambitu, ut quattuor latissimas basilicas,
complectatur · quarum potior, et ornatior est regis, altera matrum familias, tertia
liberorum · quarta rei familiaris penu · et armarium. Eas ædes, non tegulæ sed
fornices tegunt, et tuentur: quas solaria, concinno tectorio, pauimentata, ab iniurijs
5 cœli tuentur: quod humorem | allapsum extrinsecus facile repellit. Ornantur uero,
F. 109a. 1 multis fastigijs, quattuor columellis subnixis, quæ porticulas efficiunt. || Ad hæc
Dove-cots and pigeon-flying. ornamenta ædium, non parum pulchritudinis afferunt, turres, quibus columbæ
includuntur, quæ tectoriolo circumlitæ, et laterculis miniatis, cæruleis, luteis, candi-
disque tectæ, magnam præ se ferunt pulchritudinem. Et columbarum, eunuchi, et
ancillæ curam habent · quarum uolatus, datis pro libito signis, perinde moderantur,
2 ac boni | duces, optimos milites, bellicis tibijs, et tympanis. Et quod portento simile
uidebitur, si addatur: ut choros ducant, et ut ueluti ad numeros sese uolando,
in orbem resupinæ conuertant, sibilis assuefactas, aut emittunt, aut reuocant · ut
iussæ supra tectum subsidant, iussæ intra tectum se condant · iussæ tandem e nidis
3 erumpant. Pari amplitudine, ædificata ædes maxima | extat, in qua est sepulchrum,
Tomb of Pir Shaikh-ul-Islām (Salim Chishtī). Pirxecolidezcami, eius Sophi, *qui Regi suasit ut Siquirim commigraret,[1] qui *per
summam stultitiam[2] pro sancto colitur, *cum homo fuerit omnibus Agarenorum
sceleribus flagitijsque contaminatus.[2]

Rapid building. Non minori sunt dignitate, reliquæ ædificationes, quæ ab ipso Zelaldino, in varijs
sui regni locis, extructæ sunt · quas mira celeritate, plurimis adhibitis architectis,
4 fabris, et operis exædificat, et absoluit. | Nam amplissimum peristylum cum
porticulis latum, longumque pedes ducentos, tribus mensibus, Balneas trecentorum

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[1] 1st: quem ante diximus, Regi suasisse ut eo commigraret.

[2] Later addition.

pedum, rotundo ambitu, cum apodyterijs, et conclauibus, et aquæductibus[1] plurimis
ubi ipse perfunditur, sex mensibus absoluit. Et ne ferramentorum, quibus tum saxa,
5 tum trabes, et reliqua materia secantur, et dolantur, fragore obtundatur: | secundum
propositam, ædificandi *descriptionem,[2] alibi omnia concinne fabrefacta, in eum
locum, ubi ædificium *extruit,[3] inuecta componi, compingi, et coagmentari iubet.||
F. 109b. 1 Quæ cum a Sacerdotibus, diligenter obseruarentur, illud in mentem uenit, quod in
Meaning of 3 Kings, ch. vi, v. 7. ædificatione, templi Hierosolymitani, accidisse fertur, cum construeretur: fabrorum 3 *Reg.* 6.
ferrea instrumenta, non esse audita, absque prodigio euenire potuisse.

Manual occupations. At uero, usque eo fabricæ deditus est, ut in lapidicina cum alijs operis, non
2 semel lapides excidat. Nec ab artificijs | opificum, cum nihil habeat, ingenuum officina,
abhorret. Imo vero et ipsorum artes animi caussa nonnunquam exercet. Quo
studio, atrium propter basilicam ædificauit: ubi honestiorum artium sunt officinæ,
Useful arts. quales sunt, pictorum ars, et aurificum, textorum, armorum; et eorum qui aulæa et
3 peristromata contexunt · quo sæpissime solet uenire, ut aspectu | earum rerum,
animum defatigatione leuet.

Patronizing letters. Eruditis etiam uiris, admodum fauet et secum semper, doctiores uersari, et de
rebus philosophicis, et ad religionem, cultumque Dei spectantibus, coram se disputare,
antiquorum regum, et rerum cum laude gestarum historias, explicare iubet. Ac
cum plurimum, iudicio et memoria polleat; alios audiendi patientia, et disputandi |
4 exercitatione, non mediocriter, in multarum rerum cognitione, et scientia progressus
Unable to read or write; yet, well informed. est · quo litterarum ignorationem (est enim legendi, scribendique prorsus ignarus) non
compensat solum, uerum etiam, res difficiles adeo plane, ac *dilucide[4] exponit:
5 et de quauis re proposita, acute, arguteque | respondet; ut nemo qui nescierit, ipsum
literarum esse ignarum, non eum doctissimum, eruditissimumque esse iudicet. Et id
F. 110a. 1 profecto iure, nam præterquam quod, ingenij acumine, uti diximus, || præstat:
facultate dicendi, cui accedit Regis, summa authoritas, et amplitudo, *longe[5] plerosque
suorum qui scientiæ laude excellunt, *multumque superat.[6] Solent autem, singulis
Jesters. quibusque diebus, de rebus litterarijs disputare. Loco histrionum, ethologos,
mimorum commentatores, eo libenter audit, quod etiam hoc genus dicendi, litterarium
2 quippiam | sapiat. Nam fabulæ, quales sunt comœdiæ, tragediæ, et id genus alia,
The Qorān forbids theatricals, a legislatore, agi prohibentur · qui adeo fuit, fraudulentus, ut indifferentia, quædam
(quæ Græci dicunt ἀδιάφορα) prohiberet, quo probitatis, et sanctitatis existimationem,
et famam captaret: qua parta, sibi uiam muniret, ad ea præcipienda, quæ sunt ab
3 omni hominum, | non dico dignitate, uerum etiam sensu aliena. Nam ut unum,
not incestuous unions, nor polygamy. et alterum in medium afferamus; incestas nuptias, cum cognatis, et affinibus fœminis,
matre tantum, et sorore excepta, permittit: deinde duas uxorum formas confinxit,
et inter Agarenos induxit: una, matrum familias, quattuor: hæ sunt quæ in manum
4 conuenerunt · altera, | earum quæ tantummodo uxores habentur · et hæ quidem, tot
esse possunt, quot quisque alere, aut ære suo comparare potest. Quam fœdissimæ
A.'s 300 wives. luxuriæ impunitatem, et licentiam, Reges ad conciliationem pacis, cum principibus
sibi subditis, et uicinis transferunt. Nam eorum filias, et sorores domum suam

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[1] "Aqueductibus" in the MS.
[2] 1st: delineationem.
[3] 1st: collocat.
[4] 1st: diligenter.
[5] Later addition.
[6] 1st: multis spatijs superat, et antecellit.

traducunt. Quo factum est ut plures trecentis · Zelaldinus domi suæ habeat, quæ
F. 110b. 1 distinctis || conclauibus, in amplissima aula habitant · ex quibus tres tantum, liberos
mares, et duas filias sustulerat · quo tempore, cum eo Sacerdotes uersabantur.
His 3 sons and 2 daughters. Filiorum nomina hæc sunt · maximus natu, Xecus, eius Xeci caussa, quem diximus,
suasisse Regi, ut *Siquiri habitaret:[1] nam primus, post eam migrationem, natus
2 est,* et saluus | atque incolumis seruatus[2] · secundus, Páharis, tertius Dánus uel
Daniálus.

Hindū ministers. Rei suæ familiaris, et totius regni gubernandi, consiliarijs, et administris, tan-
quam sibi amicissimis, et ad rem gerendam sapientissimis, fortissimisque, uiginti fere
regulis, gentilibus utitur; qui semper, cum eo uersantur · et ad aulæ penetrales [*sic*]
3 admittuntur · quod, uel ipsis etiam, Mongolorum optimatibus, | non licet. Prouinci-
Chagatai generals. arum uero præfecturas, cum copijs militum, proceribus Xacattæorum, qui sunt ei ne-
cessitudine, coniuncti deferre solet.

His sons' tutors. Ijsdem liberos, non solum educandos, et instituendos, uerum etiam in tutelam
tradit · ut eos sibi, arctiori charitatis uinculo deuinciat · et ut, ij, si aliquo infortunio,
4 ipse tollatur, suorum pupillorum curam | habeant · et eos, ab iniuria uindicent, illorum
Education of his sons, qui cum ipso, dum uiuit, simultates gesserint. Verum, ad litteras perdiscendas, ex
instituto, moreque Persarum, eruditos uiros, senio, et *uirtutis simulatione[3] (ut sce-
leratissimi Agarenorum mores ferunt),* et inani ostentatione specie quidem pios[4] et
præstantes, assignat · tum lanistas qui arma tractare, doceant, et agitatores, qui
and daughters. equitandi, et sagittarios qui iaculandi artem tradant. Filias uero a matronis educari ||
F. 111a. 1 atque institui, loco a uirorum conspectu, remotissimo, diligentissime curat · a quibus
legere, et scribere docentur.

Deliberating. Jamuero in consilio capiendo, hanc sequitur rationem · ut uniuscuiusque con-
siliarij, sententiam priuatim exquirat, et in eam inclinet, quæ pluribus, et potioribus
probetur. A se statuta, quasi adhuc, de re ipsa deliberet: suis proceribus, peruul-
2 gat, | hoc modo. "Sentio hoc esse faciendum, probatisne, sententiam?" Quibus
respondentibus, "Pax Regi": adiungit, "Fiat ergo." Quod si eorum aliquis, in
eius sententiam non ueniat, libenter audit · et a sua, interdum discessionem facit.
3 Huius ordinis, homines, septem seligit, qui suo quisque | die, *omnium,[5] qui ad
7 Councillors. Their work. Regem adeunt, negotia procurent: postulationes proponant: et responsa Regis ut in
codicillos referantur excipiant · quorum est etiam eos *qui ad pedes Regis ut accidant
admittuntur,[6] ueluti ceremoniarum antistites deducere, et reuocare, et statuto loco,
4 pro hominum | dignitate, coram Rege sistere, et eorum, ad Regem postulata perferre.

Kindness to foreign princes. Verum longe alia ratione, exteros homines, atque longinquos, quam suos indi-
genitales, et domesticos accipit. Nam exteros profecto, perhumane, et perbenigne,
5 præcipue aliorum, regum legatos · et uiros principes, | qui suis regnis pulsi, eius
patrocinium implorant. Quos auxiliaribus copijs expeditos, illo tantum oneris officio
Embassy from the Viceroy of obstringit, ut suis mensuris, et argento a se facto, atque signato utantur. Verum
*eius præsidis qui Sanaæ degit,[7] et Arabiæ Fœlici, pro Turcarum rege præest · ||

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[1] 1st: ut Siquirim commigraret. [2] 1st: et superstes euixit. [3] 1st: uitæ integritate. [4] Later addition.
[5] 1st: aduentitiorum. [6] 1st: qui ad exosculandos eius pedes admittuntur.
[7] 1st: Mokensis præfecti, qui Sanaæ degit.

F. 111b. 1 legatos, ita accepit, ut * in fumum[1] ea legatio abierit; et ipse legatus, * in uincula
Sanaa badly received. coniectus Lahori diu exularit,[2] comitatusque eius, clam aufugerit. Eius rei caussa
ferebatur, quod eos elatos, et a superbo domino missos, animaduertisset · tum quod
eum, ad bellum gerendum, aduersus Hispaniæ, et Lusitaniæ regem, hortarentur. At
2 uero Materteram, Mekka redeuntem, lectica ornatissima | uectam, per uias sericis
A.'s aunt returns from Mecca. stratas, domum eius, populo nummos spargens deduxit. Enimuero · cum nobilibus
qui * in superbissimo eius dominatu[3] sunt, tantam grauitatem seruat, ut unusquisque
Harshness to subject princes. sic se, despicatui duci putet, ut, ultimum se (quod ueteri prouerbio dicitur) Mysorum
esse, prope existimet, atque in eos (si peccent), acrius, et diligentius animaduertit,
3 quam in reliquos | populares, et plebicolas.

Amanuenses. Atque uti, septem senatorij ordinis uiros, singulis hebdomadæ diebus, habere
diximus, ita * ex scribarum collegio,[4] singulis etiam diebus, quatternos, aut quinos
* librarios,[2] assignat: qui omnia, quæ secus regem transiguntur, et ab ipso uel cauentur,
Their diligence uel imperantur, perscribant · et regis uerba, tanta celeritate excipiant, ut ne in terram |
4 elabantur, et excidant, diligentissime curare uideantur. Quæ, nimis superstitiosa
consuetudo, a priscis illis, Persarum regibus, dimanasse uidetur, qui sacrarum
litterarum testimonio, apud Danielem, Esdram, et Estherem · ita factitasse comperi- *Dan.* 6.
untur · et hos scribas, prisci illi reges, ab accidentibus, ideo uocabant, quod eorum *Esd.* 3. 6. *Esth.* 6.
F. 112a. 1 esset partium, omnia quæ eueniebant, accuratissime || in commentarium referre · atque *Esd.* 3. 2.
and servility. illa quidem, * puerilis est stultitia, ut fatui homines, rusticum et agreste esse ducant,
in Regis umbra pedem ponere aut uestigium imprimere.[5]

Hi quos diximus: et tribuni custodum, et uigilum, et ipsa cohors (quæ ea die per
Rotation of offices. uiginti quattuor horas, excubias agit, e regis penu * datis cibarijs[6] prandet). Janitorum
etiam, aparitorum, ac lictorum excubiæ, singulis diebus,* renouantur et[6] instau-
2 rantur. | At uero, assidue in aula uersantur · magnus prætor, consiliarius priuatus,
Permanent retainers. quæstor, * conficiendarum rationum[7] magister, ædilis, censor, cubicularius maximus,
aulæ moderator, qui rem familiarem Regis tuetur · castrorum saxametator · tribunus
3 ærarius, ianitor maximus · flagitiosorum, qui in custodia continentur, | custos, carni-
ficum tribunus, et culinæ Regis præfectus, et id genus alij.

How upstarts are treated. Cæterum ignobiles, et nouos homines, et a se ipsis, ut dicitur, ortos, atque alienigenos,
si eos solertes, et sui negotij, bene gerentes, comperiat; suis domesticis ad-
4 scribit, et ad honorum ampliorum gradus, paulatim euehit. | Verum si abiectas artes
exercuerunt, suorum opificiorum instrumenta, ut præferant, præscribit: ne unde
excitati, ad eum gradum ascenderint, obliuioni (ut fit) per socordiam, et insolentiam,
tradant.

Atque, ut ij, qui assidui sunt in aula, munera sua, facilius, et accuratius obire
5 possint, singulis * triclinia,[8] intra basilicæ septa, | ædificari iussit, ubi interea quies-
The *yatash-khana*. cant, dum suo quisque munere perfungitur · quæ uocantur ïátaxqhana, *i.e.*, domus
solatij, uel domus sedandæ sitis.

F. 112b. 1 Illud sane || dignum est, ut principes imitentur, quod plurimos adolescentulos, et

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[1] 1st: ut in fumum, et nebulam. [2] Later addition.

[3] 1st: sub eius dominatu. [4] 1st: ex non paucis scribis.

[5] 1st: anilis est superstitio, ut uani homines nefas esse ducant regis umbram pedibus premere.

[6] Later addition. [7] 1st: rationum accipiendarum magistratus. [8] 1st: ædiculas.

Orphans as pages. puerulos nobiles, qui patre orbi sunt, sua mensa alit, et ingenue, et liberaliter ut
educentur, *curæ habet.[1]

Sources of A.'s wealth. Revenues. Magna profecto *exigit, ex prouincijs, uectigalia,[2] eo quod sint, mirum in modum,
opimæ, et fertiles, et ubertate agrorum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine, |
2 earum rerum, quæ uel importantur, uel exportantur. Quibus accedunt, crebræ hæreditates,
Hoards of deceased grandees. optimatum · quæ omnes, ex præscripto, et consuetudine, regi ueniunt. Præterea
Spoils of war. spolia, regum et tyrannorum, quos bello uicit · quorum thesauros complexus est, et
Presents. corrasit. Quas opes, non mediocriter auxit, acceptis muneribus, a nouis subditis,
3 omnium | prouinciarum · quas armis, suo imperio adiunxit · quibus etiam, plurimorum
hominum fortunas exhausit. Ac ne aliquid prætermittere uideatur, quod ad peculium
Trading. Banking. augendum, pertineat · mercaturis faciendis, rem quærit · eamque non mediocriter
auget. Tum deinde, nullos esse sinit, in regno argentarios, sed per ærarios, tribunos,
4 et scribas, qui pecuniam numerent, argentariam | facit maximam · cum ex ærario,
tantum liceat, auream *pecuniam[3] cum argentea, aut ærea, et e conuerso commutare.
Cum enim, pro dignitate eorum, quibus pecunia numeranda est: aut auro, aut
argento, aut ære stipendia soluat: fere fit, ut qui, alterutro stipendia accipiunt, tertio
opus habeant. Quæ quidem rei augendæ ratio, etsi sordida putari possit, duas tamen
F. 113a. 1 uidetur afferre utilitates · || altera est, quod adulterinæ pecuniæ, uia præcluditur:
altera est, quod eodem semper pretio, pecuniæ commutantur · nec argentariorum
fraudibus, qui mutuant · circumueniri pecunia queunt. Ac cum in idem ærarium,
Right of pre-emption on horses. æs omne confluat: nullius esse caritas potest. Equos præterea liceri, se, aut suo
2 stipulatore inscio, cauit · deinde, exquisitis palam | pretijs, licitationibusque, libere
factis, hoc est, nemine opposito, qui contra se liceatur · optimos quosque, *coemit,
et ut uiolentiæ suspicionem obliteret, enumerato pretio, aliquot præterea uenditori
A. the richest King of the East. aureos persoluit.[4] Et cum parcior sit, et in retinenda pecunia tenacior, ditissimus
omnium regum est, qui nostra, et maiorum memoria, in orientis plaga, abhinc
3 ducentis annis, extiterunt · quod eius auribus dant, qui eum | circumstant reguli, ut
se in illius gratiam, et beneuolentiam insinuent. At uero, ad diuitiarum ostentationem
quatter singulis annis, hoc est, tertio quoque mense, aceruum signati æris sacculis
Trimestrial weighing of money. inclusum, latum pedes decem, altum triginta, palum excitari, in atrio aulæ extimo,
prope uestibulum iubet. Cui assident tribuni, et scribæ ærarij: qui numerandæ pecuniæ
4 præsident. | Quæ, deducto lucro, quod argentarijs futurum erat, cui soluenda
est, numeratur. Vnoquoque uero sacco, quattuor fere sestertia includuntur.

Turba tribunorum, scribarum, quæstorum, qui regias facultates, et supellectilem *4000 asses. 4000 reaēs. As enim nummum exiguum significat.*[5]
Farmāns signed and sealed. tractunt, in amplissinam aulam conuenit · cui, pro tribunali, magnæ authoritatis, et
solertiæ regulus quidam, præest · cuius imperio diplomata scribuntur, quibus et ipse
F. 113b. 1 subscribit, || et una, e Regijs matribus familias, penes quam est anulus, atque adeo
One of the Queens the keeper of the seal. sigillum regni, post octo dies, quam tradita sunt, ut obsignentur, typum *ceræ[6]
imprimit. Quo dierum interuallo, a priuato consiliario, et ab ipso Rege, singula quæque
diligentissime examinantur, an aliqua fraus subsit, aut error irrepserit · atque

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[1] 1st: diligentem curam habet.

[2] 1st: habet. ex prouincijs, stipendiaria uectigalia.

[3] Later addition.

[4] 1st: aliquot superiectis nummis, coemit ut uiolentiæ suspicionem obliteret.

[5] Later addition.

[6] Later addition.

2 id potissimum, in gratuitis beneficijs, quæ regia | liberalitate, conferuntur. Quod si
Errors of officials severely punished. ab ijs, quorum interest, ex muneris sui nexu, aliquid peccetur, mirum est, quam
acriter, in peccantem animaduertat: eo quod, publicam fidem uiolasse uideatur.
Quo fit, ut cum illius seueritatem formident: omnes in officio semper esse, et ad eius
3 se uoluntatem, nutumque conuertere, summa ope nitantur. Justum | enim, et ius
Severity tempered with kindness. accuratissime colit, et administrat. Ac cum ex instituto, legis Agarenorum, uno, et
altero iudice de caussis decernatur · caussam tamen, contentionemque, de capite
hominis cuiusquam, reliquas item caussas, quæ non ex crimine, sed ex controuersia
4 tantum constant: si magnæ sint utilitatis, | et momenti, ad suum iudicium deduci
iubet. Ac cum facile excandescat, et facile *deferueat:[1] uir alioqui, natura beneficus,
et benignus: ut sine inuidia, culpa plectatur · et sine culpa, inuidia ponatur: cauit:
A witty soldier escapes punishment. ut cum ipse, de facinore, iudicium facit: sontes, ne antea mulctentur, quam tertio,
id imperet · faciendum. In eo bello · quod ad Paharopanisadas confecit: cum iuxta
5 Bydaspem castra | haberet, duodecim transfugæ milites, ab excubijs, cum ad hostes
F. 114a. 1 transfugerent interclusi, et capti, ad eum perducti || sunt. Quorum iudicium, cum
ipsemet exerceret, et quosdam in uinculis asseruari, ut diligentius, eorum caussas
cognosceret: quosdam proditionis, et fugæ conuictos necari, iuberet: unus eorum,
qui morti addictus, a carnificibus rapiebatur: facultatem loquendi exorauit. "O
Rex," inquit, "ne me, in* patibulum[2] agi iubeas: nam mihi summam *agilitatem
2 "ad rem quandam | egregie præstandam[3] natura largita est."—"Cedo (inquit Rex)
"quid potes miser præstare?"—"Modulate (ait) cano."—"Age igitur, cane." Cœpit
miser, uoce adeo, extra modum absona, et absurda perstrepere: ut risus omnium,
atque obmurmuratio fieret; et Rex ipse, risum uix teneret. Quod cum, sons ille
3 aduerteret, adiunxit · "Condona mihi, o | Rex, hanc noxam. Nam quoniam me
"lictores isti tui, raptim et turbulenter, æstuosa, et puluerulenta uia, pugnis con-
"tusum, traxerunt; multo puluere, præclusis faucibus, uocem ita obtudi, ut raucus,
"minime canendo excellam." Quod ille acute, et facete dictum, ita illustri gratia
4 accepit: ut animaduersionem, et supplicium, quo usurus erat in eum, et | eius socios,
huic uni remitteret *et condonaret.[4]

Penalties. Sontium uero hæc fere sunt supplicia · qui capitale commiserunt, aut pedibus
elephantum proterendi proijciuntur, aut palis infiguntur, aut suspendio enecantur.
Raptores, et adulteri, aut iugulantur, aut in furcam aguntur. Atque stupra, et
adulteria ita exhorret, ut suarum mercium maximum internuntium (proxenetam ||
F. 114b. 1 Græci dicunt) eo quod per uim, puellæ, Brachmanarum generosa stirpe profectæ,
uxorem habens, stuprum intulisset, neque prece, neque pretio, neque gratia deduci
potuerit: quin iugulari iuberet. Nefarium malum, quod impius Mahammeddes, lege
non coercuit, hic, crudelibus loris, *cædens sontes,[5] puniri iubet. Jus dicunt duo
Ministers of justice. 2 iudices, alter primarius, | alter ad quem, si appellatio intercedat, iudicium deferatur.
Prætor, uel Quæsitor unus. Et iudicia uerbo dumtaxat, non scriptis fiunt. Sontes,
in uinculis quidem, at non in carcere custodiuntur. Si uiri principes sint, qui custodiæ
State-prison Gwalior. mancipantur, Goalerim amandati, in uinculis, et in squalore, carcere inclusi contabes-

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[1] In MS.: deferbeat.
[2] 1st: in crucem.
[3] 1st: copiam, et facultatem rei cuiusdam egregie præstandæ.
[4] Later addition.
[5] 1st: cæsis sontibus.

3 cunt. At uero generosi, | *optimatibus[1] traduntur. Populares autem, uel cursorum
præfecto, uel carnificum, et lictorum tribuno. At tribunus hic, instrumenta quædam
Scaring culprits. puniendi, ut sunt lora, et uerbera, et nerui, acutis sudibus æreis muniti, et lignum
quoddam teres, *ad tundenda latera, aut comminuendum cerebrum factum[2] et fla-
4 gellum, alligatis sphæris aliquot · quæ præacutis | clauis æneis instructæ sunt (puto
hos ab antiquis dici scorpiones) in aula, secus regem, circumfert. Quibus tamen
instrumentis nemo cæditur, et potius ad metum incutiendum quam ad cædendum
comparata uidentur: quam etiam ab caussam, pro foribus regiæ domus, uaria genera
uinculorum, cathenarum, pedicarum, armillarum, et manicarum, in ea porta pen-
The 4 gate-keepers. dent · quæ huic concredita est. Nam hic, unam aulæ portam, asseruat; ianitorum
F. 115a. 1 *tribunus[3] alteram; tertiam lanista; quartam, cursorum || tribunus custodit.

Ad lictores uero pertinet horas clepsydris metiri · et pulsu *ahenorum,[4] quota
Water-clocks. horæ pars sit, significare. Clepsydræ, hoc modo constituuntur. Phiala ænea impletur
aqua, conus item æneus excauatus, ea magnitudine paratur, ut tenui foramine,
dum aquam haurit, horæ quadrantem · ad summum usque insumat. Is aquæ uas-
2 culo | superponitur, quæ per foramen illapsa, conum ubi compleuit, immergit · quo
immerso, quadrantis signum datur. Ad cuius horologij pulsum, omnia in aula
Music at the *Naubat-khāna* diriguntur · et statis horis, hoc est, ante auroram, cum gallinacei canere incipiunt;
et uesperi, tubæ, litui, tympana, cistra, crotali, et id. genus multa, incondite unius
3 horæ spatio perstrepunt. |

Couriers. Cursoribus, nuntij quidam annumerantur, quos Græci ὀκύποδες, Indi gelabdares *Strabo lib.* 15.
dicunt, nos non inepte, pegasos (*i.e.*, pernices) dicere possumus, qui pedibus, uno die,
tantum itineris conficiunt quantum eques, qui contento cursu, iter facit. Quibus, ut
fertur, epar infantulis eximitur · ne halitus difficultate laborent, deinde soleis
4 plumbeis, ita currere | assuescunt · uel in eodem loco hærentes, ita pedes, et crura
mouere ut calcibus nates attingant. Quo fit ut demptis soleis, ad cursum paratissimi,
et aptissimi euadant. Horum pernicitate, ac celeritate fit: ut, et quam citissime,
5 et quam frequentissime, et a suis certior fiat, et suos certiores faciat | omnium
rerum, quæ ad sui regni tranquillitatem pertinent.[5]

Limits of the Empire. Quod quidem latissime patet.[6] Nam ad Aquilonem uersus Circium, monte Imao,
qui etiam nunc, ab incolis Cumaumus dicitur, continetur · Indi amne, et Paha-
F. 115b. 1 ropaniso · || ad Austrum, Gangetico sinu, et mediterraneis, aliquot regionibus, quae
Narsingæ, uel Bisnagæ, supra Pandas attingunt fines; deinde Ariacum: qui
Goæ adjacent; et Cuncanenses, uel Cánaræ hodie dicuntur: ac Sedanorum qui Xeulo
imminent · et Decanici dicuntur · ad solis occasum Gedrosiæ, et maris Indici littore ·
2 ab ortu Emodorum parte, quæ magis ad Eurum | flectit · et ipso Gangis uado, qui ex
eodem, quo Jomanes monte, sed diuerso fonte, atque cursu, illabitur. Cæterum,

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[1] 1st: magnatibus. [2] 1st: tundendis lateribus, aut comminuendo cerebro

[3] 1st: præfectus. [4] In MS: Aænorum.

[5] The following marginal note, later in date and cancelled, would come naturally here. *Hæc quidem omnia instituto moreque Tartarorum ad quorum se morem componere summa ope contendit. Nam maternum genus a Cinguiscan ducit.* (*Inf. fol.* 119 *a.* 1.)

[6] Here occurs a marginal note in Portuguese: *Daqui pertence a descripsaõ do Reyno do Eq̃bar ate* †. The † occurs again at fol. 117 *a.* 1, after: legationis exitus obstitisset.

lectorem hoc loco admonitum volo, me *hic[1] non Indiam circumscribendam, sed
Equebaricum regnum suscepisse.† Enimuero, Gedrosiæ maximam partem, nuper
tum deditione, tum armis Zelaldinus obtinuit. Quo fit, ut totius regni ambitus,
3 credatur: | bis mille passuum millia excedere · atque in umbilico eius Indiæ esse,

Alexander. St. Bartholomew.

quæ a veteribus, India intra Gangem, est appellata · ad quam, Alexandrum
Macedonem peruenisse, ueteres historici commemorant · et a nostris scriptoribus

St. Thomas.

memoriæ proditum est • D. Barp.[tholomæum] Christi Euangelium intulisse. Nam
4 diuus Thomas, in maritima regione, traditur fuisse uersatus. | Est sane, regio

Indigenous & European fruit-trees.

peramœna, et salubris · sed plurimis locis, arborum frugibus destituta: et pro cœli,
solique diuersitate, diuersorum etiam fructuum ferax. Nam eo terræ cingulo (Cosmographi clima, uel gradum dicunt) quod magis Austrum spectat, eosdem, quos Indiæ
5 maritima regio, fructus edit. At quo magis, ad Aquilonem uergit, eo | similiores Europæ
fructibus, fruges suppeditat. Verum ex Europæa multitudine, ac uarietate hæ tantum
F. 116a.1 exuberant: uvæ, mala persica, mora, ficus perpauci, || et *pinus,[2] in Imai iugo. Malorum
punicorum, et eius generis cæterorum, toto fere regno magnus est prouentus. At,
mala cotonia, pyra; et similia, importantur ex Persia. Oriza, frumento, millio,

Other trees.

et legumine reliquo, abundat plurimo. In arboribus, quæ fructus, non edunt, quæ

Flax ?, hemp.

multæ sunt; solam platanum, ex Europæis uidi. Salices etiam, in Indoscythia. Linum,
2 et canape, | multis locis seritur, qui Indo flumini sunt uicini. Et ea herba, quæ uulgo
dicitur bangue, et epóta, somnum, et stuporem mentis, et sensuum inducit: canapi

Bhang.

folijs persimilis est · uerum, non uno tantum stipite, seu thyrso eminet; sed, ut
est fruticum natura, ex humili trunco, in uarios ramos abit · atque scinditur.
3 Anili, et oppij magna est, uersus | austrum, seges · quarum segete, non parum

Indigo. Opium.

regijs uectigalibus, lucri accedit. Est uero anilum, herba quædam ex qua, succus
quidam, exprimitur, qui ubi coalescit, cæruleum colorem, reddit. Id uero nominis,
ab indigenis, inuenit, qui, ut Persæ, nilum nominant, quod nos cæruleum appellamus · at Lusitani addita littera · anilum uocant. |

Christian kings in India before Timūr, called Indian Presters John.

Hoc Indiæ regno (quod more Turcico Industan uocitant) Christiani reges potiebantur · quos maiores nostri, propter rerum Indicarum ignorantiam, anteaquam a
Lusitanis, India exploraretur: presbyteros Joannes Indicos appellabant · de quibus,
4 multa *superstitiose[3] et aniliter fabulabantur. | Ac quam hostiliter, et inimice, Agareni
cum Christianis hominibus, et cum religione, et sacris agant: illud argumento est:
F. 116b. 1 quod nullum omnino, Christianæ religionis uestigium, toto illo || multarum regionum
tractu relictum sit · cum Temur begij ætate · hoc est, centum abhinc, et octoginta

Christians in Tibet, near Lake Mānasarowar.

septem annis, eorum regum genus, adhuc maneret. At uero, in interiori Imao,
quo Agarenorum arma, non penetrarunt · si Joguijs, fides est tribuenda · qui
multas regiones obeunt, sed multa commentitia, et a se conficta narrant, uerisque
2 fabulas, | intermiscent: reliquiæ Christianorum extant. Nam a Sacerdotibus, nonnulli, de Imai montis situ, interrogati dixerunt: montem esse arduum, et ascensu

†Nam de India uniuersa infra, si Deus dederit, quæ sum assequutus perscribam.[1]

Strabo, Geog., lib. 15.

Q. Curtij, lib. 8.

Diod. Siculus, lib. 3. c. 10.

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[1] Later addition.

[2] The ink has somewhat eaten through the paper here. The word looks *pinus* rather than *pirus*. Besides Monserrate states two lines further that pears were imported from Persia.

[3] Ist: inepte.

difficilem, in fastigio uero planum, et ad habitandum accommodatum · atque in ora
cuiusdam* stagni[1] quod ab incolis, Mansarüor dicitur: gentem quandam,* peruetus
3 quoddam oppidum | incolere:[2] qui octauo quoque die, in communem ædem sacrificij,
Their supposed practices. et orationis caussa, conueniant. Hanc uero, esse sacrificij, et orationis religionem.
Viros in dextera templi parte, a vestibulo ad phanum usque, et mulieres, in sinistra,
more regionis, complicatis cruribus accumbere. In editiore loco, et medio, capiteque
4 templi, | hominem *lintea ueste[3] indutum, eodem more sedere: * a fronte cuius[4] humilis
mensa collocatur, *in quam, duo uasa aurea inferuntur[5] · in altero quorum, uinum,
in altero, panis asseruantur: illum uero, de scripto, quædam recitare, quibus cæteri
respondent, tum pro concione, uerba facere, ad extremum, singulos, mares primum,
F. 117a. 1 deinde fœminas, sine strepitu, ordine surgere: ad *Antistitem[6] adire, || ab eo *modici
panis frustum,[7] deinde uini haustum, accipere, et iterum sedere · his peractis,
domum suam quemque redire. Fuerant sane Sacerdotes, rem totam, diligenter
How the Moghuls took India. exploraturi; nisi eorum consilijs, legationis exitus obstitisset.[8]

Atque hoc imperium, Zelaldinus magnus, partim a maioribus, accepit, partim
2 ipse, a multis ocupatum, armis recepit. | Est autem res altius repetenda. Rei pecuniariæ
difficultas, et copiarum, quæ ex collectitio milite, et dedititiorum cohortibus
constabant, crebræ defectiones: et insidiæ a Persis, Parthis, et Turcis sæpissime
paratæ; deinde crebræ suorum proditiones; Temuri nepotes coegerunt: ut se, intra
3 eos fines, unde Temurus auus eruperat; | reciperent, et continerent. Hi erant,
Bactræ, et Sogdianæ regiones · quarum præcipuæ ciuitates, sunt Samarcanda,
Bóccora, et Balcum. Ac, cum rebus meliuscule succedentibus, ut est regum ingenium,
noua parare instituerent, et Persarum, ac Turcarum potentia, Media, et Minore Asia,
4 Armeniaque prohiberentur: infestis signis Paharopanisadam, | Indoscythiam, et Indiam
fatigare aggrediuntur. Has regiones Patanæi tenebant: uarijs itaque bellis, fractos
Patanæos, qui in Paharopanisade, et Indoscythia erant: sub iugum miserunt · et
Kābul taken. regni sedem Chabuli constituerunt · ut conficiendo Patanico bello, essent paratiores.
Bābar's conquests. *In ea re Baburus, Zelaldini auus, uir magni animi,[9] et ex bellica laude, ad
Temurum atauum aspirans, ita Patanæos exercuit, ut toto, fere Indiæ regno, pulsos, in
F. 117b. 1 magnas || angustias, et regni angulos compelleret. At is parum cautus, et prouidus,
rerum futurarum, non minorem cladem accepit a suis, quam intulit Patanæis; nam
Samarcandæ regnum, *is quem ille abiens dictatorem et magistrum equitum dixerat,
Humāyūn's reverses. proditor ocupauit.[10] Baburo, *Emaumus successit. Qui cum in Gedrosia bellum
2 faceret, Patanæi,[11] | homines bellicosi, iniuriarum a Baburo acceptarum memores · et

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[1] Later change: lacus; but, erased. [2] 1st: amplissimo quodam oppido [commorari ?].

[3] 1st: linea ueste, albaque. [4] 1st: ante quem. [5] 1st: cui, duo uasa aurea superponuntur.

[6] 1st: mystem. [7] 1st: buccellam panis; 2ndly: panis placentæ frustum. [8] Cf. fol. 115 *a.* 5, *n.* 6.

[9] Later addition. Here occurs a later variant: "In ea re Baburus, Zelaldini auus, uir strenuus, ut supra demonstratum est in priore libro, fortiter desudauit atque laborauit." Though Bābar S̲h̲āh's history has not been touched upon in the preceding pages, the "prior liber" must mean the present work, Monserrate intending to transfer the passage to his second book on India, a different work. It may be, too, that M. (erroneously) thought that he had written about Babar in connection with Humāyūn at fol. 22 *b.* 3, *i.e.*, in what he intended at one time to be part of the "Liber I" of this work. Cf. our introduction, p. 523.

[10] 1st: Osbequiorum dux proditor occupauit.

[11] 1st: Emaumus successit, quem supra otij, pacisque studiosum fuisse demonstrauimus. Cuius ingenium ut Patanaei explorarunt.

natalis soli, a quo plurimi exulabant, desyderio impulsi, spe etiam certissimæ
uictoriæ illecti, bellum, ea fortuna instaurarunt: ut omnia pene, quæ Baburus
ocupaverat, non obtinerent solum, uerum etiam, de rei summa, Emaumum secum |
3 agitare cogerent. Emaumus, in eas angustias, coniectus: atque in maxima difficultate
*constitutus: ad Regem[1] Persiæ, nouæ sectæ *principem et inuentorem,[2] adijt ut
Help from Bairām Khān
sibi suppetias *ueniret.[3] Cui ea conditione, suas legiones, quibus unus præesset imperator,
4 tradidit; ut sibi | nomen daret, et suo, quod gestabat, capitis redimiculo
uteretur · quam conditionem accepit. Quibus legionibus, omnia quæ Patanæi obtinuerant,
recuperauit · et eos dum vixit, Persæ virtute, qui legiones ducebat, coercuit. At
uero eo casu, quem antea commemorauimus, Delini interijt, cum Zelaldinus filius
Agaræ esset.

At Persa, gratia, et fauore emortui regis insolens, quod omnia sibi accepta
Beyram Canus.
F. 118a. 1 referret, et quod se patrem appellaret; || sibi constituendi Regis arbitrium, arrogare
Akbar defeats Bairām Khān.
conabatur; et cum Zelaldinus, Agaræ, a suis ciuibus, Regem esse renuntiatum intellexit:
id ægre, molesteque ferens, Zelaldino obsistere, et Mirsaqhimo, Emaumi filio
secundo, qui Chabuli regnabat, fauere instituit. Sed hæc dum meditatur, eius consilia
2 Zelaldinus, iuuenis strenuus, | anteuertit. Nam, ubi Persam uacillare intellexit,
inopinantem adortus, commisso prælio cepit, non tamen interfecit, eo quod patrem
suum, atque se, regno, quod Patanæi occupauerant, restituisset. Quod dissidium
multis regulis, qui patri parebant, defectionis occasio fuit. At uero Persa superato,
3 ijsdem copijs, qui ei æquo animo | paruerant: et reliquo exercitu, facile illi fuit, bellum
The Gakhars, Gujarātis, Baluchis, Marāthās, Rājputs, Jāts, Pathāns of Bengal, & Kashmīrīs.
commotum ab auo, confirmatum a patre, ita ducere; ut plane conficeret. Quo
superauit Gaccáres, Cambouos, Baloches, Rattoos, Rasputes, Géretas · ac Patanæos
quo prælio, Dauidem eorum regem peremit: deinde Indoscythas, et Mongolos, qui fratris
filij partes tuebantur · ad extremum | uero Caspirios. Equidem, urbium, oppidorumque,
4 ac regionum, quas obtinuit, et principum reliquorum, quos bello superauit, renuntiationem,
et enumerationem, ob nominum barbaras uoces, praetermittendam
existimo.

Et ut de urbium dignitate aliquid dicam · jucundum quidem illæ aspectum,
Dignitas urbium.[4]
F. 118b. 1 eminus ostendunt. Nam crebræ turres, et tectorum fastigia, || magnum ornamentum,
Description of Indian towns generally.
illis afferunt. Cæterum intus, uiarum angustiæ, et earum inordinata, et perturbata
concursio, ipsis, omnem urbanæ pulchritudinis, splendorem eripiunt. Accedit,
quod nullæ sunt fenestræ, in ædibus; quod consulto fieri existimo, propter uiarum
sordes. Nihilo tamen secius, diuites homines, domorum tecta, et fornices emblematis,
2 | et picturis exornant · domi hortos conserunt, opere topiario uestiunt: lacunas,
et piscinas, tectorio uarij coloris, illinunt; subterraneis tubis, fontes ducunt: salientes
construunt: quæ imbrem altissime impellunt; sola uero faciunt, cocto latere, fictilia:
3 uel secto lapide, marmorea · at uero, in fronte, aut uestibulo, nihil | arte elaboratum,
nihil est, quod prætereuntium oculos oblectet · nihil, quod ædificium commendet.
Et Brachmanarum, quamuis sit alia ratio ædificandi, hi tamen ligno, et lapidi,
simulachra arte statuarij, concinne incîdunt, aut sculpunt. Ea sunt homi-

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[1] 1st: eodem fere anno quo Lusitana classis primum in Indiam appulit, ad Xa Ismaelem Regem.

[2] 1st: authorem; 2ndly: assertorem. [3] 1st: ferret. [4] Later addition.

num, et ferarum, quæ fabulis acceperunt · at nunquam committunt, quin cristatum
4 colubrum | appingant: capitibus potissimum columnarum; quem Lusitani *serpentem
cuculli[1] dicunt · *Ægyptiam aspidem esse credo.[2] Vulgus uero, et plebicolæ, in
humilibus tugurijs, et casis degunt · quo fit ut aduentitijs atque externis, nihil
afferat noui, alia ciuitas: si unam viderint. Est autem Brachmanarum, atque
F. 119a. 1 Agarenorum, in Zelaldini regno, Reipublicæ gubernandæ, dispar || admodum ratio,
nam Brachmanæ, illam, contribulium senatu, et concilio, liberis sententijs guber-
nant · Agareni curia, et senatoribus carent · omniaque, eius præfecti, qui a Rege
potestatem acceperit; arbitratu, et sententia decernuntur.[3]

A.'s descent from Chingīz Khān. *Porro[4] autem Zelaldinus maternum genus a Cinguiscano ducit · quod Rex *Ant. Reg.*
2 ipse, Sacerdotibus significauit. At Cinguiscanus, | [Euro]pæus Sarmata, *Alaunos[4]
Scythas,* aliosque[4] qui per eam *Sarmatiæ[5] regionem, quæ *ultra Tanaim et[4] ultra *Ptol. lib. 3 cap. 5 tab. 7. Europæ.*
Chingīz Kh. leads the Alānī and Scythians to conquest [c. A.D. 1242 !] Beliam montem[6] sita est, ad quem Alexandrum Macedonem peruenisse *et aras po-
suisse[4] memorant, degere solebant · ad eam diem obscuros, et finitimorum uectigales,
primum e suis quasi latebris, in lucem, atque totius orbis theatrum eduxit. Quorum
eruptio circa annum salutis, millesimum, ducentesimum ac quadragesimum secundum *Sab. Enneadis 9. lib. 6.*
3 sub | Mongolorum, et Tartarorum appellatione, Scythico* ac Sarmatico[4] nomine, uulgata
est: quam *Mongolorum[4] appellationem incertum est num acceperint, a primis suæ
Meaning of *Mongol*, *Tartar* or *Tātār*. gentilitatis authoribus, an uero, ab arbitris, et iudicibus, qui eorum controuersias antea
dirimebant, quam Cinguis eos in lucem educeret: an ab agris ubi degebant, an
4 denique *dicti sint[4] a Mongo amne, qui Arethusium excipit, in cuius ora | usque ad
Sarmaticum mare, Tartari hybernis castris uersantur. At Tartari, ex idiomatis, et *Ant. p. 3 tit. 19. c. 8. Ptol. lib. 6, c. 14, tab. 7.*
linguæ suæ vitio, Tattâr, a finitimis uocati sunt · nam concise, dura consonantium
collisione, monosyllabas uoces, quas balbutiant, proterere potius quam proferre uiden-
tur · aliter quam Mongoli, qui uocibus, et sono, proxime ad Turcarum linguam, *Ant. Reg.*
accedunt.

5 At uero Cinguiscanus, in eum dignitatis | gradum, oraculo euectus esse fertur ·
Oracle in favour of Chingīz Kh. quod, uel ipse confixit, uel malus aliquis dæmon attulit. Cui contribules eo fidem ha-
buerunt, quod ægre molesteque ferrent, ob pascua uicinis uectigal[7] || soluere, et
F. 119b. 1 illum ut oraculum prænuntiabat, ducem sibi creauerunt. Qui ut erat, uir gnarus, et
ad imperandum natus, è uestigio, anteaquam, finitimæ Scytharum turmæ, rescirent:
et sibi multitudinem, ne forte, facti eam pœniteret, iuramento deuincire, et militum

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[1] 1st: serpentem cuculli, vel capitij.

[2] Later addition.

[3] Everything is bracketed or cancelled in the MS. from: Jamuero ad Zelaldinum (fol. 106*b*. 4). Opposite, marginally, we have in Portuguese: Isto | se ha de escreuer | d ... [paper injured] | tido das [?] folhas 115*a*. 5.

[4] Later addition.

NOTE.—*My marginal notes in bold type are less satisfactory from this point. I expected it from the nature of the subjects treated. The spelling and identification of some proper names is left doubtful. Scarcely any of Monserrate's authorities is accessible to me.*

[5] 1st: Scythiæ. This passage from: porro autem Zelaldinus (fol. 119*a*. 1 to fol. 119*b*. 1) was covered with a thin white paper. From here to: enimuero quoniam hactenus (fol. 140*a*. 4), everything is bracketed or cancelled in the MS. Opposite the words "porro autem Zelaldinus.." marginally, I read: "Paras secui," which means, perhaps: I have cut out these paragraphs.

[6] Later note, marginally: Belia mons quis sit diuinandum est. Aytonum authorem sequitur hic Sabellicus, Enneade 9, lib. 6.

[7] Long later marginal note, erased, illegible.

7 Chiefs bid to kill their children.
authoramentum fieri, curauit. Deinde, ut tribunorum fidem periclitaretur, imperauit,
2 | ut septem *tribuni,[1] qui ante constitutum regnum, multitudini præerant, suos
quisque liberos trucidarent · horrendum facinus; multitudinis metu et oraculi superstitionibus
adacti paruerunt. Quo parricidio inauguratus, suas copias, in decurias,
Army organised.
centurias, chiliadas ac myriadas, assignatis *militum tribunis[2] distribuit · quam rationem
3 postea, | Scythæ sequuti sunt · et finitimos primum Scythas, sub suum iugum
duxit, sibique uectigales, ac stipendiarios fecit. Et cum, satis sibi esse copiarum
David, the Indian Prester John, defeated.
perspexit: quibus bellum exteris gentibus, inferre posset: in Dauidem Indiæ Regem,
cui Scythæ uectigal pendebant, religione Christianum, castra mouit. Quem ex inopinato,
4 duabus diuersa ductis turmis, | occupatum, facile superauit · captum cum
C. Kh. marries his daughter.
liberis, et domesticis, trucidauit. Uni tantum filiæ, quam uxorem duxisse fertur,
pepercit.

Further afield. Two of his generals.
Quod bellum, ubi confecit: spolijs locupletior, et copiosior effectus: ad remotiores
gentes, armis petendas, curas, cogitationesque transtulit · et copias uniuersas, in
tres acies distribuit. Quarum uni Baiothnoyum præfecit · qui ocupata Perside, et
F. 120a. 1 Maiori Armenia *deuicta,[3] Iconium usque, Lycaoniæ urbem, peruenit · || ubi ueteres
Turcæ regni sedem posuerant. Alteri Bácconem · qui *Tanaim transuectus,[4] ultra
Pontum Euxinum progressus: Jazigas, Rhuthenos, Polonos, Pánnonesque, magna
Himself defeated,
clade affecit. Tertiam, uersus · Austrum, creditur ipse, parum fœliciter duxisse: nec
enim, unquam sibi pepercit: quominus laborem, et periculum subiret. Ac cum semel,
2 pugna *infesto atque inimico marte[5] | commissa, profligatoque exercitu, ueprium
latebras petijsset, ferunt prodigio fuisse seruatum. Cum enim hostes, qui fugientem
sequebantur, in dumetum ubi latebat, uenissent: ac perscrutari locum, adorti essent:
and saved by an owl.
bubo, auis, superstitiosis hominibus inauspicata, strepitu aduentantium, exterrita,
auolasset: quærentibus, omnem recentis latebræ suspicionem, ademit. Quo factum |
3 est, ut Regem quærere desisterent: et ut, apud eam gentem, ea auis, in magno honore
deinceps haberetur. Verum hoc discrimine liberatus, et multis postea partis uictorijs,
Assumes divine honours.
insolens: eo dementiæ progressus est, ut animo super fastigium humanum elato, ut
alter Alexander Macedo, cum orbi uniuerso terrori esset: diuinitatem, sibi arrogare, *Q. Curtius de India lib. 9.*
4 ausus sit. Ac non minus stulte, | quam impudenter, se orbis terræ solum dominum,
et Dei filium, in castris pronuntiari iussit: eo more, quo Agareni, Mahammeddem
Dei nuntium, *inclamant[6] · ac sui simile simulachrum, exculpi, eoque proposito,
diuinos sibi honores tribui, Nabuchodonósorem imitatus, imperauit. *Dan. 3.*

Fertur aliquando, filios ad se vocatos, hoc modo fuisse, ad concordiam cohortatus. *Ant. Coc. Sabel. ibidem.*
Advice to his sons.
Jussit, ut singuli, singulas sagittas afferrent · quas, cum allatæ essent, uti
F. 120b. 1 simul colligerent edixit, præcepitque, || natu maximo, ut fascem perfringeret, quod
cum frustra tentasset, et post eum, ex ordine, reliqui: subiunxit: "Si in tuendo
Darganx [Karākorum? Kertchagan?] his capital.
"imperio, concordes fueritis, firmum erit: sin minus, labascet, atque iniurijs hominum
"erit obnoxius."

Quod cum ipse, longe, lateque prorogasset, otij cupidus, Darganxum urbem, in *Rodericus Gonsal. e Clauigijs.*
2 media Scythia condidit · et in ea ipsius sedem | posuit. At uero in insania, falsæ

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[1] 1st: præfecti. [2] 1st: præfectis. [3] 1st: superata. [4] 1st: Tanai superato.
[5] 1st: parum fœliciter. [6] 1st: proclamant.

Killed by lightning.
diuinitatis, sibi adscitæ persistens, ipso uictoriarum medio cursu, de cœlo tactus,
infœlici exitu, suæ temeritatis, et dementiæ pœnas dedit.

His 12 sons free to choose their religion.
Qui, dum uiueret, duodecim filios procreauit, quibus integrum esse permisit, *Ant. Reg.*
quam quisque uellet, religionem sequi · cum se, ut colerent, cæteros supplicijs adi-
3 geret · (ea solent | esse patres, erga filios indulgentia). Ex his, unus Christianus fuit,
One, Ogotai, a Christian.
ex Indiæ regis filia natus · cui nomen fuit Otthodayus. Reliqui, in gentilitia super-
stitione perstiterunt. *Quattuor, eorum, qui ex alia Cinguiscani uxore nati sunt
Only 5 known by name.
nomina, ad nostram usque memoriam perducta, sunt hæc:[1] Gabyrius, Xacattas,
4 Osbequis, et Charcas. Cæterorum uocabula exciderunt. Pater, | Samarcandæ im-
perium, et unam aciem Xaccatæ dedit. Cuius milites, a sui imperatoris nomine,
Samarkand to Chagatai. His 3 sons.
Xacattæi, ut ab alijs Mongolorum cohortibus distinguerentur, dici cœperunt. Huic
tres fuere filij, Jachis, Batto, et Tagladayus. Porro Boccoræ præfecturam, et Balcum
Bokhara and Balkh to Uzbeg.
urbem, Cinguiscanus, Osbequi cum iustis copijs, dedit · a quo, pari ratione, eius
milites, Osbequij sunt nominati · quorum genus, et nomen, *adhuc remanent.[2] At ||
F. 121a. 1 uero reliquam Tartarorum, et Mongolorum multitudinem, ipsamque Scythiam, et
The rest to Ogotai.
Darganxum, quam ipse condiderat · Otthodayo concessit · cæteris uero filijs, sin- *D. Ant. 3ª pars, tit. 19. cap. 8. § 17.*
gulas præfecturas, in alijs regionibus, quas ipse bello parauerat.

Juji, Batu, Tagladay, off to war.
Porro Xacattas, Samarcandæus imperator, ut qui uicinior Mediæ, atque Minori *Sabellicus Enneadis nonæ lib. 6.*
2 Asiæ esset: filios in eas regiones, ut bellum gererent, | misit · Jachiscanum, uersus
Chagatai attacks the Xtian Seræ.
ocasum, Battocanum, in Aquilonem · Tagladayum in austrum; ipse cum lectissimo
milite, Seras religione Christianos, bello premere instituit.

Batu drowned in the Drave.
Ac Batho, in Austriam usque impetu delatus, post ingentem editam stragem, in
ijs regionibus, quæ ipsi occurrerunt: cum magna suorum manu, in Drauo fluuio,
3 mersus interijt. | *Copiarum uero tribuni,[3] qui infortunium illud euaserunt, ad filios
eius, quos tuendis regnis, a se comparatis, præfecerat: confluxerunt.

Tagladay defeated. Juji conquers Persia.
Tagladayus, ab Æthiopibus fusus, superstites copias, cum Jachiscani fratris
exercitu iunxit · cui etiam se subdidit Jachiscanus, in Perside agebat, ex qua, atque
Mesopotamia, Turcas depulerat.

4 Enimuero Xacattas, Sogdianorum | conspiratione, quam discordiæ, et intestina
Chagatai killed.
bella (quod a patre significatum erat) eius, et fratrum suorum, fouerant: Samarcandæ *Rodericus Gonsal.*
occisus est. Quo sublato, Samarcandæi Sogdiani generis imperatorem, sibi delegerunt ·
qui ut Xacattæos (exercitus robur) beneficijs delinitos, sibi fortius deuinciret: et ut
significaret, quanti militarem eorum uirtutem, et nominis dignitatem æstimaret: suos
F. 121b. 1 milites Xacattæos, || conscribi, ac censeri præcepit. Quo sublata est, perniciosa illa,
animorum abalienatio, quæ ex generis, et appellationis diuersitate, inter exteros, et
indigenas oriri solet.

Power of his sons crippled.
At Xacattæ filij, ac nepotes, cum ijs copijs Xacattæorum, quæ reliquæ fuerant,
plurimis cladibus, ab ijs gentibus affecti, quarum regiones iniuste occupauerant, in
2 Scythiam iterum compulsi sunt · ubi | more maiorum agere, * et errantes[4] uagari,
cum iterum instituissent, Xacattæi Tartari dici cœperunt. Quo factum est, ut

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[1] 1st: quorum quattuor, germani fratres, ex alia Cinguiscani uxore extiterunt. Eorum uero nomina fuerunt.

[2] 1st: ad nostram usque memoriam perductum est.

[3] 1st: eius uero duces.

[4] 1st: atque palantes.

Their habitat.
Xacattæorum habitatio, et in Sogdiana prope Samarcandam, et Jaxartem fluuium:
et in Scythia supra mare Caspium, describatur. At quo tempore, Henrici quarti,
3 Castellæ Regis legati, Samarcandam uenerunt · | Samarcandæum imperium, Mongolia
Gons. de Clavijo at Samarkand.
dicebatur · quæ etiam in Scythia, haud procul a mari, quod eam, *ab Aquilonibus[1]
alluit, describitur.

Ogotai poisoned at Darganx(?).
Jamuero Otthodayus, Darganxi magnus Canus (*i.e.*, magnus princeps) Tartariæque
imperator, ueneno sublatus, biennio tantum, post patrem *uixit.[2] Huius signa,
D. Antonin. ibid.
4 reliqui Cinghiscani filij, suis prouincijs pulsi, sequuti fuerant; et | Mongolorum, ac
Tartarorum appellatione retenta, non semel, in Indiam colonias deduxerunt. Et in
Māndu, Mālwā, Sind, invaded.
primis Mandhoum, Maluanamque prouinciam, tenuerunt. Sindum, nostra ætate,
Tarchanes Mongoli, et Arguni *hactenus tenuerunt, quos nuper Zelaldinus expugnauit
Meaning of *Mangalore*
et regno spoliauit.[3] Olim, oppidis, quæ Mangalor a Lusitanis dicuntur, nomen
dederunt · quorum est, inter incolas, nomen Mongolur. Non tamen, ab ijs, Mogho-
F. 122a. 1 stan, e regione Ormuzæ, tractus, appellationem || accepit, ut quidam, ob uocum affini-
& *Moghostan.*
tatem, existimant · qui eum conuentum, Mongolistan nominant, hoc est Mongolorum
regnum · cum proprie, palmarum regio, dicatur. Rustanorum enim lingua, Mogh
Persico idiomate Rustani, rusticam linguam sonat.
palmam sonat.

Cæterum Mongoli,* recenti memoria, quia in bello tum Xacattæorum, tum Osbe-
2 quiorum stipendia merent,[4] utrorumque animos | offenderunt. Nam illorum partes
Moghuls despised by Chagatais and Uzbegs.
tuentur, apud quos *ampliora stipendia se merituros sperant.[5] Quare *non haben-
tur legitimi, et eiusdem stirpis, ac gentilitatis domestici, sed externi.[6] Nec se, Xacat-
A wrong notion.
tæi, Mongolos appellari, æquo animo ferunt. Quod Sacerdotibus, significare uoluit,
uir quidam eruditus, at non satis apte, cum dixit Mongolos appellari eos, qui ab utris-
3 que orti (dicerem potius a | quibus utrique orti) nec Osbequij essent, nec Xacattæi.

Kuyuk succeeds Ogotai. Embassy to St. Louis.
Cæterum, Otthodayo successit Cuing.-canus · cuius *magister equitum cui
nomen erat Cicaltay,[7] ad D. Ludouicum, dum in Cypro esset, legatos misit · qui
Abaga followed by Nicholas Tigudar, or Ahmad Kh.
magnum Tartariæ Canum, *Christianam religionem suscepisse[8] nuntiarunt.

Post Cuingum, Bege-canus eius filius regnauit, qui fratri suo, Tagondar-cano, |
4 religione Christiano, cui erat nomen Nicolaus, regnum tradidit. Hic fidem deseruit, et
Arghūn kills the renegade and favours the Xtians.
ad Agarenorum superstitionem *demigrauit.[9] Quam impietatem, non impune tulit:
eum enim Argon-canus, eius ex fratre Bage-cano nepos, uita et regno priuauit. Qui
Christianis beneuolus, non tamen Christianus, fuisse narratur (tanti refert, infantes
baptismo perfundi, non prouectiorem ætatem expectari).

F. 122b. 1 Huic || Baydo-canus frater successit, qui in* Agarenorum odium et offensionem,[10] ob
So, too, Baidu Kh. slain by Ghāzān Kh.
eam caussam incurrit: quod Christianos ipsis præferre, maiorique beneuolentia, quam
se prosequi uideretur. A quibus, Cassan-canus, Argonis filius, ipsiusque ex fratre
nepos, muneribus, et promissis corruptus · Baydo-canum regno depulit, ac peremit.

2 Diuino tamen nutu factum est, ut | posteaquam, magnus Canus salutatus est,

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[1] ist: a solis ortu. [2] ist: superauit. [3] ist: tenent.

[4] ist: nostræ ætatis memoria · Xacattæorum Osbequiorumque meritorij stipendiarijque milites.

[5] ist: pluris conducuntur.

[6] ist: quare nothi, atque spurij, et habentur, et nominantur.

[7] ist: cuius militiæ magister Cicaltay. [8] ist: ad Christianam religionem transisse.

[9] ist: transijt. [10] ist: magnam Agarenorum offensionem.

Ghāzān Kh. favours the Xtians,

non minus quam pater, et patruus, odio habuerit Agarenos · aduersus quos, pro
Christianis pugnauit. Nam Armenis, et Hyrcanis, qui ut Hierosolymam ab Agarenis
reciperent, Palesthinam petebant: *cum suis cohortibus ducentorum millium equi-
tum comitem se adiunxit[1] · ac cum Babyloniæ rex, cum equitum centum millibus,
3 et | peditum, infinita multitudine illis occurrisset, uirtute, atque consilio, Babylonios
*deuicit[2] · Syriamque obtinuit · et cum Hierosolymam uictor uenisset: loca sancta
uisit. Verum inchoato bello, necdum confecto, in Persidem reuocatus, ut Persarum,
conspirationem opprimeret: ad Bonifacium Pontificem octauum, ad Galliæ Regem,
4 et ad principes alios | Christianos, legatos cum epistolis misit: quibus eos hortabatur,
ut Syriam, Hierosolymamque, quas ipse armis obtinuerat, ocuparent. Hic tandem,
ostento quodam, Christianus effectus est. Cum enim illi, filia regis Armeniæ, nollet
nubere, nisi sibi esset integrum, more Christiano uiuere, et ille conditionem admisisset, uxoremque duxisset, in adulterij suspicionem, eo postea puella uenit: quod de-
F. 123a. 1 formem |¹ filium, patrique absimilem peperisset. Quæ cum sibi necem, a coniuge
parari, intellexit · ut sibi liceret, sacerdoti, peccatorum exomologesim facere, Eu-
charistiam accipere, et filium, sacro fonte perfundere, exorauit. Quem ubi aqua sacra
imbuit, Dei beneficio, puer liberali forma, pulcherrimus effectus est: at pater, ostenti
2 magnitudine, | mitigatus: reginæque conciliatus: et aquæ sacramento delibutus:
Christiana sacra suscepit.

Gurg uulgo. Lati. nis Hircani vel Georgiani.

Bagdad. Babel. Babylonia.

marries an Armenian Princess,

and is converted by a miracle.

3 Christian? Khāns.

Quo e uiuis sublato, regnauit Totamixus · cui successit Coramxas, post quem,
Totamixus secundus, imperium tenuit · atque hi Christiani fuisse creduntur. Post
quos, eorum qui Tartariæ dominati sunt, a Temuro Claudo, nomina: incuria scrip-
torum, *in obliuionem uenerunt.[3]

Takhtamish.

Akbar's descent from Chingīz Kh. doubtful

Chūli Begam, his mother, first the wife of Qāim (?) Kh.

3 *Ac Zelaldini mater | nec regium genus nec dignitatem Cinguiscani, in Zelaldinum
transfudit: fuit enim, priuati cuiusdam tribuni filia.[4] *Vocabatur Txoëlij Beygum
et anteaquam Emaumo nuberet data fuerat a parentibus Cayacano uxor. Quare in
Cingiscani genus uel ab auia uel ab alia Cingiscani stirpis heroide quasi insitione
adiunctus est · quam pridem autem, ab eo non accepimus. Vera tamen narrare
cum sibi ab illo muliebre genus esse affirmaret credidimus.[5] Quæ cum ita se habeant,
non immerito dixerimus · beneuolentiam, qua Zelaldinus, Christianos amplectitur,
4 hæreditariam, et quasi a maioribus | acceptam, habere.

History of Tīmūr.

Ahi (?) Kh. of Samarkand.

Tīmūr born in Kesh or Shahr-i-Sabz.

Cæterum Temurus, a quo Emaumus, Zelaldini pater, originem traxit · ex paruis
initijs, in amplissimum dignitatis gradum, his studijs, quæ mox dicemus, euectus est.
Qui, cum Samarcandæ imperium, quod Xacattæi, eo modo, quem supra demonstra-
uimus, tuebantur, Ahicanus teneret · (quem ferebant ignoto patre, matre uero nobili
natum), idemque optimis legibus, et institutis a se conditis, Persiæ, et Syriæ domi-
F. 123b. 1 naretur · in pago Taragay || Quexensis urbis, quæ ob amœnitatem, et agri hortorumque
viriditatem Xaresabz dicebatur · patre Xacathæo, ac simulachrorum cultore, ordinis
equestris, ac quattuor equitum *tribuno,[6] matre pari nobilitate natus, patris fortu-

Rodericus Gonsal.

Virens ciuitas.

Jouius natum esse Samarcandæ ex ignobili atque adeo humili familia tradit.

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[1] 1st: cum ducentis millibus equitum se adiunxit

[2] 1st: superauit.

[3] 1st: obliuione consepulta sunt.

[4] 1st: e quibus Zelaldini mater orta, regium genus et (quod dicunt) sanguinem: non tamen dignitatem Cinguiscani, in Zelaldinum transfudit · fuit enim, priuati cuiusdam ducis, filia

[5] Later addition.

[6] 1st: ductore.

nam sequutus, totidem militibus præpositus, sub Ahycano genero, qui post socerum,
2 imperio potitus est, aliquandui militauit. A puero | quidem, fortis uiribus, *solers,[1]
His youth. et ad *pugnam[2] promptus, fertur a *coæuis,[3] et contribulibus, paternæ uillæ,
uicinis pueris, pastoribus, ioco fuisse Rex salutatus. Quos ille, iure iurando astrinxit, *Petrus Mexia. Variæ lection. lib.*
ut sibi deinceps parerent. Quos iam adolescentes, et armis capiendis aptos, ad se
3 uocatos, iussit se ad *honestiorem opificinam[4] quam esset | pastoricia, sequi. Cui
cum illi paruissent, et quotidiano commeatu, indigere cœpissent, raptu uiuere, et
First exploits. armenta gregesque abigere, instituerunt. Cui cum se alij ad trecentos adiunxissent:
eos ad uias obsidendas, traduxit: *atque ob eam caussam eius nomen[5] ad Samarcandæ
regem, delatum est · quem comprehendi, cum turma, et necari iussit · verum *Rodericus Gonsal.*
4 Xacattæorum quorundam | oratu, de sententia discessit: et ad se accersitum, *unius
cohortis militum tribunum[6] creauit. Sed inuidorum maleuolentia, apud regem
iterum accusatus, ut suæ vitæ prospiceret, de castris Samarcandæi regis, clam cum
suorum manu, se subduxit · et ad uiarum prædam redijt. Diripuit uero, in Persiæ
finibus, negotiatorum copiosam et opulentam turmam. Quod cum Persiæ rex *Mexia, ibidem.*
audiuit: tribunum cum mille militum cohorte, aduersus eum misit. Quod ubi
F. 124a 1 Temurus cognouit, tutum locum,|| ex quo repugnare posset, assequutus, missis ad
tribunum muneribus, et spe maioris emolumenti quam si Persiæ regi militaret, *si ab
illo deficeret, et ad se veniret,[7] ante oculos proposita, eum ad se pellexit. Cuius
cohorte robustior effectus, habebat enim, mille et quingentos milites *authoratos[8] · *Rod. Gonsal.*
2 Cistanorum ex agro, qui erat *optimus et fructuosissimus,[9] prædas agere cœpit. | At *Sebastenorum.*
uero Cistani, hominis iniuriam non ferentes, nocte cum gregem abigeret, Temurum *Sebasteni.*
Lameness. adorti, multos ex eius manu peremerunt. Effugit tamen Temurus, uulneribus in
dextro crure, et in manu itidem dextera, acceptis · a quibus uulneribus claudus, et
mancus effectus, Temurlang a suis, hoc est Temurus Claudus dictus est. Verum ubi
3 uulnera *sanata sunt[10] · ipse ex morbo | confirmatus, suam cohortem iterum collegit.
Quem cum audacem, Samarcandenses, qui *contra regem conspirationem conflabant,[11]
cognoscerent, cum eo egerunt, ut regem ex insidijs interficeret. Parauit regi insidias,
in itinere, Samarcanda, alió, sine cohorte, proficiscenti. Cumque inopinantem
4 adortus esset, et in fugam, satellites eius uertisset: | ipse rex montis latebras petijt ·
ac cum uitam, incolumitatemque suam, rustico datis muneribus, magni pretij credidisset:
Kills Ahi (?) Kh., is regem Temuro prodidit. Quem Temurus uulneribus impositis, confecit.
Inde magnis itineribus, Samarcandam contendit, urbem occupatam, aulam, et arcem
and marries his daughter. præsidio communit. Cannu perempti regis uxorem, Ahicani Samarcandæi imperatoris
filiam, uel invitam duxit, Xacattæorum copias, ad se acciuit.

F. 124b. 1 Factus itaque imperator, ex prædone rex, maiora moliri, || et conari incepit.
Tīmūr takes Persia. Eo tempore, duo fratres, de Persiæ regno, dissidebant: ac cum sibi opportunum *Mexia & Roder. Gonsal., locis citatis.*
putaret tempus, ad regnum captandum: alterius partes tuendas suscepit. Qui cum
altero fratre pulso, regnum obtinuisset, Temuro omnia concredere, non dubitabat.

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[1] 1st: et solerti consilio. [2] 1st: bellum. [3] 1st: coætaneis.

[4] 1st: honestius opificium. A marginal note refers us to Plaut. M[il. 3.3. 6] for the use of "opificina."

[5] 1st: eiusque nomen. [6] 1st: phalangis tribunum. [7] 1st: si ad se ab illo deficeret.

[8] 1st: in nominibus. [9] 1st: diues et copiosus. [10] 1st: coaluerunt.

[11] 1st: qui in regem conspirationem meditabantur.

Cuius confidentia abusus, ut eum deluderet, sibi cum alio rege bellum esse confinxit ·
2 auxiliarias | copias ab eo petijt, stipendiarios interim milites conduxit. Ubi exercitum
comparauit, in Persia constitit · arma perfidus in hospitem et clientem conuertit ·
victum denique, regno, et fortunis omnibus spoliauit.

Besieges Ahmad Kh. at Alinga.

At, ubi Persiam Xacattæorum præsidijs firmauit: Parthos primum, qui Persis
3 uectigales erant, petijt. Hamidus Persarum Rex pulsus, | in Alingæ castrum confugit:[1]

Success in Tartary, Georgia, Armenia,

ubi triennio a Temuro obsessus est. Temurus in Tartariam profectus, Coramxam *Rod. Gonsal.*
quem supra commemorauimus, ab excidio Cusaqhanæ (domus Cusae uertitur) redeuntem superauit · et regionis magnam partem, sub iugum misit. Deinde Hircanos
4 Georgianos dicimus) fide Christianos, petiuit: et eorum castrum, nomine | Tarcon,
cepit · ac Darbentum ad portas ferreas peruenit (Damarcab a Turcis dicitur) ultra
Iberiam, atque Albaniam. Deinde uersus Armeniam iter conuertit, prouinciam armis

& Mesopotamia.

subegit. Post hæc Mesopotamiam obtinuit · unde regressus Euphratem iuxta *Paulus Jouius in lib. Elogiorum.*
Arsingam traiecit, et in Capadociam uenit.

Huius in Capadociam *profectionis,[1] hæc caussa fuit. Cum Arsingæ Dynasta *Rod. Gonsal.*
F 125a. 1 Payaziti, qui a se uectigal, et eam arcem postulabat, || imperium *recusaret:[2] ad

Helps Zaretan of Arsinga against Bāiazīd.

Temuri opem, missis legatis confugit · qui ad Temurum, ob Persiæ regem, in Babyloniam fugatum, Alingæ ouantem, peruenerunt. Atque ab eo, literas ad Payazitum
obtinuerunt · quibus *Payazitum monebat ne[3] Zaretanum, dedititium, et uectigalem
suum, molestia afficeret. Desineret uero, ab eo amplius tributum, et uectigal |
2 reposcere. Idem, si rogaretur ab eo, se præstiturum. Payazitus, ut erat insolens,
legatione excanduit, et sibi inauditum, ad eam diem, imperatoris nomen contempsit:
eius uero potentiam parui pendit · ad hæc minaces literas, et conuitijs plenas,
ad eum rescripsit. Imperare se, ut a Zaretano e uestigio discederet, sin minus,
3 sciret sibi cum | potentissimo hoste, bellum esse. Erat Temurus Qhaterbago (uoluptuarius hortus redditur) oppido in Persia, ubi hyberna castra habuerat, cum Payaziti
literæ ei redditæ sunt. Quas ubi perlegit: ob dictam, atque intentam contumeliam,
extemplo castra, in Payazitum, mouit · et *uelis equisque (ut dicitur)[4] in Capadociam
4 veniens, Sebastem, quæ diui | Blasij patria fuit, in primis inuasit et obtinuit, *ciuibus

Takes Sivas.

magnam cladem attulit urbemque[5] uastauit. A qua, diluculo eius diei, profectus
est: qua uesperi, Xelebius † Payaziti filius, ad eam, cum ducentorum millium sagittariorum exercitu peruenit. Quem accessu noluit Temurus prohibere, nec cum illo
prælium committere, quod existimaret, sua magnitudine indignum, cum uicario impera-

Marches on Baghdad.

5 tore, | et iuuene confligere · eoque neglecto, in Babyloniam castra mouit. Ac cum
*Tartarorum, qui candidi nominantur, cohortes,[6] quæ incertis sedibus, omnium
F 125b 1 hostes uagantur, in quibus erant, uirorum || et fœminarum quinquaginta millia,

Defeats the White Tartars.

ei occurrissent: prælium cum illis commisit, ducem cepit, plerosque peremit, superstites secum abduxit.

†Hic perperam a nostratibus Cyricœlebes, uel Calepinus, uocitatur, cum eius nomen Cide Xelebius fuerit: quod dominus generosus Latine redditur.

Takes Baghdad.

Ut uero Babyloniæ fines intrauit · Babylonius imperator, ei, ut parceret a
cædibus, atque incendio, stipendium, et auxilia detulit, et pecuniam, Temuri inscriptionem præferentem admisit · et *insignium ipsius notam,[7] locis publicis, appingi

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[1] 1st: expeditionis. [2] 1st: detrectaret. [3] 1st: quibus petebat ne. [4] 1st: citatis equis.
[5] 1st: et incolarum clade edita. [6] 1st: Galactæorum Tartarorum cohortes. [7] 1st: armorum ipsius symbolum.

2 atque insculpi | permisit. Babylonem itaque transgrediens, Damascum, opulentissimam
Syriæ urbem uenit: quam ob eam caussam expugnauit, quod suos legatos, qui suo
Carries prisoners to Samarkand. nomine tributum repetebant, in uincula coniecissent. Damascenos, Sebastenos (quorum
plurimi Christiani erant) ac *candidos Tartaros[1] bello captos Samarcandam, ut
expeditior esset, transmisit. Ipse *æstiuis mensibus castra[2] Alaræ, in Armenia
habuit.

3 At vero | Payazitus, Sebastes excidio offensus, ut par pari referret, Arsingam,
Bāiazīd takes Arsinga. inimicitiarum *caussam[3] expugnauit · at captam Zaretani uxorem, solui, honorique
haberi, atque ut ab incendio, et cædibus urbisque excidio sui abstinerent; proposito
supplicio, imperauit. Quod, etiamsi Payazito, plurimi socordiæ darent: quoniam
4 *ultionem cum iniuria Sebastæ accepta exæquasse[4] non uideretur; | uoluit ipse,
sua lenitate, atque indulgentia, hosti qui se Dei flagellum iactabat, et truculentus,
et sæuus haberi, potius existimabat: inuidiam conciliare, magis quam illi similis, ne
Tīmūr marches against him. in re quidem minima, haberi. At Temurus, ubi ab excubitoribus, Payazitum,
Arsingam expugnasse cognouit: Alara, quam citissime, uersus Arsingam et Sebastem
5 castra mouit. Payazitus, | ubi hostem aduenire resciuit, ut eum celeritate præuerteret:
impedimentis omnibus, atque ærario Anguri, quod erat munitissimum castrum, *Angur, i.e., uua.*
relictis, uelocissime hostem consectabatur; quod ubi Temurus resciuit, iter ad sinistram
F. 126a. 1 flexit, et cum || Tauri montis iugum superasset, per octo dies intra montes se
continuit. Payazitus, cum Arsingam, et Sebastem uenisset: nec a tergo, sibi hostem
restitisse, antea resciuisset: quam expugnati Anguri, exhausti, atque expilati ærarij
nuntium accepisset: ultra Sebastem profectus est. Temurus autem, ut ea, quæ
2 prospere, atque ex sententia successerant; dolis etiam adhibitis, confirmaret: | hanc
A snare to Bāiāzīd. technam excogitauit. (Erat tunc temporis, in eius castris, Payaziti legatus.) Se *Reg. Ant.*
fumo sulphuris, et fæculeæ paleæ, ut expallesceret, suffiri iussit: deinde, magnam
uim calentis sanguinis, *ex ipso jugulati bouis collo[5] || hausit · ad extremum, quasi
ægerrime laboraret, decubuit. Legatum, ut quam citissime ueniret, accersit. Aduentante
3 legato, | magna contentione, et cum extremi periculi significatione, uomere
cœpit · et ea uomitione maximam sanguinis uim eiecit · ut legatum, magna hominis
misericordia ceperit. Quod ubi Temurus animaduertit, et satis eum sibi persuadere
cognouit, uere ipsum, atque serio laborare: fracta uoce, et singultanti simili, "Vides,"
4 inquit, "quam uicinus sim morti · | effluit enim cruor omnis. Scribe igitur, Payazito
"fratri meo, mihi esse in animo, rem omnem familiarem meam, liberos, exercitumque,
"illi concedere. Nemo enim est in orbe, ei potentia par, qui liberos, et rem meam
"tutari queat. Maturet ergo, anteaquam excedam · ipsius enim aduentu, ante
"obitum meum, et suis, et meis copijs, bene· consultum erit." Cui legatus · "Sed
"si placet, ego ipse, hero meo renuntiabo."—"Perge ergo," ait Temurus. Hac
F. 126b. 1 techna, et hostem securum, et incautum reddere: et ad se accitum, || itineris faciendi,
celeritate lassum, et debilem efficere, consilium Temuri fuit. Legatus, Payazito, quæ
uiderat, et quæ acceperat, a Temuro, quam citissime renuntiauit. Payazitus, siue
quod fidem haberet, Temuri uerbis, siue quod certam sibi uictoriam, hoste ægroto

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[1] 1st: Galactæos · 2ndly: albentes Tartaros; 3rdly: candidos Mongolos.

[2] 1st: æstiua castra.

[3] 1st: seminarium.

[4] 1st: iniuriam Sebastæ acceptam ad amussim ultus fuisse.

[5] 1st: ex bouis inciso collo.

promitteret: Angurum, quam ocyssime, perrexit. Quo cum fesso milite, atque
2 inordinatis copijs, peruenisset: | nec Temurus, qui instructis ordinibus, et integro
Bāiazīd beaten,
milite, eum expectabat: quiescendi, et suos colligendi, aciemque instruendi, locum
relinqueret: prælium committere coactus, superatus, et captus est. Pugnatum tamen
diu est, et per multas horas, dubia uictoria modo huc modo illuc, inclinare uidebatur
· dum hi, aduersos hostes impellunt, aduersi rursum illos, tum ij, qui sequebantur,
Ex Jouio sumpta similitudo.
3 bantur, | ut opem ferrent, illos qui præiuerant, et renitebantur · quasi tempestuosum
mare, quod uentorum procella, modo huc rapitur, modo illuc, atque incertum,
et dubium, eo quo procella uocat, impellitur. Ad uesperam tandem, ad Tartaros
uictoria propendit · qui multitudine, et imperatoris astutia, Turcas longe exsuperabant
4 rabant · quos Tartari sagittarum | *magno et assiduo imbre[1] obruerunt. Habebat
enim in castris Temurus, quadringenta equitum millia · quæ copiæ, Darij, et Xerxis
*copijs maiores erant[2] · quibus ut arma, et tela, integrum diem suppeditarentur,
diligentissime curauit. Payazitus uero, in specum, et foueam, hostium impetu
Rod. Gons.
coniectus, effugere non potuit; quin a Mahammedde Sultano, Temuri filio caperetur.
5 Nam equo, | quo uehebatur, resupino depressus; sese attollere, atque erigere
captured,
Petrus Mexia ibid. Jouius loco citato.
nequiuit, estque ab eo uiuus, ad Temurbegum patrem, deductus. Commissum est
F. 127a. 1 prælium Anguri, in finibus minoris Armeniæ, || Bythiniæ, et Galatiæ, ad Stellam
montem: qui ex Antitauro procurrit · ubi latissimus est campus, qui Turcico
idiomate, Cassouassi (anatum campus) dicitur: uictoria Pompei, et Mithridatis calami-
& shamefully treated.
tate celebrem. Ac Temurus captum Payazitum, aureis cathenis uinctum; et cauea
Jouius ibid.
2 inclusum, præ se egit, quocunque perrexit · Sáporum Persarum regem imitatus, | qui
Valerianum Cæsarem, similibus ludibrijs, atque ærumnis confecit. Payazitus uero,
et accepti damni dolore, et contumeliarum pudore, ac uerecundia, breui contabuit.
Ferunt enim, Temurum, uincto Payazito, ad mensam, ossa quæ roderet, quasi cani,
proijcere solitum · ac cum uellet *equitare,[3] ex ipsius proni dorso, in equum *ascen-
Dierbecan.
3 dere.[4] Hoste potitus, *ubi | Taurum montem transcendit,[5] in Adiabenem, tanto
Natolia a nostratibus Turquia, ceu Turcia.
ardore contendit: ut illi, nullæ non ciuitates cederent · Asiaque, et Syria manus
darent. Ac dum Payaziti imperium populatur, ad nouam Paladiam peruenit, ubi
Rod. Gons.
paucos, ex Payaziti exitio superstites comprehensos, in Phrygiam, ad Quinisci
Mexia author est. Verum Jouius 140000 cecidisse scribit.
arcem compulit. Ducenta uero millia Turcarum, eo prælio cecidisse memoriæ |
4 proditum est.

Tīmūr in Egypt.
Nec tamen, bellum ulterius ducere, Temurus defatigatione desijt · sed uictoriæ
Sabellicus. Ennead. 9, lib. 9.
flatum sequutus, Ægypti regem, qui Memphi regni solium habebat, ultra Pelusium
abegit. Eam uero, suorum militum, curam egit, ut minoris æstimarit, Ægyptum
Cayrum.
debellare, et obtinere: cum rege fugato, nullus superesset, qui resisteret; essetque
Messer, Hebr. Misre, Ægyptus.
5 cum seruis (hoc enim | sonat Mamalucus) qui abiecti sunt animis, rem transacturus;
Mexia, Jouius, et Sabellicus, locis adductis. Jouius ex Damiata pedem retulisse, ut exercitum a peste uindicaret, scribit.
quam salutem, et incolumitatem suarum copiarum in discrimen adducere, quas per
solitudinem traducere; ob aquationis difficultatem, et penuriam ualde periculosum
F. 127b. 1 esse intellexit. A quo bello regressus, || Trapezuntis imperatorem, sibi vectigalem
Extent of his conquests.
fecit. Teheranum urbem opulentam, et celebrem, Rhages conuentus, in Media

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[1] 1st: proluuie.
[2] 1st: copias superabant.
[3] 1st: inequitare.
[4] 1st: insilire.
[5] 1st: et Tauro monte superato.

obtinuit. Imperij sui limitem, Alangogacæ, Arsingensis conuentus, in Cappadocia *[Rhages]:*
fixit. Quicquid terrarum est, a Tanai flumine, ad Nilum amnem, suis armis domuit. *Rheg prou[incia].*
2 Urbes cepit clarissimas · Smyrnam, Antiochiam, Damascum, | Tripolim, Alepum, *Sabellicus, ibidem.*
Babylonem, Persidem, Ecbathanam, Susas, Memphim, aliasque complures.

Turns against Tokhtamish. Cum Tartaris sæpe manum conseruit, et Totamixum, Coramxæ Regis Tartariæ *Rod. Gons.*
filium, quem ipse uicerat, in fugam bis uertit. Res uero gesta est hoc modo. Tota-
mixus, cum longe abesse Temurum, externis bellis occupatum accepisset, excur-
3 sionem, in Mediam, | Adiabenem, atque Armeniam fecit · qua Persepolim, Calami-
ram, et Susas, atque alias urbes spoliauit, et spolijs locuples patriam repetebat ·
quod Temuro significatum est. Qui cum ijs copijs, quæ suppetebant · longe quidem
inferioribus, Tartarum, ad Tesinam amnem, *is est Tanais,[1] in finibus Tartariæ
est assequutus. Quo cum peruenit, Totamixus *se[1] amnem traiecerat, uadoque
4 aggeres, et præsidia, | ne Temurus transiret, optimo consilio opposuerat · nam eo
excepto nullus erat, in ea regione, locus quo *trans Tesinam, absque nauiculis ire
posset.[2] Quare cum impeditum iter, Temurus uideret: ad dolos confugit · Totamixo-
que per legatos, perferri iussit · se non inimicitiarum caussa uenisse, quod minores
Tokhtamish entrapped, copiæ indicabant. Quare frustra sibi timere, atque *transitum[3] obstruere. Ad
5 quem Totamixus, sibi satis, superque | eius ingenium, et technas notas esse, remisit.
F. 128a. 1 Desisteret igitur sibi uelle imponere. Temurus discessum simulans, || in aduersum
flumen mouit. Totamixus itidem. Et triduo ita progressi sunt. At Temurus, ubi
Totamixum, triduanis castris, ab amnis transitu, atque præsidijs abstraxit · mulieres,
uirilem cultum, et arma sumere, et in castris, cum armatis etiam seruis, et aliquot
millibus equitum præsidiariorum, esse iussit · ne hostis, sua castra, paucioribus
2 copijs | esse, intelligeret. Atque ubi nox lucem eripuit, adiuncto sibi totius exercitus
robore, binos equos, singulis militibus dedit, quos commutarent, cum defatigarentur ·
et ea nocte, anteaquam dies elucesceret, duplo, quam exacto tridui spatio, progressus:
and twice defeated. copias traduxit, et tertia fere, ab ortu solis hora, inopinantem Totamixum inuasit,
3 deuicit, fudit, fugauit, castra diripuit · | et prædam, quam ille corraserat, atque
ipsius thesauros abripuit, et abduxit. Conatus est Totamixus, comparato iterum
exercitu, prælium instaurare · et *susceptam maculam[4] eluere, sed iterum, a Temuro
uictus est, atque ob eam caussam a suis infœlix, et *ærumnosus[5] habitus, eorum
animos non mediocriter offendit.

4 At Temurus quicquid prædæ, spoliorum, | mancipiorum, auri, et argenti, ex ijs
Samarkand described. omnibus regionibus, a se subactis collegerat, Samarcandam comportari præcepit.
At uero regna filijs concredidit · prouincijs cognatos, atque affines Xacattæos præ-
fecit. Est vero Samarcanda, ciuitas amplissima, ad Jaxartem fluuium in Sogdiana,
5 prope Scytharum et Daharum fines sita · iam inde | ab Alexandri temporibus, orbi *Q. Curtius lib. 7.*
celebris · quæ Temuro rege ea erat amplitudine, ut tribus millibus passuum, a porta *Rod. Gons.*
F. 128b. 1 in portam rectâ ferretur · cuius ambitus nouem millium passuum || erat. Eius
autem suburbana plurimis uicis, uillis, hortis, ac uineis instructa, atque ornata, ad
quattuor millia passuum, aliquibus locis patebant. Vijs latissimis, ad urbem adiba-

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st: Tesinam absque nauiculis transiret.
[3] 1st: adytum. [4] 1st: acceptam labem. [5] 1st: inauspicatus.

tur · quam aggeres, et ualla cingebant. Foris uenalibus abundabat, in quibus,
distinctæ merces, et cibaria, et annona reliqua uendebantur. Ædes occurrebant,
2 structura concinnæ, | quamplurimæ. Basilica intra mœnia laxissima, hortique, in
quibus, socrus suæ, sepulchrum, regiæ magnificentiæ consentaneum, extrui iusserat.
In pomerio urbis, quattuor amplissimæ aulæ, atque horti spectabantur: verum illa,
quæ Talicia dicebatur, et tribus millibus passuum, ab urbe aberat, longe erat optima,
3 atque omnium amplissima. | Tribus enim millibus passuum patebat. Erat uero
super amplissimo, et arte fabricato aggere constituta · cui erat coniuncta uinea,
eadem amplitudine, qua horti. Vrbis uero, atque agri prospectus, aduenis iucundissimus erat · nam amœnissima potius sylva, quam ciuitas uidebatur. | Porro, ea
est, Samarcanda, cœli clementia: ut ipsis Christi natalitijs, cum illæ regiones *frigore[1]
maxime rigent · et uuarum, et mélonum, in ea prouentus maximus sit. Abundat
ager *gossipio[2] · at linum, et canabem, exteræ gentes inuexerunt. Nam domesticos
famulos, in Persiam, Parthiam, et Hircaniam legauit, qui orbos parentibus, et
5 pauperes opifices, et colonos | cum ijs facultatibus, quas quisque haberet, etiamsi
essent tenues: ut sunt oues, onagri, boues, et id genus alia · sumptibus municipialium
eorum municipiorum, et uicorum per quæ transirent, deducerent. Quorum aduentu,
F. 129a. 1 centum millibus || incolarum, ciuitas aucta fuisse ferebatur · et multis gregibus,
armentisque locupletata · ac nouis rebus exornata. Caudato pecore, armentis,
equisque, Samarcandensis ager *circumfluit et abundat.[3] Annonæ vero, in urbe,
magna erat uilitas. Ob quam caussam indigenæ, eam urbem Cimesquint (pinguem
uillam) nominant. *Cimes* enim pingue: *quint* autem, uillam Tartarice sonat. |
2 Insigne urbis, et eius imperij, est, leonis effigies, orbe solis inclusa.

Genus est arietum, qui dumbi, hoc est caudati dicuntur ob caudæ molem

Ediguy (?) plots against Timūr,

Verum, ne a Totamixo, longius abstrahamur. Cum Ediguius Xacattæus, Temuri
olim militum tribunus, homo audax, et ad facinus conandum natus, et regnandi
cupidus, Tartaros, animis a suo rege, abalienatos accepisset: se Temuro inimicum
3 esse, Tartaris significauit · | optareque tyranno mortem, exitiumque afferre. Quare,
si sibi cum copijs præsto essent: se Temurum expugnaturum, et contra quosuis hostes,
pro ipsis pugnaturum recepit. Quod illi, æquo animo, admiserunt. Ob quam
caussam, et ut eorum gratiam iniret, anteaquam copias traderent, Temuro insidias
4 tetendit: quibus detectis, ad Tartaros, re | infecta, transfugit · a quibus, peramanter
flees to the Tartars, dispossesses Tokhtamish,
acceptus, Totamixo aduersarius, et hostis, Rex salutatus est. At Temurus, cum
nec fugientem Ediguium, proditione patefacta, capere potuisset; nec prouocatum,
ad certamen trahere: solitos dolos adhibere cogitauit. Illi itaque, omnium, quæ ad
eum diem egisset, se impunitatem dare, renuntiari iussit · et suum ex filio nepotem, |
5 si uellet, eius filiæ copulaturum. Cui Ediguius, per internuntios · "Optime," ait,
and evades Timūr's cunning.
"perspicio, quo ista tua verba spectent, quippe qui in tuis castris, uiginti annis sum
"uersatus · ac tuos dolos perspexerim. Quare, districtis gladijs tantum, tecum in
F. 129b. 1 "campo amicitiam conciliare mecum ipse statui. Desinas ergo, fucatis, || et fraude
"oblitis uerbis, me magis lacessere, quam pellicere." At vero Totamixus, iniuria
Tokhtamish flees to Timūr.
superinductum Regem, et proditorum audaciam non ferens: cum Ediguio prælium
commisit · a quo uictus, in uicum, iuxta Samarcandam, ad Temuri præsidia confugit.

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[1] Later addition. [2] 1st: gausape. [3] 1st: exuberat.

Ediguy drives his son from Caffa. Filius eius, *ad mare nigrum seu Mæotidem paludem Theodosiam, Genuensium
urbem, in Cimerio Bosphoro, Tauricæ Chersonesi, positam petijt, quæ nunc Caffa
2 dicitur[1] · unde Ediguium lacessebat. At Ediguius, | cum Caffam obsidione premeret,
et agrum uastaret, ac ciues obsidionem amplius ferre nequirent : cum Tartaro
egerunt, ut clam, urbe cederet. Qui ciuium flagitationi morem gerens, urbe clam
excessit, et patri, fratribusque ad Samarcandam, se adiunxit · in quorum comitatu,
3 ad Temurum uenit. At Caffenses, cum Ediguio pacem fecerunt. Porro, | impius
Ediguius, Tartaros omnes, qui ad eam diem, ex libito, quod magis arridebat, uiuendi
Ediguy's zeal for the Qorān. institutum, quod ad religionem attinebat, sequebantur: ad Mahammeddis superstitionem
traduxit, ac Tartariæ regno contentus, nihil contra Temurum, eius dexteritatem,
et dolos ueritus, amplius molitus est. Porro Tartaria, ijs pulsis regibus,
4 qui genus a Cinguiscano | ducebant; multorum deinde tyrannidi exposita est ·
et Cinguiscani posteri, Xacattæis admixti sunt.

Tīmūr born under a lucky star. Cœterum, ne a Temuro longius digrediamur: eius profecto fortunam (si fas
est, ita loqui) nemo unquam satis mirabitur. Nam, eo infortunio excepto, quo *Petrus Mexia.*
fusus, et uulneratus est: fortunæ tergum nunquam uidit · ad quam superandam,
forti, excelsoque animo semper fuit: nec ab incepto, quin eam periclitaretur, unquam
destitit.

Eius ætate, Regnum Indiæ, quod nunc Zelaldinus tenet, Christianus rex ad- *Rod. Gons*
F. 130a. 1 ministrabat. Cuius erat || regia Delinum. Hic in prælium cum Temuro descendit ·
He defeats the Christian King of Delhi et multitudine, ac fortitudine elephantum superior, Temurum primo prælio fudit ·
verum sequenti die, instaurato exercitu, nihil hesterno incommodo perturbatus,
elephantum virtutem, ac robur, camelis palea onustis, elusit. Nam ubi elephantum
2 cuneus, aduersus suum exercitum mouit, admoueri | camelos ad elephantes iussit, mox
ignem subijci, cum proxime ad elephantes accesserunt: ac cum palea subito conflagraret,
ignis camelos, in aduersos elephantes, impelleret, illi, qui maxime ignem
exhorrent, flamma perterriti, pedem retulerunt · et suorum ordines perturbarunt.
3 Tum milites, quibus fumus conspectum hostium eripuerat, ab aduersarijs | cæsi,
et profligati terga uerterunt · et Rex uictus, et fugatus, in Paharopanisum, ex fuga
se recepit. Temurus uero, Minoris Indiæ, quæ cis *Indum[2] amnem, et Paharopanisum
est, partem obtinuit. At Minor India quattuor præfecturas olim conti- *Plinius.*
nebat: Paharopanisadas, Arios, Aracosios, et Gedrosios. Cum vero Rex Indiæ,
4 redintegratis copijs, bellum repeteret: continuit | se Temurus in campo, ut hostem
ad se traheret, qui superiore clade cautior, in montibus restitit · et eo modo dirempta
pugna, Temurus *loca quæ occupauerat[3] retinuit · ille in montibus, ne se
longius Xacattæi ferrent, præsidia collocauit.

Porro Temurus, tot, tantisque victorijs auctus; Serarum regi uectigal, quod
priores Samarcandæi reges pendebant, soluere recusabat · illique bellum illaturus
F. 130b. 1 fuisset, || nisi eum regionum intercapedo prohibuisset. Distat enim Cambalecum *Cambalecum et Seres.*
His plans against the King of the Seræ, Serarum metropolis, a Samarcanda, ter mille passuum millibus · ac per mille passuum
millia, præter pastorum caulas, et magalia, nullum municipium, aut pagus occurrit.

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[1] 1st: Caffam, Genuensium urbem, in finibus Parthiæ petijt.

[2] Later addition.

[3] 1st: quæ euicerat.

Nam octingentorum camelorum turmam, quæ ex Tartaria, Cambalecum iter agebat:
ut regem prouocaret: abripuit. |

Cytaios nominat D. Antoninus.

2 At vero, Serarum regio, nostro sæculo *Cataium[1] dicitur. Seræ uero, uel Seres
Quod nomen a Scythis deductum uidetur.[2]

or Cathayans, a Xtian.

*Cataini; religione ut fertur plerique Christiani, Judæis, gentilibus, Agarenisque
tribules. Quorum rex, qui eo tempore rerum potiebatur quo Societatis Sacerdotes,
cum Zelaldino uersabantur, Emanuel erat nomine.[3] Olim eius maiores, Caucinsynæ
Anno Christi 1581.

3 oram maritimam *incolebant[4] · a qua bellis Caucinsyniensium abacti, ad | superiorem, et mediterraneam regionem se receperunt. Potest vero ad Seras adiri, eo amne

Cochinchina once under the Seræ.

qui ad Caucinsynæ maritimam urbem in mare effunditur. Non erit fortasse ab re,
hoc loco admonere, nominis affinitate, illos deceptos fuisse, qui* Cambaiæ,[5] Cathainos
habitasse, memoriæ prodiderunt. Nam genus quoddam hominum, qui mercatura |
4 quæstum faciunt, non *Cambaiæ[5] solum, sed Calecutij, et in Indiæ ora maritima uniuersa, gentiles · quidem: Chatini dicuntur: et uiles atque abiecti habentur. At

The Khatins(?) of Cambay no Cathayans.

* Cathaini,[6] et sunt, et fuerunt semper Christiani.[7]

Size of Khānbāligh.

Cæterum, Temuri ætate, Cambaleci ambitus, quadraginta passuum millibus
Rod. Gons.
patebat. Regis uero copiæ, myriadem superabant, et terrori Tartaris atque Maiori
F. 131a. 1 Asiæ uniuersæ erant. || Cum enim Serarum imperator, aciem educebat, quadringentos mille equites, in præsidijs relinquebat · sexcentos secum in acie uersari præcipiebat. Erat uero uulgus in castris prope infinitum. Ferunt quicquid serici, aut

The silks of the Seræ pass through China.

bombycini ex Syna, ad nos comportatur, ex Serarum regione, ad Synos permanare ·
eosque, sericarum uestium fuisse inuentores.

Petrus Mexia. Pius 2us.

Tīmūr's army.

2 Jamuero | Temurus, more maiorum, acies distributas, in castris, quasi in instructissima urbe habebat · in quibus singularum artium artificibus, distinctus locus erat
assignatus. Commeatus omnis, et merces, diuersis foris uenalibus proponebantur.
Rod. Gons.

Thefts punished.

Furibus in castris, nullus erat locus, nam si deprehendebantur, illis subula nares,
3 imperatoria lege, perforabantur. Ac cum diligentissime | uias, ne cui uis afferretur,
Prusa, penes Olympum montem, Bythiniæ urbs, Asiatici imperij caput. Long. 57. Lat. 41. 4. Pthol. lib. 5. cap. 1. tab. 1. Asiæ.[8]

Discipline.

custodiri iuberet: omnium rerum abundantia exercitus affluebat. Diligenter vero,
tribunorum militum opera, curabat; ne ulli graues tumultus, aut seditio aliqua
excitarentur. Bursæ cum esset, post uictum Payazitum, viginti mille tabernacula, in castris habebat. Samarcandæ, | triginta millibus auxit. Fano ligneo, in

Movable wooden oratory.

castris utebatur, commissuris ita connexo, et composito, ut efferri, et mutari facile

Colour of banners.

posset. Vexillis candidis, lenitatem, et clementiam; rubris, cruorem, et cædes; nigris,
Sabellicus, ibid.
excidium portendebat. Ne milites castris excederent, diligentissimam operam dabat.

Deserting made difficult.

Jaxartus flu[men] ab accolis Chesel, i.e, ruber, uel rubricatus uocatur. Pthol. lib. 6. cap. 14. tab. 7. Asiæ. A Scythis olim Sylis dicebatur. Plin. & Solinus. In Caspium mare intrat. Long. 97. Lat. 48.[8]

Et cum capta Samarcanda, in Persiam proficisceretur, et *Jaxartis fluminis oras
5 ponte adiunxisset,[9] qua | copias traduceret, *amnem transuectus,[10] ne patriæ desyderio
Sogdianus, et Xacattæus miles remearet: pontem deturbauit. Post reditum, eodem
F. 131b. 1 consilio, aliam deiecit, ne mancipijs || iter ad fugam pateret. Imperauit uero, ne

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[1] 1st: Catayum.
[2] Later addition; cancelled. "Cytaios" was at first written "Cytayos."
[3] 1st: Catayni; qui religione sunt Christiani · quorum rex qui eo tempore sceptrum tenebat, quo Societatis Sacerdotes, cum Zelaldino uersabantur, Emanuel dicebatur.
[4] 1st: tenebant.
[5] 1st: Cambysiæ; 2ndly: Coiambæ.
[6] 1st: Cathayni.
[7] This passage from: Olim eius maiores (fol. 130*b*. 2) is erased more boldly than the previous one beginning with: "At vero" (*ibid.*).
[8] Later addition.
[9] 1st: Jaxarti flumini pontem imposuisset.
[10] 1st: transmisso amne.

cymbis, vel ipsi etiam Xacattæi, absque scripta facultate, transueherentur · at omnibus
qui Samarcandam peterent, ut esset libera, et gratuita transmissio. Ac ne
Wholesale divorcing. uxorum desyderio, miles pedem referret · cum in Payazitum mouit, se primum iure
2 iurando obstrinxit, non esse se Samarcandam, ante septennium | rediturum, deinde
militibus edixit, ut secum suas uxores abducerent: sin minus, se uxoribus facultatem
dare, ut fide uirorum liberatæ, cui uellent adhærescerent · (barbarum quidem, et
At the Volga. hominis humanarum, ac diuinarum legum contemptoris edictum). Cum Volgam *Jouius ibidem.*
amnem *tranauit, lintribus[1] greges, et armenta prope innumera, ut pascua defutura *Volga olim Rha dicebatur.*
3 uiderentur, | et quamplurimas fœminas traduxit. At ut equites singuli, singulos
pedites equis efferrent, et transueherent, imperauit. *Populi equitumque magis-
Jansa his general. trum Jansam, suum ex sorore nepotem,[2] constituit · quo adiutore, Samarcandæ Regi *Roder. Gons.*
vim et manus intulit.

Cæterum, an uirtute magis, an uero militari consilio, et technis ualuerit dubium
4 est. Nam dolos plerisque | prælijs adhibebat. Hæreditarium quidem est, Tartaris
Tartar tactics of old. et ijs gentibus, quæ ab eis ortæ sunt · ut est gens Parthorum, ut fugiendo, ad eum
modum pugnent, quem Lucanus eleganter describit:

Pugna leuis, bellumque fugax, turmæque uagantes, *Lucanus.*
Et melior cessisse loco, quam pellere miles, |
5 Illita terra dolis, nec Martem cominus unquam,
Ausa pati uirtus, sed longe tendere neruos,
Et quæcunque velint, permittere uulnera uentis.

F. 132a. 1 Quo Temurus more, maiores turmas, sæpenumero delusit: || verum hi fuere peculiares
Tīmūr's cunning and cruelty at Sivas, eius doli, quibus interdum crudelitatem, et immanitatem immiscuit. Cum Sebastem *Rod. Gons.*
obsideret: ciues cum eo, per legatos, de deditione, et uectigali soluendo egerunt,
dummodo res, sine sanguine, transigeretur. Quibus cum annuisset: et primarios
2 ciues, ut pacta confirmarentur, euocasset: correptos miseros homines, in | foueas,
quas magna laxitate parauerat, conijci, et *iniecta humo contegi[3] præcepit. Vrbem *Pius 2^{us} de 2^{a} Asiæ parte cap. 31.*
and Caffa. uero, ut diximus, uastauit. Cafam mox obsessurus, Scythas negotiatores præmisit,
qui armenorum murium pelles, minoris uenderent, quam solebant, ut ad eas coe-
mendas emptores allicerentur. Qua techna, cum æs omne, in suam potestatem re-
3 degisset: urbe tandem expugnata, | pelles cum reliqua præda recepit · quæ *defodi
humo[4] nequiuerant, ut fere semper pecuniæ, atque thesauri solent.

Other instances. Sæuiebat quidem interdum, in suos populares, et Agarenos. Nam ut fidem suo- *Ex Rod. Gons. fere omnia quæ sequuntur.*
rum, erga liberos suos periclitaretur: se mortuum renuntiari iussit: quo nuntio, cum
4 non pauci, ab obsequio filiorum, cum conuitio se subduxissent, in eos | crudeliter
animaduertit. Ac cum præteriens in quodam pago, commeatum non reperisset: ab
extrema acie, messes resecari, et regionem uastari, prædamque hominum, pecudum,
et iumentorum agi imperauit. *Candidorum[5] item Tartarorum, qui sibi repugna-
uerant, quos ipse, cum Mesopotamiam peteret, excīdit, cadauerum struem, ut alijs
metum, et terrorem incuteret, in eo loco, ubi illos debellauit, excitari iussit.

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[1] 1st: traiecit, cymbis.
[2] 1st: Sui exercitus magistrum militiæ, Jansam nepotem suum ex sorore.
[3] 1st: consepeliri.
[4] 1st: defossæ humo, abscondi.
[5] 1st: Galacteorum; 2ndly: Galatinorum.

Cruelty and treachery towards the Xtians of Arsinga.

F. 132b. 1 Verum in Christianos || eo ferocius sæuiebat, quod Græci et Genuenses Payazito
fauissent · in eo bello, quo eum cepit. Nam cum Arsingam, eo bello confecto uenisset,
Agarenique, Zaretanum urbis, et regionis principem, apud eum accusassent, quod
plus Christianis, quam sibi tribueret, et quod Christianorum templa, potiora essent
2 quam sua: e uestigio Archipresbyterum, nisi fidem | abiuraret (quod uir optimus, et
religiosissimus constanti animo *recusauit [1]) et Christianos omnes necari, et templa
solo æquari iussit. At pro Christianorum capitibus, Zaretani (qui licet Agarenus,
natura erat mitis, et Christianorum, atque adeo suorum ciuium amans), septem millibus
sestertiorum numeratis, intercessionem admisit · at uero quin templa deijceret, |
3 adduci non potuit. Alia in urbe, quæ Pagrixum dicitur, ut Agarenis, id postulantibus,
morem gereret, posteaquam pactam pecuniam accepit, qua spoponderat, se
Christianorum templum non direpturum, tandem exscidit · funditusque euertit. Eadem
animi, in Christianos, offensione; Catay-cani, hoc est, Serarum regis legatos, qui
4 pendi, a prioribus Samarcandæ regibus, | solitum uectigal, regis sui nomine, reposcebant;
suspendio necare meditabatur. Erat uero soluendo, si soluere uoluisset.
Nam Crœsi diuitias, facile superasse, creditus est. Ex manubijs enim, unius Payaziti
deuicti, tantum argenti, et auri, eius thesauris accessit: ut in ijs, portas aureas
5 haberet · aureum item armarium, quo permulti scyphi, pateræ, catini, patinæ | et
amphoræ aureæ, et argenteæ includebantur: in cuius fronte insculpta erat unio,
nucis iuglandis magnitudine, aliæque minores, emblematis, et cælaturis inclusæ.
F. 133a. 1 Præterea auream || mensam, cui miræ magnitudinis smaragdus, erat *inclusus.[2] Ad
hæc auream quercum, miræ pulchritudinis. Denique, uasa alia quamplurima, ex auro
argentoque. At numeratæ pecuniæ nullus erat modus. His omnibus accedit, quod
ea rupes, è qua adamantes eruuntur, in eius potestate fuit. Enimuero thesauros, et
2 ruta cæsa omnia, atque omnem pretiosam supellectilem, castro quodam, | quod a
reliquo continenti, magno anfractu, disiunctum fabricauerat, illata asseruabat. Quo
item in loco, armamentarium collocauerat · ubi mille artifices, arma fabrefaciebant.

Pagrixum. Barba munda.

His plans against the Christian Seræ.

His wealth.

Familia priuata.

Atque, ut ad eius priuatam familiam ueniamus · plures uxores, Agarenorum
more habuit. Ex ijs sustulit filios, Janguirium, qui uita functus est, ante patrem:
3 Miramxam, Xarocum, et Mahammeddem Sultanum, qui Payazitum | cepit · et in
castris interijt. Nepotes: ex Janguirio · Pir Mahammeddem. Ex Miramxa: Ommarem;
Abobácarem, et Cárilum. His regna gubernanda tradidit · Miramxæ
Persiam: sed ea prouincia, patris imperio, eam ob caussam abdicatus est, quod
Persepoli,[3] et Ecbathanis, præstantia quædam ædificia deiecit, et quod *apud Temurum
patrem ab uxore sua[4] Gánsada, Cárili matre acusatus, in proditionis suspici-
4 onem uenit. *Eo progressa est fœminæ ira.[5] Cuius | locum, Hommarus filius eius,
Temuri aui præcepto subijt. At uero Babylonem,[6] ad Euphratem, et Alepum,[6]

His 4 sons.

Grandsons.

He divides his kingdom.

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[1] 1st: detrectauit.

[2] 1st: inditus.

[3] Later marginal note: *Pthol. lib. 6. c. 2. tab. 5 Asiæ.—Ecbathana. Tabris. Long. 88. Lat. 37. 45.—Persepolis. Xiras. Persarum imperij caput, olim urbium elegantissima, Curtio, Arriano, et Diodoro authoribus. Nostra memoria sedes est Persiæ regum. Long. 91. Lat. 33. 20. Pthol. lib. 6. cap. 4. tab. Asiæ. 5.*

[4] 1st: a Temuri uxore.

[6] Later addition.

[6] Later marginal note: *Babylon, nunc Bagdad.—Alepum, olim Hierapolis et Callinice, dicta est a Plinio Bambycon et a Syris Magog. Long. 71. 19. Lat. 36. 25. Pthol. lib. 5. cap. 15. tab. Asiæ 4. Ad Cyrres*[*ticum* ?] *Syriæ conuentum pertinet ut..*[1 word illegible].

Later note: *Sultania, olim Heraclea, postea Plinio et Solino Achaïs. Urbs est Mediæ long. 89 lat. 36. 40 Ptol.* [the rest cut off by the binder].

Damascumque in Syria, Abóbacari ipsius item Miramxæ filio, commisit. Xaroco
Hircaniam, et Parthiam attribuit. Et suorum interuentu, atque oratu · Miramxæ
tandem ueniam dedit: qui ad eius pedes, appensa in collo resti, accidit: et sibi præ-
5 teritam noxam ædificiorum, quæ demolitus erat, dimitti implorauit. | Verum, eo erat
erga Pir Mahammeddem, Janguiri filium amore, ut ei, quicquid Indiæ regi abstulerat
attribueret: et eum, Indiæ Regem, salutari iuberet. Ex sorore nepotes habuit
Jansam, quem regiæ cohortis ductorem creauit · et Sultan Hammedum, quem satel-
litij, et præsidij, sui capitis, ducem constituit.

F. 133b.

Palace attendants.

Porro domesticus *famulorum apparatus illi erat amplissimus[1] · cui annumera-
1 bantur · ij cursores, quos antea commemorauimus · || gelabdares dici, qui a Tartaris
Anch. dicuntur. Aulæ, et curiæ ministris, ijsdem utebatur, quibus Zelaldinus, qui
per manus traditam, Temuri consuetudinem, uel in minimis rebus, semper imitari
summa ope nititur. Principibus quidem uictis, quasi famulis utebatur, quibus
alendas bestias, et uolucres tradebat: quas statis temporibus, ad se afferrent · ex
2 quibus si quid deperibat, miserum hominem, | cui erat creditum, morte plectebat.
Mitius quidem agit Zelaldinus, qui pecuniam tantum, sibi solui, rei perditæ loco iubet.
Illud crudele, istud sordidum.

His coat of arms.

Dedititijs, et uectigalibus, ut *sua insignia,[2] locis publicis appingerent, nummis-
que insculperent, imperabat. Ea erant, tres circuli, trigoni situ positi, quorum unus,
3 duobus subsideret, et inferiorem trianguli cuspidem efficeret. | Quibus significari
uolebat; se Asiæ, Affricæ, et Europæ dominatorem esse. At militaris dignitatis,
insigne erat · capillorum, ternis ordinibus, implexa fascia · quæ ex aureo tuguriolo,
qui galero, pileo, aut galeæ affigebatur, ad humeros, scapulasque dependebat.

Ædificia.

Sumptuous buildings at Kesh & Samarkand.

Posteaquam a bellis, Temuro datum est otium, ad ædificationem studia, et
4 cogitationes transtulit. Et Quexi, in paterna | domo, aulam magnis sumptibus
ædificauit. Intra viginti dierum spatium, forum uenale latissimum, in medio Samar-
candæ, excitatis apothecis, atque domibus additaque fornice, ad solem, et imbres
arcendos, adhibitis fenestris, utrinque, quibus locus illustraretur extruxit · quod ab
extrema una urbis porta, in alteram aduersam recta ferebatur. Ædificauit item
5 sepulchrum Samarcandæ, | Mahammeddi filio, quem ideo Sultanum cognominabat,
quod Sultan Paiazitum, sua manu prehendisset. Quod cum humile iudicasset, et
emendari iussisset, intra decem dierum spatium, opus ornatissimum, et amplissimum,
artificum *expedita[3] celeritate, ac diligentia: et instantis, atque urgentis imperatoris,
tum metu, tum gratia, qui cibos sua manu subministrabat, absolutum est. Fano
F. 134a. 1 sepulchri socrus || suæ laxissimum etiam ostium, quam breuissime, et accuratissime,
Karabāgh. magnaque elegantia perfectum, imponi iussit. Cárabácum in Persia condidit,* quo
ipse cohortes frequenter in hyberna mittere solebat[4] · ædium bene materiatarum,
uiginti millibus ornatam.

Amusements.

Otium.

In otio latrunculorum ludo, et spectaculis gladiatorum, et pugilum plurimum

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[1] 1st: famulatus erat amplissimus.

[2] 1st: armorum suorum insignia.

[3] 1st: indefessa.

[4] 1st: in eo agro, ubi frequenter hyberna castra habere solebat.

2 tenebatur. Conuiuia sæpe agitabat, quibus equorum carnes, assæ, et elixæ | apponebantur.[1]

Banquets amidst scenes of bloodshed.

Feritas Temuri.

Illud uero, magnam fuisse hominis feritatem commonstrat: quod in medijs
epulis, homines necari iubebat. Nam in filij cuiusdam sui, nuptiarum ludis, ad quos
frequentes, ex Samarcandæi conuentus oppidis, omnium ordinum, homines confluxerant,
furcas erigi iussit, ac dixit · illis ludis, se meritis munera, sontibus supplicia
3 daturum. Quod diligentissime præstitit · | et è conuiuio et epulis, magnum prætorem
suum, laqueo de furca strangulari mandauit. Eodem supplicio affecit alium,
qui, illius patrocinium susceperat · ac, cum rogatus a Buródo, sua ex sorore nepote,
qui ei erat charus, ut numeratis quadringentis sestertijs, homo dimitteretur · ipseque
annuisset, ubi pecuniam accepit, miserum hominem, ad quæstiones, ut si quid pecuniarum
4 | esset amplius, extorqueret: primum adegit · deinde, ubi omnes eius
facultates exhausit: verso deorsum capite, et colligatis, in patibulo pedibus, suspendio
necauit. Cuidam, *commendatos a se,[2] tres mille equos, cum repeteret, in
promptu non habenti, sex mille tamen, si ad quærendum locus daretur, spondenti:
5 quærendi spatium denegauit · ac strangulari, infœlicem | hominem iussit · ijsdem
ludis, in rei frumentariæ, atque annonæ institores, quod care uenderent: et in sutores,
quod præscriptum pretium prætergrederentur, animaduertit.

Ostentation.

Conuiuia.

Verum conuiuia tum uel maxime *magnifice ac splendide ornabat,[3] cum legatos
F. 134b. 1 excipiebat, quos ut opes || ostentaret, ad se in basilicas, hortos, uillas, et in castra
optime instructa, inuitabat · quorum gratia, nummos aureos, et argenteos, ac gemmas,
laminis inclusas, in plebem spargebat. Erat uero illud, Mongolis pergratissimum,
quod lautissime conuiuari licebat. Equinarum enim carnium, amplissima
fercula apponebantur. Quem tamen epularum morem, cæteri milites exhorruerunt, |
2 qui, cum Paiaziti castra diriperentur, aderant: *nam[4] Mongolos, in pingues equos,
qui passim uagabantur, non secus inuolare uidebant · quam in leporem aquila. Nec
multum, ab huius consuetudinis feritate, abest illa, qua, si indigent, non horrent equorum
sanguine, famem, sitimque depellere. Nam fatigati, venam *post[5] equi aurem
3 aperiunt, et calentem | cruorem hauriunt, et potant.

Festive fare of the Moghuls.

Jouius ibid.

Mongolorum mos.

Foreign embassies.

De Clavijo.

Rod. Gons.

Verum his prætermissis, ad pauca deueniamus, quæ, de Temuro dicenda restant.
Frequens erat, in eius curia, legatorum, et principum virorum, *ex omnium prope
terrarum orbe,[6] concursus: in quibus, ex ultima Hispania, Henrici quarti Castellæ
Regis legati.

Penalties for crime.

Jus dicendi modus.

Cæterum Agarenico more, ius dicebat · et gentilitia, a maioribus, accepta consuetudine,
4 | nobiles strangulari ex patibulo; plebeios, capite plecti (contra quam a
nostratibus factitatur) aut stipitibus affigi, imperabat.

Timūr's extreme old age.

Jouius ibid.

Temuri mors.

Is vero, ad eam senectutem, uitam tot laboribus exercitam, tot victorijs claram,
perduxit: ut supercilijs, in oculos, decidentibus, uix aspiceret: et jam decrepitus,
lectica ueheretur. Qui senio tandem confectus, Samarcandæ *postea interijt quam

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[1] Later marginal note, erased: utpote ab hippophagis edendæ.

[2] 1st: commendatos sibi ab illo.

[3] 1st: actitabat.

[4] 1st: cum.

[5] 1st: trans.

[6] 1st: ex omni prope orbe.

5 undecim annis regnauit[1] · cuius | mortem, cometem magnum, crocei coloris, porten- *Anno Domini* 1405.
dissse, ij qui sidera obseruant, iudicarunt.

In iuuentute, agilis fuit, et leuis, pulcher, et optimæ habitudinis : ingenio acutus, *Petrus Mexia.*
F. 135a. 1 iudicio, || et mente celeri, at postquam prælijs assueuit facie factus est feroci, oculis
Reflections on his life & character. obductis, semperque minacibus, corpore procero, lato, neruoso, ualentique; ut cum *Jouius.*
arcum tartaricum contenderet, manum post aurem traheret, telo autem, æneum
mortarium transfigeret. Ferebant, qui Temurbegum uiderunt, eum Hannibali fuisse *Pius 2us.*
2 similem si eius corporis forma, et habitudo, | cum ijs quæ de Pœno scribuntur,
componantur. Puer solem, lunam, astra, et ignem, Mongolica superstitione, coluit. *Rod. Gons.*
Juuenis Agarenorum credulitatem complexus est: Daruéges coluit, eos potissimum,
qui nudi penitus, et rasi, frigoris, et æstus iniurijs expositi, et uagi, canentes,
et crotala percutientes, stipe uictitabant. Fuit uero, humana sapientia et dex-
3 teritate mirabili: iustitiam, | et liberalitatem, in suos diligentissime coluit. *Dif- *Petrus Mexia.*
cile fuit, in eo iudicare, agilitatene, atque uirtute, an uero prudentia, et ingenio,
consilioque præstaret.[2] At vero, tot, ac tam præclara ipsius animi, ornamenta,
* φιλοποσία,[3] et insita crudelitas, obscurabant. Ac de nimia eius crudelitate, illud **Crudelitas.**
memoriæ proditum est, quod non sine stomacho narrari, et audiri potest · puero- *Sabellicus.*
4 rum, | ac puellarum agmen, qui palmas præferentes, patriæ excidium deprecaban-
tur: a suo equitatu, conculcari, atque obteri imperauisse. Atque *ex eadem crudeli-
tatis voragine,[4] illa pugnacitas emanauit qua capta Damasco, cum arcis præsidiarios,
qui restiterant, facti pœnituisset, et arce, deditione cederent : noluit conditionem admit-
tere · maluitque, *ut bellicæ uirtutis, prudentiæ, et ferocitatis suæ specimen daret:[5] *Petrus Mexia.*
præsidiarios armis uictos, quam dedititios, in suam potestatem redigere: arcemque, *Pius 2us.*
F. 135b. 1 castro, uel aggere || e regione, ex tabulatis extructo, expugnare · quam reseratis foribus *Jouius.*
triumphans intrare. Erat porro dictis, et factis solers, et acutus. Egidæ, ad radices **Solertia.**
eius montis, ubi resedit arca Noæ,[6] fores euertit, quod prædonum esset perfugium : et, *Rod. Gons.*
ne iterum erigerentur, cauit. Cuidam Genuensi obsecranti, ut mitius cum uictis
2 ageret, turbato aspectu, respondit · "Quid? Tune | me hominem esse putas? an
"non potius Dei iram?" Alij roganti, ut Paiazitti *calamitatum[7] misereretur, grauiter
succensuit. "Non in hunc," inquit, "animaduerto, tanquam in arrogantem, et *Jouius.*
"superbum; sed quasi in parricidam, qui, ut imperium occuparet, fratrem suum,
"natu maiorem, peremit." Vt forum Samarcandæ quod supra memorauimus ædifica- *Rod. Gons.*
3 ret, | multorum ædes diruit; ac cum a familiaribus quibusdam amicis, ex stemmate
Mahammeddis (qui Saijdij, et Xarifij · ad Agarenis appellantur, et magni fiunt)
Temurum damni admonerent, minaciter respondit · "Hæc urbs mea est · quam mea
"pecunia emi. Cuius emptionis syngrafa, et cautiones apud me habeo: quas die
4 "crastina proferam; ac, si quid præterea soluendum | iudicabis : pro uestro arbitratu
"persoluam." Mirum sane, quin eos iusserit, extremo supplicio puniri. Iniquo

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[1] 1st: interijt.

[2] This sentence is erased in the MS.

[3] 1st: bibacitas.

[4] 1st: ex eodem crudelitatis fonte.

[5] 1st: ut suæ uirtutis, prudentiæ, et pugnacitatis specimen daret.

[6] Later marginal note: *Ararat Boccatio et Aytono, et terra Ararat in lib. Reg., a Pthol. Gordæi montes, a quibus regio Gordæne, vel Gordæna, quorum montium long.* 75. *lat.* 39. 40. *Tab.* 3 *Asiæ.*

[7] 1st: miseriarum.

Jouius.

enim animo, commonitiones huiusmodi ferebat. A suis Temur Cushlan, hoc est,
ferrum fortunatum: ab exteris terrarum orbis terror, exitium, et ruina dicebatur.
At ipse, horribili uoce, se iram Dei iactabat: quæ in orbem uenerat, ut in eius |
5 corruptæ ætatis, improbos homines, aminaduerteret.

Troubles after Tīmūr's death.

Khalīl, son of Mīrān Shāh, slays Jansa's son, whose 2 brothers flee to Shāhrukh.

Motus post Temuri mortem.

Ex Rod. Gons. omnia quæ sequuntur.

Verum enimuero, Temuri mortem, (ubi uulgata est) magni consequuti sunt
F. 116a. 1 motus. Nam Cárilus Miramxæ filius, Temuri || nepos, Butodum Jansæ filium, qui
fratrum adiutorio, Temuri auunculi sui ærarium, et thesauros Samarcandæ occupauerat:
comparato quam celeriter exercitu, interemit. Quo interempto, duo fratres
reliqui, ad Xarócum Temuri filium, consobrinum uero suum, qui Helaci in Parthia
erat, confugerunt. Cárilus autem, thesauris, et auro potitus: auo primum paren-
2 tauit · | deinde patri cursores legauit, qui, Temurum è vita exisse,* ac Butodum
thesauri, urbis et imperij inuasorem, se confecisse, nuntiarent:[1] *quapropter opus
esse ut quam celeriter ueniret.[2] Erat Cárilus, Gansadæ filius, quæ *virum suum[3]
Miramxam, apud *socerum suum Temurum,[4] proditionis insimulauerat. Atque
hæc Samarcandæ gesta sunt.

Jansa killed at Karabāgh by Mīrzā 'Umar, son of Mīrān Shāh.

3 At Carabácæ in Persia, Jansas Butodi | frater, Temuri nepos, et ex intimis
familiaribus, *Ommaris,[5] *Miramxae filij,[3] qui Persiam, pro Temuro auo[3] regebat,
a consilijs, et rei familiaris administrator: seditionem in eius castris concitauit ·
et primarium quendam uirum, quem Ommaris libenter adhibebat, occidit. Armamentarium
deinde, occupare contendit · attamen, a militibus est repulsus. Tandem
4 ad Ommaris tabernaculum ut eum interficeret profectus, | pari modo, a satellitio
reiectus, in suum tabernaculum, se recepit. Erat vero in castris, maxima trepidatio.
Rumor enim percrebuerat, Ediguium Tartariæ tyrannum, in castra inuasisse ·
at Ommaris, ad cuius tabernaculum, omnes copiæ confluxerant, ignarus quo
5 moueret; quid consilij caperet, nesciebat. Jansæ enim, | quo quasi educatore usus
erat, authoritatem, et potentiam reformidabat; ac cum incertus hæreret: quidam
F 136b. 1 ex amicis occurrit. "Si mihi a te, fiat Jansæ interficiendi potestas, || hi motus,
atque trepidatio componentur." Cui Ommaris, "Quid igitur cessas? Propera."
Ille inopinantem occupat, necat, caput præscindit, correptum caput ad Ommarem
sistit. Eius nece, cum Ediguij, rumor aspersus cessasset: seditio, atque tumultus
· sedatus est.

Jansa's head sent to Mīrān Shāh at Baghdad.

Ommaris, ad Miramxam patrem, Jansæ caput, Babylonem, in Assyriam trans-
2 misit · et ad matrem, et | fratres scripsit. "En" inquit "uobis, hostis mei
"caput. Quoniam auus interijt, ad me venite · ut patrem meum, tanquam regem
"honorifice accipiam, et complectar." Ipse Vianæ, haud procul a Perside, se
continuit. Arroganti eius oratione, offensus Miramxas, Babylone, Vianam uersus,
castra mouit · ac cum resciuisset, filium magnam aciem instruere, ab eo, per
3 *feciales[6] quæsiuit, | quid animi haberet? Cui filius · "Prouinciam tueri, et ipsius

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[1] 1st: nuntiarunt · et ut, ut quam celeriter ueniret, opus esse exponerent · Butodum thesauri, urbis et imperij inuasorem, se confecisse narrarent.

[2] Later addition, cancelled.

[3] Later addition.

[4] 1st: patrem.

[5] Later marginal addition, cancelled: Ommar Xecus. Hic creditus est Temuri filius sed falso. Cognomento quidem Xecus, et a Temuro Samarcandæ Rex 3^{us} post fratrem suum Abubacarem, filium Miramxæ. Hic uocatus etiam est Balobas. [Cf fol 137b. note 1.]

[6] "fœciales" in the MS.

fines præsidijs firmare." Quo responso, Abobáccaris frater, qui cum patre erat,
excanduit . et a patre, eius interficiendi facultatem petijt. Abnuerunt Miramxas,
et Hánsada mater, ne Xacattæi inique ferrent, et noui aliquid conarentur Scripsit
4 vero, ad eum, Hánsada mater · ne | bellum cum patre susciperet · quin potius,
regno concederet. Rescripsit matri Ommaris, se libenter parere. Ob quam caussam,
Abā Bakr seized by his brother 'Umar.
Abobácarem, ut pax firmaretur, miserunt Ille fratrem corripit · Ecbathanis in
arcem trudit, et castra in patrem mouit · cum quo, per internuntios, expostulanti
matri, quod fracta fide, fratrem cepisset: rogantique, ne eum necaret, | respondit ·
5 se fratrem, eo in vincula coniecisse, quod esset mente captus, audax, et temerarius.
At perspicuum erat, fratrem eo comprehendisse, quod esset robustus, ac fortis,
F. 137a. 1 et Xacattæis gratus, et ut patri exitium afferret. || Quod, ut declinaret Miramxas,
Mīrān Shāh flees from 'Umar, who is in league with Shāhrukh, his uncle.
ad Sulemxam léuirum, Hánsadæ fratrem, ad Rhages conuentum, in Mediam se
recepit, ubi tamdiu restitit, quoad copijs auctus Samarcandam iter est aggressus:
quem subsequi, cum suis copijs, Ommaris instituit. Verum, cum ab exploratoribus
2 intellexisset, firmiorem, et copiosiorem exercitum, quam se, patrem habere: | subsidia,
a Xaróco patruo, pacta fide petijt: ut si uictores essent, regnum partirentur.
Erat Xarócus, Helaci, quâ erat Miramxas, exercitum ducturus. Quod, ubi Miramxas
resciuit · in Parthia se continuit · atque improbus Ommaris, ne in odium Xacattæorum
ueniret · in uulgus spargebat, se cum patre pacem conciliasse.

3 Dum hæc aguntur, Sorsus | Hircanorum Rex Christianus, ex Xacattæorum
The King of Georgia takes Erzrum and Aumian?, advances into Fars,
intestinis bellis, ocasionem nactus, in Azrunem, Aumianamque, in limite Armeniæ,
atque in Persidem excurrit · agros vastauit, et oppida quamplurina diripuit, exussit,
solo æquauit. In quem Ommaris legionem Xacattæorum misit. Quibus Ommarem
Tobam, ueteranum militem, Hyrcanorum uicinum, et eorum pugnæ assuetum |
4 præfecit. Qui castra, in Hyrcaniæ confinio fixit. Quod ubi Sorsus cognouit, noctu
& defeats 'Umar's troops.
Xacattæos incautos adortus, partim strauit, partim in fugam conuertit. Qui cum
iniquissime ferrent, se a Cafarijs (hoc enim nomine, Agareni Christianos appellant) esse
superatos, acceptum infortunium, Ommari tribuebant: et Temuri fortunam, finem
accepisse dicebant. |

5 Abobácaris, qui Ecbathanis, in custodia detinebatur: carceris custodem inter-
Abā Bakr escapes from Tabriz,
fecit · ærarium expilauit, et ad patrem confugit. Cuius fuga Ommari renuntiata est,
Ecbathanas, infecto bello, eo animo redeunti: ut Abobácarem, ueneno interficeret. |
F. 137b. 1 Qui ubi audiuit, illum aufugisse, frustra militum manum misit, quæ fugientem
caperet. At Abobácaris, ut primum, ad patrem uenit · accepto ab eo exercitu, quo
seizes Shāhrukh,
iter aperiret: Xarocum patruum, Helaci, incautum cepit · atque ad patrem perduxit.
Abobácari uero, patrui turmæ, ac plerique Xacattæi æquo animo adhæserunt.
2 Quibus stipatus, Miramxam patrem, | Samarcandam deduxit · ubi pro Temuro patre
& restores Samarkand to Mīrān Shāh. 'Umar submits.
suo, regnauit.[1] Ommaris vero, cum patre, pacem composuit · et eius permissu,
Vianæ constitit: ubi auo suo justa soluit.

'Umar, not Tīmūr's son. Wrongly believed to have taken Delhi.

[1] I have deciphered with difficulty the following cancelled marginal note of a later date:—

Ommari genus.—[Hic creditus est Temuri filius, sed falso, cognomento quidem Xecus et Balabas], quem ferunt fraude Delini regnum occupasse. Nam cultu Calandaris, quod genus Aagarenorum est, qui orbem peregrinando sectam darent, Delinum uenit, ubi cum Christianis Agareni agebant. Cui complures alij Calandares et Xeci se adiunxerunt Rege ipso necopinanti. Qui, ubi se multitudine stipatum cognouit, qua facinus quodcunque arduum aggredi tuto

Little is known of Pir Muhammad,

At tanquam imperatori, facile Pir Mahammeddem, qui rex Indiæ ferebatur,
Miramxæ cessisse, credendum est · nam et ueteres historici de Piro protinus contices-
3 cunt, et unam tantum regum seriem, qui Sogdianæ | Bactræ, Paropaniso, et Indiæ,
fuerint dominati: ad Zelaldinum deducunt.

& Tīmūr's line. Descendants: 1. Mīrān Shāh, 2. Abā Bakr, 3. 'Umar Shaikh. 4. Khān Mīrzā, 5. Bābar, 6. Humāyūn 7. Akbar.

Petrus Mexia ex Baptista Egnatii.

Jamuero, hæc ciuilia, et intestina Temuri filiorum, et nepotum bella: in caussa
fuere, ut nostrates historici, Temuri filios, socordia, amisisse, quæ pater, uirtute
parauerat: et nullam, fortissimi viri, posteritatem superesse: propter locorum dis-
4 tantiam, Temuricarum | rerum ignari, scriberent. At eius posteritas, sic habet:
Miramxæ, Abobácaris eius filius, qui etiam Abussaïus dicebatur, successit. Huic
Ommarxecus. Post hunc Canmirsas regnauit: post eum Baburxas, cuius filius fuit
Emaumus Rex, qui Zelaldinum regem, ac Mirsachimum procreauit. Retinuerunt
5 vero, a patre parta, in Media, et Minore Asia, | ad Hossenassani regis, tempora, in quæ
Baburxæ regnum incidit. Nam Hossen Assanus, Persiam, Parthiam, Adiabenem,
et Susianam Xacattæis ademit.

Akbar's enmity with 'Abdullah Kh. of Samarkand.

Enimuero Zelaldinus, et tradita tueri, et erepta recipere, et noua quærere, non
F. 138a. 1 destitit · quo fit || ut cum Abdullacano, graue ob Samarcandæum regnum bellum
gerat. Nam cum Cancanus, qui hero suo Baburxæ, in Indiam, ut diximus, profecto,
imperium Sogdianæ eripuit, male partum regnum, breui moriens Babusultano filio
suo tradidisset: hic vero Bosacoræ: Abdullacanus, Osbeqsultani regis filius, et Balci
2 Rex, Bosacoram interfecit, et Samarcandæum regnum, quod iure Zelaldino | cedit
sibi uindicauit. * Qui quidem Balci rex exercitum in expeditionem educit, equitum
sagittariorum trecentorum millium.[1] Cum quo semel, parum fauste, Zelaldini prima
acies, in Paharopaniso, ad Chabulum, conflixit. Nam uiginti hominum millia, desy-
derata sunt · quo fit, ut etiam nunc bellum uigeat, dubium ad quem inclinet uictoria.
3 Abdullacanus * Amurathes,[2] Turcarum regis partes, | * dum uixit, sequutus est,[3] et
Persico regi * fuit[4] infestus. At Zelaldinus, Persarum factionem * defendit,[5] et eorum
Regi * fauit[6] · quo factum est, ut universa pene Agarenorum Respublica in duas
factiones abierit. Faxit utinam Deus, ut eius oraculi, quod tot sæculis ante Christus
eius Filius prænuntiavit; prædictionem, cum suo magno malo, nisi ad fidem transeant,

Shi'ahs & Sunnīs.

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posse confideret, ex insidijs uenientem regem a uenatione inuasit, peremit, urbem atque adeo regnum omne sub suum atque adeo Agarenorum iugum misit. Hunc regem filium fuisse aiunt eius qui cum Temuro dimicauit. [At uero non adeo compertum exploratumque . . . dum [*part of a word not read*] est, quin magis uerisimile uideri debeat his dolis Pir Mahameddem Delinum usque atque adeo Indiæ regnum abripuisse · qui Rex Indiæ a Temuro auo suo fuerat creatus. Prætcrea Omar Xecus Abubacar(em) fratr(em suum) cepisse existimatur. (Nam) cum patre pacem composuit et eius permissu Vianæ constitit, ubi auo suo iusta soluit, et tamdiu in ea urbe resedit dum Miramxa pater et Abubacaris frater uixerunt. At uero Pir Mahammedes, Indiæ Rex, suo regno contentus, patruo suo minime obstitit quominus libere suarum rerum potiretur. Ad quem Xacattæi et Mongoli socij, illorum quæ commemorauimus pertæsi, confluxerunt.] Quoniam in Mediterranea India, procul a nostrorum hominum tum uicinitate tum etiam cognitione defuncta sunt, nostrates historici de Pir Mahammedde protinus conticescunt. At reliquos Temuri filios socordia amisisse quæ pater uirtute parauerat et nullam fortissimi uiri posteritatem supcresse . . . [1 *line cut off: but the sentence should be continued as above in the text, f.* 137*b*. 3. The passages within [ ] are erased in the MS.; those within ( ) have been restored. In the text above, Nam ueteres historici . . . . (f. 137*b*. 2) up to: Enimuero Zelaldinus et tradita tueri (f. 137*b*. 5) is cancelled in the MS.

More probably, Pir Muh. reigned at Delhi.

[1] 1st: habet vero in nominibus equitum sagittariorum trecenta millia.

[2] 1st: Amurathes, heri mei.

[3] 1st: sequitur.—Since 'Abdullah Khān died on the 5th Rajab, A.H. 1005, *i.e.*, the 12th February, A.D. 1597, Monserrate must have corrected the passage above in India, between 1597 and 1600, the year of his death.

[4] 1st: est.

[5] 1st: tuetur.

[6] 1st: fauet.

4 et totius Ecclesiæ, ac | Christianorum pace, persentiant. *Illud est: "Omne regnum in se ipsum diuisum desolabitur et domus supra domum cadet."[1] *Luc.* 11.

Origin of the Scythians.

Enimuero quando Zelaldinus, ex Scythia oriundus est, non ab re uidebitur,
Scytharum originem, quam breuissime *ad huius operis calcem[2] adnectere. Est
autem eorum origo antiquissima. Nam Scytharum parentes, fuisse feruntur ·
Magogus filius Japeti, Hasarmotus, Diclas, et Sebas, Jectani filij; qui frater fuit |
5 Phalegi, ex genere Sem, filij Noæ. Cui genti, ipsa consuetudo, sub pellibus habitandi, *Gen.* 10.
nomen dedit · Scythæque, eius gentis homines, jam inde, a priscorum memoria,
F. 138b. 1 *id est coriarij,[3] dicti sunt.[4] Eos tamen, finitimi Persæ || Aramæos dicebant · quod *Justinus, lib.* 2°.
eos ab Aramo, cognato suorum progenitorum, ortos esse crederent. *Plinius, Nat. Hist. lib.* 6. *cap.* 13.

Ab ipsis, *Asiæ[5] regio latissima, Scythiæ nomen accepit, quæ partim Europæa
est, partim Asiatica.

European

Europæam, ab Hasarmotho, Sarmatiam dici, nonnulli credunt · eius vero *Strabo de Scythis Geog. lib.* 2°.
habitatores, Sarmatas: vicinitate literarum fortasse ducti. Quidam uero, tantum *Plinius ibid.*
2 ijs litteris tribuunt, quas Græci | * χαρακτερίστικας[6] dicunt, ut ex ijs multarum uocum originem, perperam quidem, ut plurimum, uenentur.

& Asiatic families.

Asiatica, in duas potissimum diuisa est · Sericam scilicet, et Tartariam, vel alio
nomine, Mongaliam. Illa ultra, hæc cis Imaum.

Trans-Himālayan

Et Sericam primus incoluisse fertur, Sebas, et author, et parens fuisse, earum
3 gentium, quæ ultra Imaum habitant.[7] Quorum primi noscuntur | Seres, lanicio
syluarum nobiles, qui perfusam aqua frondium canitiem, depectunt, ut quidam *Plin. lib.* 6. *cap.* 13.
ex ueteribus scriptum reliquit. Verum, bombycinam esse, eam materiam, non autem

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[1] Later addition. [2] Erased. [3] Later addition.

[4] The margins are covered with the following cancelled note written in a very crabbed hand at a later date:—

A's conflicting genealogies. Cum in Zelaldini aula uersarer, ab ipsius liberis Selimo et Amurate, quorum alterum ipse instituebam, et ab aliquot eorum institutoribus, qui Temuri res gestas iussu Regis filijs perlegebant, Temurici generis atque adeo regum qui Sogdianæ, Bactrianæ, Paharopaniso et Indiæ fuerant dominati ad Zelaldinum usque unam tantum seriem accepi, quæ sic habet: Temurus, familiæ parens, Miramxas, Abubacaris, qui etiam Abusaius, Ommarxecus, Canmirsas, Baburus Xa, Emaumus, Zelaldinus. *A Timūr-nāma omits Nos.* 1 *&* 4, *inverts Nos.* 2 *&* 3 *& ignores Timūr's other descendants. Doubtful if Pīr M or 'Umar Sh. was at Delhi. Shāhrukh pardoned by Mīrān Sh., recovers Uzbeg's dominions. The Otman Turks have Kings from Balkh.* Iniuria uero eius qui Persice Temurnama, *i.e.*, Temuri uitæ librum conscripsit, alia stirpis huius ac gentilitatis progressio in lucem prodijt. Ea est: Temurus, Hommarxecus, vel Balobas, Abusaius uel Abubacar, Baburus, Emaumus, Zelaldinus, in qua Miramxas, pater Balobi et Abusai, quos præpostere nominat, et Canmirsas desiderantur; tum præterea Delini tantum regnasse Temuri genus perperam scribitur. Nam Minorem Asiam, et Mediam Sogdianam et Bactrianam ad Hossenassani tempora, in quæ Baburi Xa regnum incidit, retinuerunt. Nam Hossenassanus Persiam, Parthiam. Adiabenem, Susianam Xacattaeis ademit. Cæterum, Delini regnum, ipsumque Indiæ, post eius mortem, qui Christianos exegit, siue is Pir Mahammeddes siue Ommarxecus fuerit, pacificum et tranquillum Xacattæi minime retinuerunt, quibus tamen Indoscythæ et Paharopanisadæ semper libenti animo quasi eiusdem gentilitatis principibus paruerunt. Jamuero Mirsa Xarocco, qui Abubacarem comprehend[erat], Miramxas noxam condonauit et Hircaniam [1st: Parthiam] attribuit et Parthiæ partem quæ Caspo Mari ab occidente, Margianæ, Hi[rcaniæ?] et Sogdianæ ab austro et a solis ortu interiacet ad Iaxartem usque ultra citraque flumen, quam regionem Cinguiscanus olim Osbequio tradiderat, quamque eius nepotibus Temurbegus eripuit, ex quorum stirpe Ottomanoës familiam prodijsse Turcæ aiunt, ac si stirps suorum regum defic[eret], regem ex ea regum gentilitate qui Balci regnant esse petendum. Nam eius praefecturae ciuitates sunt Balcum metropolis, Hiurqha, Badaxã, Tamxquan[d]. Quam ob caussam Osbequiam Turcomaniam vocant. Est autem Hircanis vicina et prope continua. Erat uero Miramxas natura leuis et ad ignoscendum procliuis, contra quam Temurus eius pater. [1 *line seems to have been cut off from the lower margin.*]

[5] Later addition. [6] Read: χαρακτηρίστικας.

[7] The above passage from: Ab ipsis, Asiæ regio....(fol. 138*b*. 1) was modified later by Monserrate to the following: Ab ipsis Asiæ regio latissima Scythiæ nomen accepit, quæ ita bipartita est, ut Imaus mons inter utramque Scythiam intersit. Sarmatia item aliquot sæculis post ab ijsdem Europææ Scythiæ appellationem inuenit. Ultra Scythiam trans Imaum est Serica. [The rest is cancelled]—We have preferred to keep the original draft.

arboream (qualis ea est, quæ in tractu Tarraconensi, non procul a Cæsaraugusta
legitur, ex quā tenuissima tela texitur, qua farina expurgatur) hoc nostro sæculo
compertum est.

4 At vero Tartariam | Diclas, et Magogus, incoluisse feruntur. Atque a Magogo,
& Cis-Himālayan stocks. Mongolos vir quidam, religione, atque eruditione præstans, qui apud illos, Cinguis- *D. Anioninus, 3. p. titulus 19. cap 8. § 20.*
cani ætate, Innocentij quarti Pontificis ·Max. legatione functus est: dici existi-
mauit · et illos, Ezechielis uaticinio, significari arbitratus est. *Ezech. 38 et 39.*

Branches of both. Scythis cis Imaum, Dahæ olim, et Daci annumerabantur · illis uero, qui ultra | *Apocal. 20.*
5 Imaum degunt: Sacæ (quorum nomine, Persæ, Scythas etiam omnes appellabant) et
Messagetæ. Dahis adscribuntur, Aparmi, qui Hyrcanis, et eorum mari, proxime *Strabo de Scythis lib. 11 Geograph.*
adiacent · tum Xanthij, deinde Pissúri.

F 139a. 1 Omnem uero Scythiam antiquitus || promiscue peruagabantur, Essedones, qui
The Essedones, Ariacæ, Rhymmici, Appellæi. calvarijs suorum parentum, auro cinctis, pro poculis utebantur · et Aríaci, et Rhím- *Pius 2us.*
nici, postremo Appéllei, quorum et genus, et nomen, uetustas, ut alia pleraque
* deleuit.[1]

Sunt vero Scythæ omnes, uarias appellationes, ex suis studijs et uitæ ratione *Strabo, Geogr. lib. 7 de Scythis.*
2 sortiti. Dicuntur enim, tum Nomades, tum Scenitæ, deinde Trogloditæ, | et Amax-
Nicknames for the Scythians. obij, Galactophagi, Hippophagi, Equimulgi, Galactæi, et Abij; hoc est agrestes, et
feri, atque ab hominum consuetudine remoti. Quibus nominibus, etiam nunc, a
finitimis cognominatur. Dicuntur enim, Aymachij, eo quod errabundi, res suas
circumferant: Carganixtæ, quod sub tabernaculis degant: et Xeroqhoræ, quod lacte
uictitent.

Their fame for bravery Fuerunt Scythæ: *tum illi qui in Europam, penetrarunt, tum etiam Asiani, a
3 quibus illi orti sunt,[2] in omnium | superioris ætatis hominum, non secus atque nostra
memoria, bellica laude clari.

in Europe Nam, ut ab Europæis ordiamur, Sarmatæ, maximam Tauricæ Chersonesi, Europæi Tartari.
partem, armis obtinuerunt. Cui nomen parua Scythia [*sic*] indiderunt. Cuius incolæ, *Diodorus Siculus, Rerum Antiquarum, lib. 5. cap. 3.*
4 Scythotauri dicti sunt · quos memoriæ proditum est, aduenas | Dianæ, pro *hostijs,[3]
immaniter cædere consueuisse.

& Asia. At Asiani Dahæ, Bactrianum, et Parthicum imperium condidere · quod Romanos Asiani Tartari.
The Dahæ. haud mediocriter lacessiuit. Nam Arsáces, homo Scytha, Callinici Demetrij, poten- *Justinus, lib. 1.*
Arsaces & tiam: cum Dahorum [*sic*], exigua manu declinans, ad Parthos, sui generis homines: *Sabellicus, Ennead. 6 lib. 6.*
qui olim, seditione domo pulsi, quasi exules (quod nomen ipsum sonat) paruam eam-
que montosam regionem colebant: se recepit. Atque ijs qui forte obstiterunt super-
F. 139b. 1 atis: cæteros || ad suum imperium adduxit · a quo Arsacidarum genus, originem
his descendants. habuit. Cuius stirpis fuere, Arsaces eius filius: Pámpatus: Phárnaces: Mithridates
et alij ad Phraartem usque, qui rebus, cum Romanis, compositis: liberos suos, Cæsari *Diodorus Siculus, Rerum Antiquarum, lib. 3. Cap. 11.*
Augusto credidit: et nepotes, obsides dedit.

2 Sacæ autem, et Messagetæ, qui a regibus, more patriæ, nomen acceperunt: | ex
The Sacæ & Messagetæ. prouincijs, a se bello subactis, in alias præfecturas, colonias deduxerunt · alteram

---

[1] 1st: aboleuit.

[2] 1st: cum Europæi, tum etiam Asiani.

[3] Not having Diodorus Siculus at hand, I cannot decide whether the word is derived from "hostia" or "ostium," which Monserrate writes everywhere "hostium" and changes to "ostium" in one place only, as far as I remember.

quidem, eamque maximam, ex Assyrijs, quæ inter Paphlagoniam, et Pontum posita
est · alteram, ex Medis, quam pone Tanaim collocarunt · cuius homines, Sauromatæ
dicuntur. Sunt enim oculis exiguis, et lacertæ (quæ græce σαυρος dicitur) similibus ·
3 a quibus potius dixerim, | Sarmatiam, quasi Sauromatiam, duabus tantum literis
Their clans in Afghānistān. expunctis, denominari. Indo-scythiam ad Paharopanisadas, ipsi etiam condiderunt: *Ex Rod. Gons.*
cuius incolæ, hac ætate, Patanei, et Delazacquij, hoc est, ex corde veri nominantur · *Sabellicus, ibid.*
et Parthorum, Bactrarumque, ex Scythico, et Medico, mixto idiomate utuntur: quod
4 Pastoum uocant. (Hos Persæ Aufganos | cognominant). Nam ab Eucratide primum
Bactræ, deinde Parthi, Eucratidis filio interfecto, a Mitthridate, Arsacis pronepote,
in eam regionem, inuecti sunt.

Queen Tomyris defeats Cyrus. Enimuero, non solum uiri, inter Scythas, uerum etiam fœminæ, magnam ex bel-
lis gloriam reportarunt. Nam cum aliquando, Scythicum imperium, ad fœminas
deuenisset; mirum est, quanta uirtute, atque animi fortitudine decertarint. Nam *Justinus, lib. 1.*
F. 140a. 1 Thomyris Amazonum regina, solertissimo belli consilio, ducentos mille || Persas, mon-
tium angustijs inclusos, instructis insidijs, trucidauit · et Cyrum, Persarum regem
captum, in crucem egit · cuius exectum caput, utri pleno sanguine, includi iussit ·
cum hac exprobratione, "Satia (inquit) te, sanguine quem sitisti."

Multa quidem, consulto prætermitto, ne plus æquo, ab instituto sermone
2 digrediar. Unum uero, tantum atque alterum | proponam · quo Scytharum uirtus
They defeat Uxores of Egypt. elucet. Ipsi, Vxorem Ægypti regem, qui illis primum, bellum inferre, ausus est: *Justin. ibid.*
tanta virtute fugarunt: ut ultra Nili paludes, exercitu, atque omnibus belli impedi-
Darius & Zopiron. mentis relictis, impellerent. Ipsi, Lauthino imperatore suo, Darium superarunt, et
fuderunt.[1] Ipsi, mille quingentis annis, Asiam uectigalem habuerunt: | Seruorum
3 exercitum, flagellis, et bacillis subegerunt: ipsi Zopírona, Alexandri magni copiarum *Justin lib. 2.*
ducem, uictum e suis finibus abegerunt.

Victorious advance of & dangers to Europe from the Turks, a Scythic race. Nihil denique, ad hanc usque diem uel ipsi, uel quæ ab ijs, originem ducunt, *Pertinet ad Scythas promiscue.*[2]
gentes conatæ sunt, nihil susceperunt, quod cum magna, sui nominis dignitate, ex *Justin. lib 1.*
4 uoto, atque ex sententia, non perfecerint. Atque utinam fecisset | Deus, ne cum
tanto, Christianæ Reipub. damno, quantum a Scythis orti, armis ualeant, ex-
perimento, orbis uniuersus comperisset. Nam Turcæ, qui a Scythis genus ducunt, ab *Lib. 4.*[2]
Ottómano, Turcicorum regum stirpis capite, ad Amurathem, qui nunc regnat, inter- *Ac cum Zelaldinus genus, &c.*[3]
medij reges, bellica uirtute orbis prope dimidium ocuparunt.[3]

F. 140b. 1 Enimuero, quoniam hactenus, quo consilio Zelaldinus, Societatis || Sacerdotes
Conclusion. accersuerit: quid illi cum Rege, et eius sacrificulis transegerint · deinde belli Chabu- Peroratio.
lici caussam, et ipsum bellum · post hæc Sacerdotum reditum, Rodolfi necem; tum
Regis mores, domi et in bello; animi ornamenta: corporis dignitatem: res bello
gestas: genus denique, et parentum patriam: generosam illius stirpem: et gentis

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[1] Marginally, erased: Idanthyrsum item Scytham, Asiam [*sic*] usque in Ægyptum excurrisse, memoriæ proditum est. *Strabo, Geogr. lib.* 15. [Cf. App. A, p. 2.]

[2] Later addition; erased.

[3] Later marginal addition; erased: Verum enimuero antiquum illud Ennij elogium in Scythas detorqueri potest: *Cic de Diuin.* [l. 2. c. 56.] [1 line not read] Æacidæ bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientipotentes. Nam tum nostra tum patrum nostrorum memoria unus Anacharsis Scytha studijs sapientiæ clarus extitisse deprehenditur · in qua eos progressus fecit ut antiquis admirationi *Diog Laert. lib. 1.* fuerit et etiam [1 *or* 2 *lines cut off*]. Cf. Appendix A.

2 uirtutem: quantum in nobis | situm fuit, et narrationis breuitas, ac perspicuitas postulabat: diligenter, et acurate (quod sine arrogantia dictum sit) perscripsimus: nostrum pensum (utinam utiliter) exoluisse videmur.[1]

FINIS.

LAUS DEO OPT. MAX.

History of the MS.

* Absolui hunc commentarium Eynani in Arabia ferijs diui Antonij Patauini mense Junio anni 1590.

Exemplar a Turcis abreptum Sénaæ recepi ferijs undecim mille Virginum mense Octobri eiusdem anni.

Finem describendi et ab exemplaris litturis uindicandi feci Sénaæ in Arabia ferijs D. Damasi · pp. mense Decembri anni 1590.[2]

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[1] Later addition, marginally · *Daqui torna atras aas folhas* 106 *b*. 4.

[2] These last lines have been underlined in pencil by the anonymous annotator.

INDEX COMMENTARIJ

in quo · *a*. priorem paginam, *b*. posteriorem significat.[1]

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[1] The pages of the index not being numbered in the original, we have not taken the pagination of it into account.

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L

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[1] The words beginning with J are placed under I in the original. We have separated them.

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Mahammeddes Mirsachimus, Chabuli Rex, 39*b*. 3; 86*a*. 4; aciem instruit, 76*b*. 1; arcem reposcit et repellitur, 41*a*. 4; epistolæ ipsius ad Xamansurum tertio intercipiuntur, 56*b*. 4; Fœtiales mittit, 71*a*. 1; cum Faridumcano expostulat et receptui canit, 79*a*. 2. 3; se in fugam dat, 59*a*. 3; et filium in fuga amittit, 86*a*. 3; Gelalabadum deserit, 85*a*. 4; ad Lahurum castra ponit, 41*a*. 4; *b*. 1; urbem non diripit, 91*a*. 3. 4; litteras supplices mittit, 59*b*. 4; nauiculas comburi iubet, 62*b*. 1; pedem refert, 42*a*. 1.

Mahammeddes Sultanus, Temuri filius, 126*b*. 4.

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[1] From another hand, in ink.

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Pagrixi templa deijciunt, 132*b*. 3.

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Pahari, *i.e.* Montanus, Zelaldini filius, 34*a*. 4; patris primam aciem ducit, 70*a*. 4; idem, 110*b*. 1. 2; eius comitatus, 70*b*. 1. 2; fortitudo, 79*a*. 1; in campo consistit, *a*. 3.

Paharnera, mons Neræ, 7*b*. 3.

Paharopanisadum aborigines, 139*b*. 4.

Paharopanisas, terra Chabul, 68*b*. 3; 117*a*. 3.

Paharopanisus, 85*b*. 2.

Paharüetus mons, 82*b*. 3. 4; 85*b*. 2. 3.

Palatia noua, castrum Natoliæ uel Asiæ Minoris, 127*a*. 3.

Panipatum, urbs, 57*a*. 1.

Pannones, 120*a*. 1.

Pantheræ, 44*b*. 3.

Paphlagonia, 139*b*. 2.

Paradoxum, 111*a*. 1.

Paramäessuris, 52*b*. 3.

Parentum indulgentia, 120*b*. 3.

Parganâ Peytân, Peytanensis conuentus, 60*a*. 3.

Parthi, 124*b*. 2; [exules ?] dicti, 139*a*. 4

Parthia, 139*a*. 4; montosa, *ibid.*

Paschalitia quid significent, 31*a*. 3.

Pasthôum idioma, 67*a*. 2; 139*b*. 3.

Patanæi Mongolos profligant, 13*a*. 2; ijdem, 66*b*. 4; 85*a*. 5; 117*a*. 4; Gandaræ et Suasteni, 77*a*. 2.

Paulus ictus a bestia, 16*a*. 2.

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Pecus ouis magnitudine sine sectionibus in Imao, 61*b*. 1.
Pelusium, urbs Ægypti, 127*a*. 4.
Peroratio operis, 140*a*. 4.
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Persarum noua secta, 117*b*. 3.
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Persis, 119*b*. 4.
Petrus Tauarius, patritius Lusitanus, 5*b*. 3.
Petrus Menesius, 91*a*. 3.
Petrus Berna, sacerdos Frisius, seu Teuto, 106*b*. 3.
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Phalegus, 138*a*. 5.
Phanum castrense, 88*b*. 3.
Pharaglitâ, uox conficta, 74*a*. 2.
Phraartes, 139*b*. 1.
Pimpaldar, oppidum, 15*b*. 1.
Pir Mahammeddes, Temuri nepos, 133*a*. 5.
Pirxaurum, 79*b*. 4; 80*b*. 3.
Pirxec olid ezlamus, Sophus, 109*a*. 3.
Pissúri, 138*b*. 5.
Platani, 116*a*. 1.
Plebecula in scopulis perit, 94*a*. 3.
Pœna capitis, 113*b*. 4.
Pœnæ sontibus propositæ, 114*a*. 4.
Poloni, 120*a*. 1.
Pompeius, 127*a*. 1.
Pontificis Romani dignitas, 96*a*. 4.
Pontium construendarum modus, 47*a*. 1.
Pontus Euxinus, 120*a*. 1; 139*b*. 2.
Portæ ferreæ, Derbentum · Damarcab · arx, 124*b*. [4.
Postinorum noua secta, 18*b*. 3.
Præceptoris lenitas, 34*a*. 2. 3. 4.
Præda Samarcandam deportatur, 128*a*. 4.
Præfecturæ, 52*a*. 1.
Præsidia in angustijs itinerum, 47*b*. 1.
Præsidibus humilia imperantur, 52*a*. 2.
Presbyter Joannes Indicus, 116*a*. 4.
Proditionis caussa et initia, 39*b*. 1. 2.
Promissis et minis agit Zelaldinus, 46*b*. 1.
Protheus, inconstantiæ symbolum, 104*b*. 5.
Prouerbium, 66*b*. 2.
Prouidentia regia erga commeatum, 46*a*. 2.
Proxeneta Regis capite plectitur, 114*b*. 1.
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Puerorum perfusio et baptisma, 122*a*. 4.
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Qhaterbágus, Persiæ oppidum, 125*a*. 3.
Qhoiamundus, 82*a*. 3.
Qhuniâ, oppidum, 62*b*. 3.
Quæsita Regis, 67*a*. 4.
Quæstio de Mahammedde, 73*b*. 4.
Quæstor Zelaldini, 86*b*. 3.
Quelemetalla, Dei uerbum, in Alcorano Christus dicitur, 99*a*. 4.
Quiniscus, Phrygiæ castrum, 127*a*. 3.

R

Raeneranum præsidium, 10*b*. 2.
Ráffigi, 92*b*. 4.
Raoi, Adris, fluuius, 61*b*. 4.
Rasputi, Gedrosiæ nobilitas, 48*b*. 1. 3. 4.
Rassul, nuntius uel Apostolus, 89*b*. 3.
Rathoi, Indiæ interioris nobilitas, 48*b*. 1. 3. 4.
Regiæ uoluntatis erga Sacerdotes significationes, 39*a*. 1.
Regij filij indoles et ingenium, 33*b*. 3.
Reginis in itinere custodes dantur, 45*b*. 3. 4.
Regis clementia et fortitudo, 40*a*. 2; excusatio futilis, 94*b*. 3; prouidentia, 46*a*. 2.
Regni Equebarini termini, 115*a*. 5.
Reguli Zelaldino parent, 46*b*. 1; illi sunt a consilijs, 110*b*. 2.
Regulus, 15*a*. 2; 16*a*. 3.
Reprehensio dicti, 77*b*. 1.
Responsiones ad quæsita Regis, 67*b*. 1; 72*b*. 2.
Rex Deiparæ Virgini Mariæ addictus, 98*a*. 1; in disputationibus sententiæ moderator, 33*a*. 2; filium instituendum Sacerdotibus tradit, 33*a*. 4.
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Rhamxandus Rex, 66*a*. 3; [82*b*. 3].
Rhauadum, oppidum, 66*b*. 1.
Rhinoceros elephantis uentrum petit, 50*b*. 3.
Rhymnici, 139*a*. 1.
Riuulus salebrosus et lubricus, 66*a*. 2.
Roalcudz, Spiritus Sanctus, 76*a*. 1.
Roalla, Dei halitus, uox inepta, 99*a*. 4.
Robur belli in equitatu, 51*b*. 1.
Rodericus Vincentius, 7*a*. 2.
Rodolfus ægrotat grauiter, 39*b*. 3; eius constantia, 28*a*. 2; Cunculini necatur, 105*a*. 1; elogium ipsius, 105*a*. 3; genus, 106*b*. 4; Goam redit, 104*b*. 5; jugulum sponte præbet, 106*b*. 1. legationis prouincia ei demandatur, 7*a*. 3. 4; Mariæ Virgini addictus eam uoti nexu fre-

quentur collaudat, 105*b*. 1. 2; necis dies, 106*b*. 3; necis socij, *ibid.*; Persicum idioma breui addiscit, 32*a*. 1; 101*b*. 4; Regi occurrit, 90*b*. 1; Regis filium instituit, 97*a*. 3; sapiens et pium eius responsum, 9*b*. 4: vulnera illi imposita, 106*b*. 2.

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Sacerdotum sententiam Abdulfasilius sequitur, 33*a*. 1; admonentur a Rege, 24*b*. 4; Agarenorum placitis cum ipsis pugnant, 32*b*. 4; Damanum unus uenit, 104*a*. 3; discrimen capitis illis obuenit, 10*b*. 3; dubium proponitur, 99*b*. 4; Euangelij periodos conuertunt, 32*a*. 3; 101*a*. 3; gladiatorios ludos reprehendunt, 37*a*. 4; Goam alter contendit, 101*b*. 1; iudicium eorum de Regis conniuentia, 95*a*. 1; laborat unus ad mortem, 90*a*. 4; ocasionem conueniendi regem captant, 24*a*. 1; optionem Agarenis dant, 100*a*. 2; pecuniam accipere renuunt, 20*a*. 3; periculis multis unus eorum liberatur, 101*b*. 1; Persicæ linguæ dant operam, 9*a*. 3; 31*b*. 3; quæsitum eorum, 98*a*. 4; ad Regem deducuntur, 19*b*. 4; Regis animum explorant, 41*a*. 1; responsio illorum, 26*a*. 3; reuocantur, 91*a*. 4; Societatis Jesu Sacerdotes duo in Gangaride, 5*b*. 3; tres cum Equebare uersantur, 7*a*. 3; Surate mouent, 10*b*. 1; spes lucri animarum, 95*b*. 3; unus in uitæ periculum uenit, 16*a*. 1; ab elephante prope perijt, 50*a*. 4; in aliud discrimen uenit, 88*a*. 2; capitur, 102*b*. 3; in custodia ponitur, *b*. 4; cum honore soluitur, 103*b*. 1: Damanum uenit, 104*a*. 3.

Sacrificiorum Agarenicorum feriæ, 11*a*. 4.

Saddari oppidum, 62*b*. 3.

Salices, 116*a*. 1.

Salomonis templum, 109*b*. 1.

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Samarcandæi, 121*a*. 4: eorum conspiratio, 124*a*. 3.

Samba, urbs et præsidium, 62*a*. 1.

Samballus. fluuius, 18*b*. 3.

Sandabalis, Xenao fluuius, 66*a*. 3; in eius traiectu multi pereunt, 62*a*. 4; *b*. 2; in eo insula, 62*b*. 3.

Sapor, Rex Persarum, 127*a*. 1.

Sarangpurum, urbs, 15*a*. 4.

Sarindum, 58*b*. 3.

Sarmatia, unde dicta, 138*b*. 1; 139*b*. 3.

Sarmaticum mare, 119*a*. 3.

Satanulge, Zaradrus fluuius, 59*a*. 4.

Sauromatæ, 107*a*. 1; 139*b*. 2.

*Schœni ferrei,[1] 45*a*. 1.

Scribæ, 111*b*. 3. 4.

Scripturæ Sacræ loci, 28*b*. 1. 2. 3.

Scythæ, 97*b*. 1; 128*a*. 4; administratio priscorum Scytharum, 119*a*. 3; Aramæi dicti olim, 138*b*. 1; bellica laude semper clari, 139*a* 3; eruptio illorum, 119*a*. 2. 3; finitimis uectigales, *a*. 2; nomina uaria sortiuntur, 139*a*. 1; eorum origo, 138*a*. 4; studia diuersa, 139*a*. 1; unde dicti, 138*a*. 4.

Scythia, 138*b*. 1; Serica, *b*. 2.

Scythotauri, 139*a*. 4.

Sebas, 138*a*. 4; *b*. 2.

Sebaste, urbs Cappadociæ, 125*a*. 3; diripitur a Temuro, *a*. 4; ciues immaniter perduntur, 132*a*. 2.

Sebastianus, Lusitaniæ Rex, 73*a*. 4; 88*a*. 1.

Sedani, nunc Decanî, 104*b*. 1.

Sem, 138*a*. 5.

Senaensis præses, 111*a*. 5; eius nuntij, *b*. 1.

Sententia dispar gentilium de natura deorum, 52*b*. 4.

September mensis, 89*a*. 2.

Septemuiri, 111*a*. 3.

Seræ uel Seres Cathaini, 130*b*. 2; bombycini et serici inuentores, 131*a*. 1; 138*b*. 3.

Serarum rex, 130*a*. 4; eius copiæ, *b*. 4.

Seres, 121*a*. 2.

Serica, nunc Cathaium, 130*b*. 2.

Serpens cristatus, 118*b*. 3.

Seruorum Scythicorum bellum, 140*a*. 3.

Séthis, 52*b*. 3.

Sigillum regium, 113*b*. 1.

A simili locus, 29*a*. 1.

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[1] Schœnæ ferreæ'' in the MS.

Similitudo, 72*a*. 4.
Simiorum præstigia, 54*a*. 4
Sinæ, 107*a*. 1.
Siti exercitus fatigatur, 63*a*. 1.
Situs quattuor concursantium montium, 85*b*. 3.
Siurange urbs, 15*b*. 1; soli eius pestilens natura, et uenenat[arum bestiolarum] multitudo, *ibid.*; lacertæ quoddam genus habet quod creditur basiliscus, *b*. 2; tugurijs rotundis et humilibus extructa, 16*a*. 3.
Sogdiana, 117*a*. 3; 128*a*. 4.
Sogdiani, 97*a*. 4; 121*a*. 3.
Sonipatum, 56*b*. 3.
Sopharis desertoris sepulchrum, 10*a*. 2.
Sophus, 22*b*. 2; 23*b*. 4.
Sophus Ismael, 92*a*. 4.
Sorsus, Hyrcanorum rex Christianus, 137*a*. 3; Xacattæos fundit et fugat, *a*. 4.
Spectacula dantur, 97*b*. 2.
Spiritus Sanctus promittitur, 74*b*. 1; Rhoalcudz, 76*a*. 1.
Stella mons, 127*a*. 1.
Stephani prothomartyris reliquiæ, 9*b*. 3.
Stipulator Regius, 113*a*. 1.
Suasthénæ et Gandaridis situs, 77*a*. 2.
Suastheni Patanæi, *ibid.*
Suasthus fluuius, Axtnagar flumen, 69*a*. 2.
Sultan Hammédus, 133*a*. 5.
Sultanus Mekkæ, superstitionum Agarenicarum antistes, 100*a*. 1.
Superstitio stulta, 112*a*. 1.
Suranâ, oppidum, 12*a*. 2.
Surate, 7*b*. 4; descriptio, 10*a*. 1; impium pro sancto colit, 10*a*. 3; Qhoia Sopharis sepulchrum habet, *a*. 2; Taphi vel Taphti fluuio alluitur, *a*. 1.
Suratensis gubernator, 102*b*. 4.
Susæ, 127*b*. 3.
Syluæ incendium, 71*b*. 1.
Syria, 127*a*. 3.

T

Tagladaius, Xacattæ filius, 120*b*. 4; ad austrum proficiscitur, 121*a*. 3.
Tagondarcanus Nicolaus, 122*a*. 4.
Talabqhodâ, Dei uestigator, 96*b*. 3.
Talicia, Temuri hortus, 128*b*. 2.
Tanais, fluuius, 120*a*. 1; 139*b*. 2.
Tanissaris emporium, 57*a*. 2.
Taphi vel Taphti fluuius Suratem alluit, 10*a*. 1.
Taragay uicus, 123*b*. 1.
Tarchanes Mongoli Synthum tenent, 121*b*. 4.
Tarcon, castrum, 124*b*. 4.
Tartari sæpe in Indiam excurrunt, 121*b*. 4; ijdem, 124*b*. 3; Galactæi, 125*a*. 5; eorum eruptio, 119*a*. 2. 3; institutum, 40*b*. 1; Tatâr dicuntur, 119*a*. 4.
Tartaria, 138*b*. 2.
Taurica Chersonesus, 139*a*. 3.
Taurus mons, 126*a*. 1.
Teheranum, castrum Rhagensis conuentus, 127*b*. 3.
Temurus, 85*b*. 4; accusatur, 123*b*. 3; ædificandi celeritas ipsius, 133*b*. 4; Ægyptum petit, 127*a*. 4; apophthegmata illius, 135*b*. 1; armorum signum, 133*b*. 2; aulæ assidui, 134*b*. 3; bibacitas, 135*a*. 3; cadauerum struem excitat, 132*a*. 4; Cappadociam petit, 124*b*. 4; eius ætate Christiani erant in India, 116*b*. 1; cognomina, 135*b*. 4; comprehendi iubetur, 123*b*. 4; consilium illius, 131*a*. 5; *b*. 1. 2. 3; conuiuia, 134*a*. 1; Coramxam uincit, 124*b*. 3; curam habet suarum copiarum, 127*a*. 5; crudelitas illius, 135*a*. 3; dignitatis militaris insigne, 133*b*. 3; diuitiæ, 132*b*. 4; domesticus famulatus, 133*a*. 5; elephantum cuneum eludit, 130*a*. 1; excursiones eius, 124*b*. 3. 4; exempla crudelitatis, 135*a*. 4; fallaciter se mortuum renuntiari iubet, 132*a*. 3; familia eius, 133*a*. 2; feritas in conuiuijs, 134*a*. 2; filij, 133*a*. 3; flagellum Dei, 125*b*. 4; fortuna, 129*b*. 4; generosi eius famuli, 133*b*. 1; genus usque ad Zelaldinum, 137*b*. 1. 4; habitudo corporis, 134*b*. 5; imperata, 133*b*. 2; imperij eius intercapedo et termini, 127*b*. 1; imperatorem trucidat, 124*a*. 4; indoles et ingenium, 123*b*. 2; 134*b*. 5; initia, 123*a*. 4; iuris dicendi modus, 134*b*. 3. 4; Langh. cognominatur, 124*b*. 2; legatos accipit, 134*b*. 1; litteræ ipsius minaces, 125*a*. 1; ludi, 134*a*. 1; miles priuatus, 123*b*. 1; Minoris Indiæ partem obtinet, 130*a*. 3; mores eius publici et priuati, 131*a*. 2; mors, 134*b*. 4; motus post eius mortem, 135*b*. 5; nepotes eius arctantur, 117*a*. 2; nepotes qui? 133*a*. 3; odij eius in Christianos caussa, 132*b*. 1; ornamenta corporis et animi, 131*a*. 3; Paiazitto ludos facit, 127*a*. 1. 2; patria, 123*b*. 1; perfidia, 134*a*. 4; Persiam fraude ocupat, 124*b*. 2; pœna ab eo proposita, 133*b*. 2; posteri, 86*a*. 1; posteritas eius non exoleuit, 137*b*. 3; prædo fit, 123*b*. 3;

prouincias attribuit, 133*a*. 3. 4; regem Ægypti fugat, 127*a*. 4; regnum ocupat 124*a*. 4; rex a pueris salutatur, 127*b*. 3; rex ex prædone, 124*a*. 4; sæuitia in suos, 132*a*. 3; Samarcandæ plebem aduentitijs auget, 128*b*. 5; senectutis studia, 133*b*. 2; sontium pœnæ, 134*b*. 3. 4; superatur, 130*a*. 1; superstitio, 135*a*. 2; techna eius in Caffenses, 132*a*. 3; technæ, 126*a*. 1. 2. 3. 4; Totamixum secundum superat, 128*a*. 2; tribunum Persam pellicit, 124*a*. 1; truculentiam dolis admiscet, 132*a*. 1; turmam camelorum abigit, 130*b*. 1; vectigal denegat, 130*a*. 4; vexillorum color, 131*a*. 4; vires corporis, 135*a*. 1; vulnera accipit, 124*a*. 1; uxorem Samarcandæi imperatoris ducit, 124*a*. 4; uxores eius, 133*a*. 2; Zelaldini stemmatis caput, 123*a*. 4.

Testimonia Sacræ Scripturæ, 74*b*. 1

Theraphim, 8*a*. 3.

Thesina fluuius, 127*b*. 3.

D. Thomas, 67*b*. 4; 68*a*. 1; 115*b*. 3.

Thomyris, Amazonum regina, 140*a*. 1.

Tonsores plurimi Maturani, 54*a*. 2.

Torrens lethifer, 59*b*. 2.

Totamixus, 123*a*. 2.

Totamixus secundus, *ibid.*; Temuro bellum affert, 127*b*. 3; a Temuro uincitur, 128*a*. 2; bellum instaurat, uincitur, animos suorum offendit, *a*. 3; ab Ediguio funditur, 129*b*. 1; cum filijs ad Temurum confugit, *b*. 2.

Trapezuntis imperator, 127*b*. 1.

Tres pueri in fornace, 26*b*. 1.

Tribunus quidam in flumine exponitur, 48*a*. 1.

Tuguria rotunda et humilia Siurange, 16*a*. 3.

Tuguria popularium Agarenorum demissa et vilia, 113*b*. 4.

Turcicorum regum uictoriæ et imperium, 140*a*. 4.

Turquia, uel Turcia, Natolia, Asia Minor, 127*a*. 3.

U[1]

Urbium ædificationes, 118*a*. 4.

Usena, emporium, 14*b*. 2.

Uxôres Regis, 45*b*. 2.

Uxores, rex Ægypti, 140*a*. 2.

Uxôrum duæ formæ ex Mahammeddis pseudoprophetæ instituto, 110*a*. 3; earum multitudine reges suos in officio continent, 110*a*. 4.

V

Valerianus Cæsar, 127*a*. 2.

Vania, seu Vanianes, Pythagoræi, 103*b*. 4; olim Germanes, 104*a*. 1.

Vectigalia amplissima, 112*b*. 1.

Verbum Patris, Christus, 99*a*. 1.

Vexilla nigra internecionis portentum, 42*a*. 3.

Viana, Persiæ urbs, 136*b*. 2.

Victoriarum Zelaldini enumeratio, 118*a*. 3.

Vindius mons, 21*a*. 4.

Viztnus, Maturani conditor, 52*b*. 1.

X

Xa Ismael, idem Sophus, uulgo Sophî, 92*a*. 4.

Xacattæi præfecturis præficiuntur, 110*b*. 3; a Xacatta dicti, 120*b*. 4.

Xacattæi Tartari, 121*b*. 2.

Xacattas, 120*b*. 3; filios ad bellandum mittit, 121*a*. 1; Seras petit, *a*. 2; necatur, *a*. 3.

Xamansurus, summus regiarum facultatum curator, proditor, 39*b*. 2; eius ad Mirsachimum litteræ, *b*. 3; eas Rex intercipit, 40*a*. 1; coniurationem secundo repetit, *a*. 4; vafrum eius consilium in Regis perniciem, *b*. 2. 3; eius proditio secundo deprehenditur, 41*a*. 3; secundo a Rege soluitur, 42*a*. 2; Bádi suspenditur, 57*a*. 2.

Xanthij, 138*b*. 5.

Xaregolam, seruorum urbs, 83*a*. 3.

Xatini mercaturam faciunt, 130*b*. 4.

Xeaorum factio, 92*a*. 4.

Xec olid ezlamus, 109*a*. 3.

Xecus, Zelaldini filius natu maximus, 80*a*. 1; 110*b*. 1. 2.

Xecus Gemalus, Regis leuir, 86*b*. 4.

Xelebius, Paiazitti filius, 125*a*. 4; a Temuro contemnitur, *ibid*.

Xenao, Sandabalis, 62*a*. 3.

Xeulum, urbs et castrum, 7*b*. 2.

Xerxes Rex, 126*b*. 4.

Z

Zaradrus, Satanulge, 59*a*. 4.

Zaretanus, 125*a*. 2; eius in Christianos beneuolentia, 132*b*. 2.

Zelaldinus magnus, Mongolorum Rex, 5*a*. 2; aciem instruit, 70*b*. 3; acies quædam eius infœliciter confligit, 138*a*. 2; aduentitios accipi-

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[1] I have separated the words beginning with *U*, from those which we now write with *V*.

endi mos eius, 111*a*. 4. 5; ædificandi celeritas, 109*a*. 3; ædificiorum splendor, 108*b*. 3; Agaræ nascitur, et Rex primum salutatur, 22*b*. 4; Agarenum superstitione, se denegat, 96*b*. 3; Agiscocanum in Gangaridem mittit, 42*a*. 3; animum suum aperit, 25*a*. 1; 90*b*. 2; argentariam facit, 112*b*. 3; arma, 108*a*. 3; aula, 107*b*. 3; auiditas, 112*b*. 3; Babacapurio addictus est, 18*b*. 3; beneuolentia ipsius erga Christianos est hæreditaria, 123*a*. 3; benignitas illius, 71*b*. 2; bubalis carnibus gentilica superstitione interdicit, 101*a*. 5; Calanuri regijs insignibus honestatur, 60*a*. 4; castra dimittit, 91*a*. 4; Chabulum magnis itineribus petit, 79*b*. 4; Chabuli popularibus impunitatem dat, 86*b*. 1; Christi effigiem palam exosculatur, 78*b*. 2; commiseratio ipsius officiosa, 57*b*. 1; consilium capiendi modus, 111*a*. 2; consultationes frequentes, 69*b*. 2; crudelitas nimia et inepta, 81*a*. 2; ditissimus omnium regum Orientis, 113*a*. 2; doli, 95*a*. 3; dubium reddunt legum multiplicitas, 99*b*. 2; Emaumi filius, 22*b*. 3; ethologos libenter audit, 110*a*. 1; Evangelij librum postulat, 6*a*. 4; excursionem suorum in Damanicum agrum damnat, 90*b*. 2; fabrilibus deditus, 77*a*. 3; fabulis fidem tribuit, 55*a*. 1; fæciales excipit, 71*a*. 2; dimittit, 76*b*. 2; Fattepurum condit, 21*a*. 4; uenit, 91*b*. 1; filijs quid integrum relinquat, 96*b*. 4; filios et aliquot proceres in sacellum Sacerdotum adducit, 31*b*. 1; fœlicitas ipsius, 91*b*. 1; forma et habitudo, 106*b*. 4; Gedrosiæ magnam partem occupat, 115*b*. 2; gentilibus fauet, 101*a*. 1; genus eius paternum, 123*a*. 4; genus maternum, 96*b*. 4; IESVM adorat, 31*b*. 1; impedimenta Gelalabadi relinquit, 80*a*. 2; incommoda accipit, 86*b*. 2; Indiæ Rex est, 129*b*. 5; ingenium eius, 107*a*. 4; inequitandi dignitas, 108*a*. 4; in suam fidem accipit Sacerdotes, 6*b*. 2; iter agit secus montes, 46*b*. 3; labor indefessus ipsius, 138*a*. 1; laxamentum exercitui dat, 63*a*. 1; 68*b*. 1; lenitas illius, 65*b*. 4; litterarum est ignarus, 109*b*. 4. 5; litteras ad Pontificem Maximum scribi iubet, 96*b*. 1. 2; Mahammeddica præcepta flocci facit, 108*a*. 2; Mariam Virginem ueneratur, 107*a*. 4; mensa eius frugalis, 108*a*. 5; mercaturam facit, 112*b*. 3; mores eius, 107*a*. 4; Nagarcottum petit, 60*a*. 1; negotia uersat, 107*b*. 4; nuntium ad Pontificem Summum mittit, 96*b*. 1. 2; opificia exercet, 109*b*. 2; orationem ad sororem suam habet, 87*a*. 2; otium eius, 107*b*. 4; pagos incendit, 88*b*. 4; pœna quædam ab eo proposita, 133*b*. 2; parcus est, 113*a*. 2; parasitos alit plurimos, 107*b*. 4; præsidia constituit, 80*a*. 1; propensio eius, 107*b*. 2; Protheo similis, 104*b*. 5; posto se proluit, 108*b*. 2; quæstor eius capitur, 86*b*. 3; reditum a bello instituit, 87*b*. 2; regni præsidium constituit, 43*a*. 2; Rodolfi necem mœret, 105*a*. 1; Rodolfum diligit, 106*a*. 2. 3; Rex primum renuntiatur, 118*a*. 1; Sacerdotes laudibus ornat, 90*a*. 1. 3; 96*a*. 3; in uiciniores ædes deducit, 31*a*. 3; eis de mensa mittit, *a*. 4; in eorum domicilium uenit, 31*a*. 4; salutantes nutu capitis resalutat, 38*b*. 4; sectam nouam meditatur, 101*a*. 4; solem ueneratur, 101*b*. 1; Sophi hortatui paret, 22*b*. 2; 23*b*. 4; stipem Christianis imperat, 59*b*. 4; Agarenis erogat, 88*a*. 4; Talabqhoda, *i.e.*, Dei uestigatorem se dicit, 96*b*. 3; triumphat, 86*b*. 2; varia interrogat, 71*b*. 3; vectigales hostis sui sibi conciliat, 46*b*. 1; venationem indicit, *i.e.* bellum, 41*b*. 4; veneficos in concilium adhibet, 69*b*. 3; veneni periculum quî declinet, 108*b*. 1; vestitus eius, 108*a*. 3; victoriæ, 91*b*. 1; vino abstinet, 108*b*. 2; uxorem matrem familias Gelalabadi relinquit, 80*a*. 2; uxorem Daudi regis Patanæorum in castris circumfert, 81*a*. 4; Xamansuri proditionem deprehendit, 40*a*. 1; secundo eum solvit, 42*a*. 2; Bádi suspendi iubet, 57*a*. 2. [Cf. *also*: Equebaris; Regiæ...; Rex; Victoriarum, *etc.*]

Zopiron, Alexandri dux, 140*a*. 3.

FINIS.

APPENDIX A.

[Between fol. 136*b*. and fol. 137*a*. a loose leaf is bound up, containing a later ? rough draft, which was intended it would appear, as an improvement on the historical sketch of the Scythians (fol. 138*a*. 4—fol. 140*a*. 4). We insert it as an appendix. No special entries to it will be found in the Index.]

[p. 1.] Verum etiamsi Scythis, non ut cæteris barbaris ut sunt Brazilij et syluestres Æthiopes Manicongij rudis et inconditus sensus est. Quidam enim eorum sapientiæ studijs exculti olim illustri laude celebrati sunt: in ijs Anacharsis summi philosophi laudem habuit. Egregie autem rerum humanarum contemptione et despicientia, deinde constantia in dicendo commendatur,[1] cum tantam capere dicant sapientiam quantam gens capit semper armata. Illud Ennij in eos detorqueri potest: Acaridæ bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientipotentes.

Strab. lib. 7. *Diog. Laert. lib.* 1.

Tusc. lib. 5. *de Divinat.* [*C*. 56].

PROGRESSUS ET MORES.

Scytharum gens antiquissima semper habita bipartito distributa est, sicuti fieri in Arabia et in Affrica hac nostra tempestate uidemus. *Nam Scythis quibusdam hominibus[2] inter se olim fines nulli, neque enim agrum exercebant, nec domus illis ulla aut tectum aut sedes erat, armenta et pecora semper pascentibus, et per solitudines errare solitis. Uxores liberosque secum in plaustris, corijs ad arcendas pluuias et uim frigorum hyememque excipiendam et substruendam communitis uehebant, quibus pro domibus utebantur: lacte et melle uescebantur, lanæ his usus ac uestium ignotus, et quoniam continuis frigoribus urerentur, pellibus ferinis seu murinis uestiebantur, et Scythiam qua uel fors uel cuiusque voluntas ferebat uniuersam pererrabant, et hi quidem Essedones dicebantur qui caluitijs suorum parentum auro cinctis pro poculis utebantur. Gens alia Scytharum fama nostratibus primum nota, quæ societatis hominum et uitae communitatis amans ciuitates instituit, parua numero et propter ignobilitatem contempta, iuxta Araxim et ab aquilonibus Caspij Maris consedisse ac cis et ultra Imaum ad solis ortum progressa, sui imperij fines propagasse narratur. Scythis cis Imaum Dahæ olim et Daci annumerabantur. Illis uero qui ultra Imaum degunt Sacæ et Messagetæ. Dahis adscribuntur Aparmi qui Hircanis et eorum mari proxime adiacent, tum Xanthij, deinde Pissuri, et Indoscythæ, qui Indiæ sunt contermini usque ad oppositam Asiæ regionem quæ Arachosia dicitur. Sacis et Messagetis dantur Sarmatæ quos a Scythis oriri ueteres etiam tradiderunt. Aiunt uero qui genealogiam scripserunt ad Alangumi [*sic*] usque ætatem maiorem natu regis filium uniuerso regno dominari solitum. Tatarem et Mongolum primos regnum fuisse partitos. Tatarem Scythiæ extra Imaum, Mongolum Scythiæ intra Imaum imperium tenuisse et suo quemque regno nomen indidisse, et utriusque imperium Imai terminis definijsse, Tartariæ ab occidente sole, Mogaliæ ab ortu eiusdem. Ptholemæi interpres aliter sentire uidetur. (Lib. 6, cap. 15, tab. Asiæ 8.) ||

Strab. lib. 2.

Nomades. Coriarij. Amaxobij. Scenitæ. Galactophagi.

Pius 2*us*.

Strab. lib. 11.

Diod. Sic. lib. 3, *cap.* 11

Strabo, ibidem.

Diod. ibid.

Strab. ibid. hoc lib. 2. *cap.* 20.

Dyctes Creten. De bello troiano. lib. sub finem

VIRTUS BELLICA.

[p 2.] Fuerunt semper Scythæ bellica laude clari. Nam Dahæ Bactrianum et Parthicum imperium condiderunt, quod Romanos haud mediocriter lacessiuit. Nam Arsaces, homo Scytha, Callinici

Justin lib. 1.

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[1] Added, in a variant of this sentence to be found at foot; "ut qui eius constantiam imitarentur *τήν ἀπο Σκυθῶν ηαιν*, *i.e.*, a Scythis orationem imitari diceretur. Huic ancoræ et figuli rotæ inuenta tribuunt.

Herod. Melpome. lib. 4 [127.]

[2] 1st: Hominibus eorum.

Demetrij potentiam cum Daharum exili manu declinans: ad Parthos sui generis homines, qui olim seditione domo pulsi quasi exules (quod nomen ipsum sonat) paruam eamque montosam regionem colebant: præcepit atque, ijs qui forte obstiterunt superatis, cæteros ad suum imperium adduxit. Cuius stirpis fuere: Arsaces, cuius filius Pámpatus, Pharnaces, Mithridates, et alij ad Phraartem usque qui, rebus cum Romanis compositis, liberos suos Cæsari Augusto credidit: et nepotes obsides dedit. Sacæ autem et Messagetæ qui a regibus more patriæ nomen acceperunt ex prouincijs a se bello subactis in alias præfecturas colonias deduxerunt · alteram quidem eamque maximam ex Assyrijs, quæ inter Paphlagoniam et Pontum Bythiniæ posita est · quæ regio Turcarum aborigines tanquam oua colubri fouit, quæ ubi fœtum exclusit, hoc uiperarum, genimine (liceat hoc uerbo uti) ipsum Pontum, Paphlagoniam, Bithiniam, Minorem Asiam, Lydiam, Cariam, Lyciam, Pamphiliam, Lycaoniam, Galatiam, Cappadociam, Minorem Armeniam Chersonesum denique omnem intra Euphratem, quæ postea Magna Tartaria uocata est, compleuit Alteram ex Medis quam pone Tanaim collocarunt · eiusque habitatores ab oculorum forma Sauromatæ dicti sunt. Sunt enim oculis exiguis et lacertæ, quæ Græce σαὖρος dicitur, similibus Indoscythiam ad Paharopanisadem ipsi etiam condiderunt, cuius incolæ hac ætate Patanæi ab. urbe quadam principe, et Delazacqui, i.e. ex corde ueri, et alijs nominibus appellantur. Et Patanæi Parthorum Bactrarumque ex Scythico et Medico mixto idiomate utuntur, quod Pastoum uocant. Hos etiam Persæ Auftganos [*sic*] nominant. Nam ab Eucratide primum Bactræ, deinde Parthi: Eucratidis filio interfecto, a Mithridate Arsacis pronepote in eam regionem inuecti sunt. Imperium Asiæ ter quæsiere; ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio aut intacti aut inuicti [remansere ?] Ipsi Vxorem Ægypti regem, qui illis bellum inferre omnium primus ausus est, tanta uirtute fugarunt, ut ultra Nili paludes exercitu atque omnibus belli impedimentis relictis impellerent. Ipsi sub Lanthino, imperatore suo, Darium superarunt. Idanthyrsus item Scytha, domita Asia, in Ægyptum usque excurrit. Asiam mille quingentis annis uectigalem habuerunt. Nomades Scenitæ [?] Bactrianam Græcis abstulere. Zopirona, Alexandri Magni ducem, uictum e suis finibus abegerunt, Seruorum exercitum flagellis et bacillis ut olim Romani subegerunt. Romanorum audiuere, non sensere arma. Ac non solum uiri inter Scythas, uerum etiam fœminæ magnam ex bellis gloriam reportarunt. Nam cum aliquando ad fœminas deuenisset, mirum est quanta uirtute atque animi fortitudine decertarint. Nam Thomyris, Amazonum regina, solertissimo belli consilio ducentos mille Persas montium angustijs inclusos instructis insidijs trucidauit, et Cyrum Persarum regem captum in crucem egit, cuius exectum caput utri pleno sanguine includi iussit cum hac exprobratione: "Satia," inquit, "te sanguine quod sitisti." Sarmatæ maximam Tauricæ Chersonesi partem armis obtinuerunt, cui nomen parua Scythia [*sic*] indiderunt. Cuius incolæ Scythotauri dicti sunt, quos memoriæ proditum est aduenas Dianæ pro hostijs immaniter cædere consueuisse. Atque ad hanc usque diem uel ueteres Scythæ uel Sarmatæ uel qui ab ijs orti sunt, Tartari et Mongoli, et præ cæteris Turcæ nihil prope conati sunt, nihil susceperunt, quod cum magna sui nominis dignitate ex uoto atque ex sententia non perfecerint. Quod utinam fecisset Deus ne cum tanto Christianæ Reip. damno orbis uniuersus experimento comperisset. Nam Turcæ ab Otthomano Turcarum stirpis capite ad Amurathem, cuius ego fui seruus, intermedij reges bellica uirtute orbem prope dimidium ocuparunt.

Sabell. Ennea. 6 *lib.* 6.

Diod. Sic. Rerum antiq. lib. 3. *cap.* 11.

Pthol. lib. 5. *cap.* 1. *tab.* 1. *Asiæ.*

Rod Gonsal.

Sabellicus, ibid.

Just. lib. 2.

Just. lib. 1.

Strabo. Geogr. lib. 15.

Just. lib. 1.

Diod. Sic. Rer. antiq. lib 1, *cap.* 3.

Sabell. Ennea. 9, *lib.* 6.

Just. lib. 2.

APPENDIX B.

Texts from Monserrate's lost Bk. II quoted by Col. F. Wilford.

The texts from Monserrate's writings quoted by Col. F. Wilford will prove that the MS. in his possession was different from the one here edited.

At the risk of being taken to task for the length of this appendix, I must quote Monserrate's passages together with Wilford's context. As for Wilford's theories, I do not comment on them. If, in the case of a passage (*my No.* 6) I reproduce at some length Wilford's views on ancient traces of Christianity in North India, it is because they are so interesting when compared with Monserrate's.

1. *Asiatick Researches*, VI (1799), pp. 496–497, Art.: *On Mount Caucasus.*

[**496**]. The *Parapomisean* hills, or at least part of them, are called also *Parnassus*, and *Parnessus*, by Dionysius Periegetes, Priscian, and F. Avienus: this last appellation has been supposed to be only a corruption, or contraction from the first. But the difference is so great, that, in my humble opinion, these are really two different denominations of the same mountainous tract, at least, or part of it. These mountains are in general called *Dévanica* in the Hindu sacred books, because they were full of *Dévas* or gods, and holy *Rïshis* and *Bráhmens*, who are emphatically called the gods of the earth, or *Bhu-dévas*. They lived, according to the *Puránas*, in bowers or huts, called *Parnasálas* or *Parnásas*, because they were made of leaves, for such is the Sanscrit expression, whilst we should say, built with twigs and branches. Indeed the leaves are the most conspicuous part, because in India when dry, they generally adhere still to the boughs they grew upon. The most celebrated amongst these *Parnásas* was that of the famous Atri, whose history is closely connected with that of the *British* islands and other western regions. It was situated on an insulated hill, called in the *Puránas Meru*, and by the *Greeks Meros*. It is supposed by the Hindus to be a splinter from the larger *Meru*;[1] and that the gods come and reside upon it occasionally. Its situation was ascertained by the late Mr. Foster, by my friend Mirza Mogul Beg, and by P. Monserrat, who accompanied the Emperor Acbar in his expedition to *Cabul* in the year 1581. It [**497**] is called to this day *Mer-coh* and *Mar-coh*, or the mountain of *Mer* or *Meru*; for in the spoken dialects, they often say *Mer* for *Meru*, and in the *Treloci-derpana*, we constantly read *Mer* for *Meru*. It is on the road between *Peishower* and *Jalálábád;* and about twenty-four miles from the latter, on the banks of the *Landi-Sindh* or *Cameh* river. It is now a bare rock, the river which formerly ran to the south of it, having carried away all the earth from the lower parts; and the earth above being no longer supported, was also washed away by the rains. From its dismal appearance, it was called *Bé-dowlat* by the Emperor Humáyun. It looks like a single stone, without any fissure. It extends from the west to the east. It rises abruptly from the plain in which it stands; from the bottom to the top; P. Monserrat reckons about 2000 feet, and it is about six furlongs in length: its distance from the nearest hill is about three miles. The ground to the south and east is marshy, being the old bed of the river: to the west are seen several triangular entrances into caves. To the east at the distance of three miles, is a wretched village, called *Bissour* or *Bissowly* (*Bussowul* in Major Rennell's map), which about two hundred years ago was a pretty large town. To the west are the villages of *Ambárcánd* and *Battercóte*, close to which Nádirsháh encamped; and as

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[1] Cf. F. Wilford, *As. Res.*, VIII, (1805), p. 315.

there is no other encamping ground near this place for a numerous army, we may safely conclude this to be the very spot on which Alexander encamped near the town of *Nysa*, which extended all round the mountain. Besides, his camp was near the sepulchres of the inhabitants, which were to the west of the mountain....." [1]

2. *Asiatick Researches*, VIII (1805), pp. 322–324. Art.: *An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West.*

[322]. From *Mána-Sarovara*, or, according to the vulgar pronunciation, *Mán-saraur*, the lake of *Mána* or *Mánasa*, issues the *Ganges*. According to Purán-gir, who accompanied the late Lama to *China*, and had seen that lake in his way from *Lassa* to *Ládac*, it is called in *Tibet*, *Chu-Mápanh*, or the lake of *Mápanh*. In the Lama's map it is called *Mapama*: but Purán-gir, a well-informed man, assured me that its name was *Mápanh*. It was probably written at first *Mapam* by *Portuguese Jesuits*, in whose language the letter M, at the end of a word, has a nasal sound, as it had in *Latin*, and is to be sounded like the letter N at the end of a word in French...

[324]. The lake of *Man-saraur* is mentioned in Pliny, as I observed before, and it is probably the same that is mentioned by Ctesias, who says that it was eight hundred *stadia* in circumference. M. Polo describes it as to the west of *Tibet*, but does not mention its name. It is noticed by P. Monserrat, who accompanied the Emperor Acbar in his expedition to *Cabul* in the year 1581. He calls it *Mánsaruor*, and, from the report of pilgrims, places it in thirty-two degrees of latitude north; and about three hundred and fifty miles to the north-east of *Serhind*.[2] The first *European* who saw it, was P. Andrada in the year 1624;[3] and in the years 1715 and 1716, it was visited by the missionaries P. Desiderius, and Emanuel Freyer [*read*: Freyre].[4]

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 327–328.

The *Indus* was supposed formerly to have its source not far from *Mán-sarovara*, **[328]** which P. Monserrat places in thirty-two degrees of latitude north; and the source of the *Indus* in latitude 32° 15′, the difference of longitude between the source and the lake 1° 45′.

The difference of longitude between *Delhi*, and *Manasarovara* is according to Monserrat 5° 12′. This places *Mánsarovara* in 82° 2′ of longitude, and both its longitude and latitude are remarkably correct: but what is more surprising, the good father was ignorant that the *Ganges* issued from it.[5] Abul Fazil places the source of the Indus nearly in the same latitude with Cashmír, but eighteen degrees to the eastward.. .[6]

4. *Asiatick Researches*, IX (1807), p. 52. Art.: *An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West, with other Essays....*

In a short dissertation on Alexander's itinerary Wilford writes:

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[1] Compare with *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, fol. 83*a*–84*a*.

[2] Cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, foll. 4*b*.; 116*b*.

[3] This is not at all proved. Rather the contrary. Cf. on the lake seen by Fr. Antonio de Andrade, S.J., C. Wessels, S.J., *Antonio de Andrade*, reprinted from *De Studien*, Nijmwegen, L.C.G. Malmberg, Jaargang XX [1912], LXXVII, Afl. No. 4, p. 22.

[4] It appears from Carlo Puini's *Il Tibet....secondo la relazione del P. Ippolito Desideri* (1715–1721), Roma, 1904, that Desideri did not pass near Lake Mānasarowar. He does not mention it.

[5] Wilford is himself making a mistake here, unless he means the Brahmaputra, the course of which is not yet satisfactorily known.

[6] The same calculations can be made from Monserrate's table of longitudes and latitudes in *Mong. Legat. Comm.* foll. 3*a*–4*b*. The longitude of Delhi in *Mong. Leg. Comm.* is clearly 115° 58′, not 115° 48′, as Wilford must have read in his MS.

Thence [from *Rotas* or *Ruytas*], to the ferry over the *Jailam*, or *Béhat*, and *Alexandria-Bucephalos*, near which is a famous peak, called the mountain of the elephant, by PLUTARCH (*De flum.*). Its present name is *Bal*, *Bil*, or *Pil*, which, in Persian, signify an elephant. It is famous, all over the western parts of India, for its holiness, and its being the abode of numerous penitents; the chief of whom, as well as the deity of the place, is called BAL-NÁTH or BIL-NÁTH. It is generally called BAL-NÁTH-THILEH, or the mountain of the Lord BÁL; another name for it is *Joghion-di-tibbi*, or the tower of the *Joghis*.

[The reference to Monserrate is doubtful. Monserrate is not mentioned. He speaks of "Balnatque thile" at fol. 64*a*. 3 of our MS, and the anonymous commentator wrote in the margin: "Balnat ka Tile. Thilah [Thileh ?—grass mum ?]." The similarity of orthography between the anonymous commentator in *Mong. Legat. Comm.* and Wilford may be a mere coincidence. I may mention here that Wilford was in correspondence with the College of Fort William. On July 15th, 1805, the Council of Fort William ordered "that the thanks of the College be communicated to Capt. Francis Wilford for the valuable manuscripts in the Shanscrit language presented by him to the College of Fort Wiliam." Cf. *Asiatic Annual Register for* 1806, London, 1809, *sub* Bengal Occurrences, p. 27. Did Wilford, after all, present Monserrate's *Mongol. Legat. Commentarius* to Fort William College about this time ?]

5. *Asiatick Researches*, IX (1807), pp. 57–58. Art.: *An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West, with other Essays connected with that work.*

Father MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor ACBAR, in his expedition to *Cabul*, says that that Emperor paid the greatest attention to the measurements of the roads, during his march; and that, instead of a common rope, he substituted *Bamboos*, joined together by iron links. He then says, that there were twenty six and one-fourth, of these *Cos*. to **[58]** one degree: each *Cos* consisted, of course, of 13911. 77 feet or 4637. 26 yards.[1]

6. *Asiatick Researches*, IX (1807), pp. 211–215. Art.: *Vicramaditya and Salivahana.*

....This account of ŚÁLIVÁHANA's Dynasty at *Dillí*, and at so late a period, however strange, is not entirely groundless. TIEFFENTHALER, in his account of Subah *Dillí*, mentions two kings of that name, on **[212]** the authority of some Persian writers, whom he does not name. I saw the good old man, at *Lucknow*, in the year 1784 He was a man of austere manners, and incapable of deceit. His list of the kings of the *Tomára* and *Chochan* tribes at *Dillí*, has certainly much affinity with those in the *Ayin-Acberi* (vol. 2, p. 62): and the *Kholassey ul-Tawáric* and FERISHTA's account of the Subhas of *India*, are most likely the sources from which the good father draw his information; but as these tracts are not at present within my reach, I cannot ascertain this point.

The *Bhats*, or *Bhatties*, who live between *Dillí* and the *Panjáb*, insist that they are descended from a certain king, called ŚÁLIVÁHANA, who had three sons, BHAT, MAYA, or MOYE, and THAIMÁZ, or THÁMÁZ. MOYE settled at *Pattyáleh*, and either was a *Thánovi* or *Thawoni*, or had a son thus called. When AMIR TIMUR invaded *India*, he found, at *Toglocpoor*, to the N.-W. of *Dillí*, a tribe called *Soloun* or *Salwan*, who were *Thanovis* or *Manicheans*; and these he ordered to be massacred, and their town to be burned (DEGUIGNES, *History of the Huns*, vol. 5,

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[1] Cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, fol. 45*a*. 1 on the "decempeda." There is no allusion there to bamboos joined by iron links.

p. 50.)[1] ŚÁLIVÁHANA is generally pronounced ŚALWAN and Śalban in the west, and NIEBUHR calls him SHAH-LEWAN.

The MANICHEANS were Christians; and when FATHER MONSERRAT was at *Dillí*, at the court of ACBAR, he was informed, that near that metropolis, and to the S.-W. of it, and of course at *Toglockabad*, near the palace of PITHAURA, the usual residence of the ancient kings of that city, there were certain tombs, which were asserted to be those of some ancient princes of *Dillí*, who were Christians, and lived a little before the invasion of the Musulmans.[2] If these tombs really **[213]** existed, they did not belong to the Hindus, who never erect any; they could hardly belong to the Musulmans, for it is scarcely possible that they should be mistaken by Musulmans; since the tombs of those among them, who fell in battle, or otherwise died, in the beginning of their invasions, are looked upon as places of worship; and those entombed there are considered, either as martyrs, or saints. In speaking of the tombs, and other monuments or events in *India*, FATHER MONSERRAT says, with much candour, 'I was told so in that country,' or 'I was assured of it by respectable persons; but whether it be so or not, I cannot further say.' He explains himself in these terms, with regard to thirteen figures, in basso relievo, upon the rocks of *Gwalior*, which he visited in his way from *Surat* to *Dillí*, and which were supposed, by Christians in *India*, to represent our Saviour and his twelve disciples; one figure in the middle being a little higher than the rest. MONSERRAT says, that they were so much defaced, that no inference could be drawn from them, except their being thirteen in number (p. 164).[3] The foregoing particulars, concerning the *Bhats*, ŚÁLIVÁHANA and his three sons, I obtained from an intelligent native, whom I sent to survey the countries to the N.-W. of *Dillí*. He was employed, on that service, from the year 1786 till 1796; and, in the year 1787, he was in the country of the *Bhats*. His instructions were, to inquire particularly into the geographical state of these countries; and, whenever he could find an opportunity to make inquiries also into their history and antiquities. At that time I knew very little about ŚÁLIVÁHANA, and was still less interested in his history; and of course that ancient prince was not mentioned to him; and the knowledge which he obtained, concerning him, among the *Bhats*, was merely accidental, and by no means in consequence of any previous directions from me.[4]

[214]. The Heresy of the *Manicheans* spread all over the western parts of *India*, and into *Ceylon*, at a very early period, in consequence of violent persecutions in Persia, during which the followers of MANES fled, in great numbers, and at different times, into *India*: and it is even highly probable, that MANES remained a long time concealed in that country, in the fort of *Arabion*, on the eastern banks of the river *Strangha*, now called *Chitrang* and *Caggar*. The *Mesopotamia* here mentioned by ARCHELAUS the Bishop, is the five *Antarvédis*, or *Mesopotamias* of the *Panjáb*, commonly called the five *Bhéds* or *Bhedies*; and STRABO, speaking of the *Bhed*, or *Antarvédi*, between the *Chináb* and the *Jellam*, says, "in this *Mesopotamia*," and here the pronoun *this* has an obvious reference to the several *Bheds* or *Mesopotamias* of the *Panjáb*. This river *Strangha* is called *Saranges* by ARRIAN; and the *Chitrangh*, flowing from the northern hills, passes to the westward of *St'hánu-sar* or *Thánu-sar,* at some distance from which the water is absorbed by the sands; yet the vestiges of its ancient bed may be traced as far as Bacar on the Indus. The report of my native surveyor, concerning this river, is also confirmed by the report of General Thomas, in his Memoirs (p. 164). There were *Bhats*, or *Bhattis*, in that country long before the arrival of Manes; for Ptolemy, in the beginning of the third century, takes notice, in that country, of two considerable towns, obviously denominated after them. The first is *Bata-nagra*, or *Bhat-nagara*, the town of the *Bhats*. *Bhat-nere* is the vulgar pronunciation of it; but the present town of *Bhat-nere* is not the same with the *Bhat-nagara* of Ptolemy, which was to the westward of the river *Beyah*, and is probably the town called *Bhat tyaleh.* The other place mentioned by Ptolemy is *Batan-cai-sera*, a compound [**215**] name; and in the true idiom of the Hindi language, *Bhatton-ki-sara*, or *Bhatton-ca-sara*, the pool of the *Bhats*.... From the situation assigned to it by Ptolemy, I suppose it to be the same place which is called *Bhattinda*, to the N.-N.-E. of *Bhat-nere.* The *Bhattis* are shepherds, and various tribes of them are found in the Panjáb; and they also inhabit the high grounds to the East of the *Indus*, from the sea to *Uch.* These tribes are called *Ashambhetty* in the *Ayin-Acbari*; but several well-informed men, who had long resided in that country, say, that the true pronunciation is *Acsham-Bhatti*; which implies the many troops, or bands, of the *Bhattis*; because they go by troops, selected from various tribes or families.

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[1] For Monserrate's theory that there were Christian kings at Delhi in Tīmūr's time, cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, foll. 129*b*. 5–130*a*. 1. 2. 3.

[2] Cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, foll. 23*a*.1, 56*a*. 2, where these tombs are not, however, alluded to. Still, I do not doubt, that Monserrate mentioned them in the MS. which was in Wilford's possession. Monserrate does not say in our MS. that Delhi was Akbar's court, nor does he state that Akbar resided at Delhi. The information he received must have been obtained while he passed through Delhi on his way to and from Afghanistan.

[3] Cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, fol. 17*b*. The pagination in Wilford's MS. (p. 164) does not agree with that in ours.

[4] It is important to note that Wilford had learned prudence and circumspection after he had found out how some Brahman Pandits had shamelessly deceived him in other points of research. Cf. *As. Res.*, VIII, 247 *sqq.*

Manes gave himself out as the Christ, and had also twelve disciples; and, in the character of Christ, he became Śáliváhana in *India.* He had three disciples, exalted above the rest, and their names were Budda or Addas, Hermas or Hermias, and Thomas, which I conceive to be the same with Bhat, Maya or Moye, and Thaimáz or Thámáz, the supposed sons, or rather disciples, of Śáliváhana. In the seventh century, there were Christians at *Serinda*, or *Ser-Hind*, with a monastery; and two monks from that place, at the command of the Emperor Justinian carried silk-worms, or rather their eggs, to *Constantinople.*[1]

[**216**]. The compiler of the list, brought from *Assam* by the late Dr. Wade, was well informed, with regard to the last blow given to this dynasty of *Manicheans*, by Amir-Timur, in the remains of a feeble tribe of them, at *Toglock-poor.* But it is much more reasonable, I think, to place the overthrow of that dynasty in the latter end of the twelfth century.[2]

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[1] Wells Williams (*The Middle Kingdom,* 4th edn., New York, 1871, II. 290), thinks that the two monks, probably Nestorians, who brought eggs of silk-worms to Constantinople in 552, came from China, where they had resided and which they were not the first nor the only ones to have evangelized. According to Priaulx, *Indian Embassies to Rome,* 126, an embassy, said to be Indian, and bringing gifts to the Emperor Justinian, reached Constantinople in 530. Cf. C. Mabel Duff, *The Chronology of India,* Westminster, Constable, 1899, p. 40. Fr. Felix (*Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra .... for the year* 1908, App., p. 24) writes in the same way as Wilford. "[The existence of Christians in Northern India] is moreover corroborated by what we read in Zonare, *Life of Justinian,* that there was in Serhinda or Serinda (Punjab), in the sixth century A.D., a seminary for the Christians, and that two monks from that place, at the command of the Emperor Justinian, brought silk-worms and eggs to Constantinople." He refers to *Recherches historiques sur les peuples anciens* par L'Abbe Desroches, p. 835.

[2] This discussion on Manes and the Manicheans runs on till p. 219. It occupies also a large part of F. Wilford's *Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India* in *Asiatick Researches,* X (1808), pp. 69 *sqq.*, especially p. 71. At p. 218, *As. Res.*, IX, p. 218, there is question again of the list brought by the "late" Dr. Wade from Assam, according to which there appeared towards the latter end of the 9th century another S'áliváhana in the country about Delhi.

Wilford, a man whose erudition was beyond question, is bewildering in his accumulation of facts and names, and the lack of proper references makes it almost impossible to check his utterances. The impression produced on most of his readers is that he is extravagant in his theories. I do not speak here of his earlier studies, when he was imposed upon by some native Paṇḍits, but of the later ones, such as those referred to here, and I am often inclined to think that in many matters Wilford is ahead even of our own times. The pity is that no

7. *Asiatick Researches*, XI (1810), p. 73, Art.: *Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West.*

The town of Sámba is very little known to us, and even to the natives. It is mentioned, however, by Father MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor ACBAR in his expedition to *Cabul* in the year 1581. The emperor, and his army, passed in sight of *Sámbá*, which was then garrisoned by his troops; and MONSERRAT places it 13 minutes of long. to the east of *Jummoo*, and 21 minutes, or geographical miles, to the north of it. It cannot be far from the *Chináb.*[1]

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one has tackled this subject of early Christianity in Northern India, either in proof or disproof of Wilford's statements.

I do not see on what authority Wilford asserts that Manes was called S'ālivāhana. What is extraordinary is that the man whom Wilford sent into the country of the Bhats should have mentioned the names of three sons of one S'álivâhana, one of whom at least, Thaimāz or Thamāz, a name un-Indian in appearance, is identical in form with that of Thomas, one of Manes' disciples. The identification of Bhat with Budda or Addas, and of Maya or Moye with Hermias or Hermas is less convincing.

It is true that in Tīmūr's time there were at Tughlikpur near Delhi, and in many parts of India, *e.g.*, at Bhatnīr, Mīrat, Nagarkot, in the Sawālik Hills and Kashmīr, people called Gabrs, Magi (*sanawīya*), or Sālūn. Sometimes these Gabrs seem to be confounded with the Hindūs as infidels; but, in many places they are clearly distinguished from them and represented as worshipping two gods, one called Yazdān, the other Ahriman, whom they typified by light and darkness. They supposed all good to proceed from the one, and all evil from the other. Cf. ELLIOTT'S *Hist. of India*, s.v. Gabrs, (especially in the *Zafar-nāma*), III, 497. In the *Malfūzāt-ī Tīmūrī* we find: "From the information supplied to me I learned that these people were called *Sanawī* (fire-worshippers). Many of this perverse creed believe that there are two gods. One is called Yazdān, and whatever they have of good, they believe to proceed from him. The other god they call Ahriman, and whatever sin and wickedness they are guilty of they consider Ahriman to be the author of." (Cf. ELLIOTT, *ibid.*, III. 431.) Many of these men had been expelled from Khurasan (*ibid.*, V. Note C. *On fire-worship in India*, pp. 559–570).

Whether these people were Zoroastrians or Manicheans is not settled. We do not expect, however, that Pārsīs should have been settled so far inland in large communities, as were those of the Sanawīs. Even if the Sanawīs or Gabrs were Manicheans, it could scarcely have been appropriate to call them Christians. If it be suggested that, in Monserrate's time, the term Gabrs was sometimes applied by Muḥammadans to Christians (cf. *ibid*, V. 562 n. 4), whence Monserrate might have concluded to the existence of Christians in Tīmūr's time, we answer that he identifies the Gabræi or Gabrs with the Pārsīs, whom he is inclined to identify in turn with the Jews (fol. 8*a.* 1). Yet, it would seem that it is these very Gabrs who have been taken for Christians by later writers than Monserrate. Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo writes in his *India Orientalis Christiana*, pp. 175–176: "Circa annum 1209 quo Ginghis-Chan Tibeti regnum invasit, adhuc ducen*tum* circiter millia Christianorum in regno Tibet, in Turkestan, in Corasan, atque in Indica urbe Cabul, Cashemir, et Lahur versabantur... Ginghis-Chano successit Timur in India circa annum 1409., promovendae sectae Muhamedanae ardore flagrantissimus. Is a[b] hominum memoria omnium crudelissimus uno decreto, et una fere hora centum circiter mille Indos indigenas, inter quos non pauci Christiani ad urbem Delhy in India interfecit. Vide *Histoire de Timur-Bec, Ecrite en Persan par Cherefuddin-Aly, traduite en François par Mr. Petit de la Croix*, tom III. Cap. 18, pag. 89–90." The reference to the last author is properly Tom. II, Bk. IV, ch. XVII (A.D. 1398), where we find the term "Guebres."

For the existence of a Christian King at Delhi, named David, Monserrate quotes the authority of St. Antoninus, *Pars III Summae Historiarum.* All I can say is that our Indian historians know no such king, in Tīmūr's or Chinghiz Khān's time. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, p. 207, *n.* 11. See, however, Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, I. 175, text and *n.* 2, where Eccard, *Corpus Historic.* II. 1451, mentions a Christian king of the Tartars, called David.

The following bibliographical references from de Leon Pinelo's *Epitome de la Bibl. Oriental*, Madrid, 1737, I. Cols. 51-52, would point to some of "those reports of Prester John... circulated throughout Europe, and surviving in many continental labraries." (YULE, *l.c.*, I. 175.) "Maestro Jacobo, Obispo Achorense, Carta à Valtero Villaviense i los Hermanos de Ogmes, de lo que sucediò a los Christianos en la Tierra Santa; i de los prosperos, i casi increibles Sucesos del Rei de los Indios David, que Juan de Viago llama Preste Juan, M.S. està en la Libreria de Leida, segun su Catologo, fol. 375.

"Carta de David, Rei de la India, despues de la Historia Hierosolimitana, M.S. en la misma Libreria, i por el mismo Jacobo, fol. 327." Compare also the next number with Yule, *ibid.*, I, 175, *n.* 3. Nearly the whole of de Leon Pinelo's vol. I. cols. 51-52 is devoted to curious accounts of this mysterious Prester John.

[1] Samba is mentioned in *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, foll. 4*b*, 62*a*. 1, 2.

8. *Asiatick Researches*, XIV (1822), p. 454, Art.: *On the Ancient Geography of India.*

The *Portuguese* maps exhibit only four rivers on that coast [of Arakan]: that of *Chatgánh*; the *Chocoriá*, to be pronounced *Khocoriá*; the river and gulf of *Rámea*, and the river of *Arácan*. The gulf of *Ramu*, now called the bay of *Cruzcool*, has a considerable river, that falls into it, called *Mushcolley*, after which is denominated the opposite island, but called by our seafaring *Mascal*, this appellation being more familiar to them; but in the *Portuguese* maps, there is no name affixed to it. The name of the island to the north of this, is *Cuccura-dwipa*, but in the spoken dialects *Cuccur-divá* or *Cuccur-diá*, or the island of dogs. In these dialects a dog is generally called *Cut'á*; and from *Cut'á-dwip* I suspect they have made *Cuttub-deá*. There is a place in it called *Cukerá-hanserá*, which, the pilots say, signifies *Dog-swimming Creek*. It is called *Quoquor-divá* by Lindschot in his map of India, and *Cuccuri-divá* by F. Monserrat.[1]

9. *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XX (1852), p. 242, Art.: *Essay on the Ancient Geography of India.*

D'Herbelot says, that Deibul (or Táthá) [in the Delta of the Indus] was besieged in vain by Solimán, the second king of Persia; but I find no such king in the history of that country.

In the latter end of the reign of Akbar, it was besieged by his general Khán-Khánán with a numerous army; the siege lasted six months; but after a most obstinate resistance it was taken. This town could not have been the present Thátthá, which could not have held out so long: but it was Táthá, or Debiel, which was so strong, on account of its insular situation. It was called Sháh-bandar, or the royal emporium, in honour of Akbar. In some old Portuguese maps, it is simply called Bandel for Bandar, and in Father Monserrat's map of India it is placed, exactly half way, between the mouth of the western branch of the Indus and Thátthá.[2] The denomination Sháh-bandar seems to be unknown to Hindu pilgrims, and is used only by Mussulmans who never use that of Nagar-Táthá, except when applied to Thátthá.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 247–248.

In the bay [opposite the Delta of the Indus] there are several small rocky islets, three of which are particularly noticed by pilgrims; the largest is called *Ráma-Zaroca*, or the observatory, or watching place of Rāma-Chandra, who erected a *Zarocá* upon it. *Jaroc'ha*, or rather *Dzeroc'ha*, in Sanskrit Jálaca, is a latticed window, for the sake of observing, what is going on abroad, also a peeping hole. By the *Zaroc'has* of Ráma, Lacshma'na, etc., the pilgrims understand certain mounds, or raised platforms, either natural or artificial, for the above purpose, and in this sense it is synonymous with *Seirungah* in Persian. According to Father Monserrat, the largest of these islets was called *Camelo* by the Portuguese; and the three principal ones *Monaras*, or the turrets, from the Arabic *Minára*, and opposite to them is a small branch of the Indus. He does not say positively, that he had been there himself; but I believe that this was the case. The several passages relating to this place stand thus, "*Canthi Naustathmus* sorgi douro [*sic*] das *Monaras*, statio pro turribus dicitur juxta *Monaras*.... *Canthi Naustathmus* stationi respondet scopulorum, qui pro Indi hostio eminent, et vulgo dicitur *Monaras*, h. (*hoc est*) turres vel pyramides ab Arabibus accepto vocabulo.

"Extra ostium Indi insulæ Chrysé, et Argyré necubi apparent. Eminet tamen, *nostrâ*

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[1] "In an autograph MS. of the author, in my possession. The *Padre* wrote about the year 1590, in the prisons of Senna in *Arabia*." [F. W.]—There is no parallel passage in *Mong. Legat. Comm.*

[2] It is similarly marked in the map of *Mong. Legat. Comm.*

memoriâ, deserta quædam insula et perexigua, quam vocant *Cameli*, ex adverso hostii amnis: sed ea saxum ingens, exors auri argentique." Here the words *nostrâ memoriâ* are, in my opinion, to be rendered, *I recollect, etc.*, and imply, that he had been there.[1] The original MS. is in my possession.

The bay was called Rio de Pilotes, or the Pilot river by the Portuguese, who had always some of them stationed there, in order to conduct their ship over the *bars* of the Indus, and their ships remained there at anchor, waiting for a proper opportunity, and it is called for that reason *Naustathmus* by Ptolemy. This place is styled the harbour of *Hermes* by Hayton the Armenian, who mistakes [**248**] Ráma for Hermes, an ancient sage. It is designated also by the appellation of Ram, in the treaties of peace concluded between Nádir Sháh, and the emperor of India; and by that of Rámgar, *Coyár*, or Couhbár in the Ayin-Acberi. Our pilgrims, having visited in a boat the *Zerocá* of Ram, cross over to the other side of the bay, and after a march of eight or nine cos, about 15 or 17 miles, they arrive on the banks of the river *Háb*, which they cross, dress their food, and sleep there. There is about one foot of water in it, during the dry season; its bed is broad, and it is a pretty large river during the rains. Its bed is full of large rounded stones called *Gallets* by Buffon. Its current is rapid, and makes a considerable noise among the stones. It was called *Ab-Indos* by the Portuguese, and in some maps *Obandos*, or the Indian *Háb*; and by Father Monserrat *Ab Indorum rivus* in Latin.[2]

11. *Ibid.*, p. 266.

From the longitude, and latitude assigned to *Cáraichi* [Karāchi], and the three next mouths of the Indus by Father Monserrat,[3] their respective distances are as follows:—

Canthi—naustathmus stationi, respondet Scopulorum qui pro Indi ostio eminet. This he calls also in Portuguese *Sorgidouro das monaras*, and from it to the mouth of *Sagapa* called *Barra d' Ormuz*, he reckons four nautical miles and a half: thence to that called *Sinthus* or *Barra do Guzarate* nine miles: to the *Aureum ostium*, or *Barra do Gemal* a little more than eighteen miles. Gemál is probably the name of the Musulman saint, entombed on the eastern shore of the bay of Rishál.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

Father Monserrat says, that a small island, with other rocks, rises very high just before the mouth of the Indus, meaning a branch of it. It is called *Camelo*,[4] and is a large rock, and there the river runs directly east and west. Those rocks, says he, from their altitude are called *Towers*, and *Monaras* (for Minars) by the Arabs; in whose language *Monara* (Minára) signifies a tower, or pyramid.[5] This station, for the shipping, is called by the Portuguese *Rio dos Pilotos*. On one of these rocky islands, Alexander erected altars to Tethys, and the Ocean, according to Diodorus the Sicilian.

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[1] Monserrate's map in *Mong. Legat. Comm.* notices the island Camelus, 'Camelus insula.'—There is nothing to prove that M. visited the Delta of the Indus or other parts of India marked on his map, *e.g.* Bengal. In the list of longitudes and latitudes in *Mong. Legat. Comm* he notices only those places through which he passed. Now, Bengal and the Delta of the Indus are omitted there Since M. intended his Bk. II to be a treatise of geography for the whole of India, it is clear that he used other materials than his own.—"*Nostrâ memoriâ*" may mean "to our own day."

[2] In the map of *Mong. Legat. Comm.* we have *Ab Indi.*

[3] Karāchi is not mentioned in *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, nor is there any parallel passage to what follows.

[4] *Camelo* appears also as a river in the old Portuguese maps. Cf. F. WILFORD, *ibid.*, p. 258.

[5] No parallel passage in our MS.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

But let us return to Nearchus, whom we left at Coreestés, or Cáraichi, called also *Carcede* by the Portuguese formerly. There he had been obliged to cut through the bar, at the mouth of the river, during the tide.... From this place they reached *Crocala*, after a course of 150 stadia, or nine miles; but 20 Roman, or 18½ British miles, according to Pliny. It was a sandy island which, I suppose, was at the mouth of the river *Háb*; and of which I took notice before. Father Monserrat, in his MS. map, says, that there was a bay at its mouth, and writes opposite to it in Spanish, *Enseada dos Ab-indos capar sellada*, the last two words of which I do not understand.[1] *Crocala* is probably derived from *Colcala*, or *Corcala* in the spoken dialects, or the river of noises. This river *Háb* is the *Hyphasis* of Philostratus, who says, that it runs through a narrow bed, full of stones, and falls into the sea with a dreadful noise. This account is greatly exaggerated, as may be supposed. This *Háb* is also the river *Arabus*, or Arbis of Q. Curtius, who says, that Alexander crossed it on the fifth day from Pathala; four days after which he crossed the real *Háb*: but the passage from that author is certainly obscure.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 473.

The *Arbis* or Arabis is called *Carbis* by Æthicus: and to this day it is denominated *Háb* and *Cáb*. It is the Cophes of Pliny, as will appear hereafter. El Edrisi mentions the country of *Araba*, and Father Monserrat says, that the river was called in his time *Arba*, and also *Háb*; for he takes particular notice of the Indian *Ab*, or *Háb*.[1]

15. *Ibid.*, XX (1852), pp. 480–481.

The Geography of this country [W. of the Delta of the Indus] i so little known, that we cannot proceed, but with little diffidence. The old maps of the Portuguese disagree; and transpositions are constantly to be met with. This seems to be a fatality, attending all surveys of that coast, not even excepting the most recent ones, from the Gulf of Cutch toward the west. The best map, in my opinion, is that of João Texeira, [**481**] Geographer to the King of Portugal; which was published in the year 1649; and is to be found in Melch. Thevenot's collection of travels. It is unfortunately upon a small scale, and of course not sufficiently explicit. The river *Caorica* is the western branch of the Háb, more accurately delineated and placed in the map of these countries, inserted in Lindschot's travels. The next river is the *Camelo*, or *Haur*: then comes a river without name to the east of the Cape *Ārubah*, which really exists according to our modern surveys. This cape is styled there, the point of islands, and the bay to the west of it, the harbour of islands, with a river at the bottom of it. Between this and Cape Guadel, our author has placed three rivers, *Palamate*, or *Palamen*, *Calamete* or *Calamen*, and near Cape Guadel, the river of Noutagues, from a tribe of that name, called Naytagues by Manuel de Faria, and Noytagues or Noytag by Father Monserrat: and this river by both, is placed to the N.-E. of Cape Guadel, not very far from it, and seemingly a little to the eastward of the eastern bay.[2] I suspect a transposition with regard to the rivers *Calamen* and *Palamen*:[3] we have ascertained the situation of the river of the *Noytagues*; and there is no doubt, but, that the *Calamen* or *Calama* river is the nearest to Cape *Árubáh*: the Palamen of course will fall in a little to the westward of Cape Passence; and will answer to the place called *Balomus* by Nearchus; and is probably the river *Ponamus* of Pliny, for *Polamus*. It was, says he, a navigable river on the confines of the Pandæ. This tribe is mentioned by Manuel de Faria under the name of Abindos or Obandos and they were the friends and allies of the Noytags. In another place Monserrat either calls them, or a tribe of them, Heytag;[1] and the pilot, whom Nearchus found at Mosarna in their country and who was called Hydrakes, was perhaps a Heytag. The additional R is no uncommon circumstance; thus instead of Teiz or Teasa, Lt. Porter has Tearsa.

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[1] No parallel passage in our MS.

[2] No parallel passage in our MS.

[3] For the change of *K* to *P* which might make *Palamen* equal to Calamen, Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, pp. 19; 326. We ask with much diffidence whether this *Calamen* could be the long lost *Calamina* of the Martyrologies, where St. Thomas the Apostle was martyred.

I think the Pandæ, or Bandæ of Pliny are nearer to the true pronunciation; and that the Portuguese were misled by the affinity with Abindos, a river to the East of Cape Múdán, which Monserrat calls in Latin *Ab Indorum rivus*, or the Indian *Háb*.

APPENDIX C.

MONSERRATE'S MAP OF INDIA.

Though Monserrate's map has been reproduced to about double the size of the original, I feel it incumbent on me to help the reader in reading Monserrate's diminutive writing, a task by no means easy to myself who dispose of the original. Throughout I shall adhere to Monserrate's spelling.

The four cardinal points can easily be read: *Aquilo*, *Auster* (of which the top part is still traceable in the original), *Oriens*, *Occidẽs*. The Tropic of Cancer (*Circulus Cancri*) looks, at a first glance, as if it divided the paper into unequal portions containing disconnected parts of India.

The degrees of longitude lie between 106° and 125°; the degrees of latitude between 15° and 36°.

Monserrate used three different inks: a very dark ink for the coastlines and place-names; red ink for the rivers and their names; a brownish ink for the mountain-ranges.

Provinces.—Proceeding from S. to N., and W. to E., the following provinces are marked: Cvncan; Decã; Gusarate pars; Gedrosiæ pars; Malva prouincia; Ariæ pars; Indvstan; Arachosiæ pars; Lahvrina prouincia; Pahorapanisadis pars; Casmir: in *Thibet* (written in pencil by the anonymous commentator): Both, et Bothant; Chabvl Reg[num].

Mountain Ranges.—Avaz mons; Vindivs mons (W. of Fathpur); Imavs (written twice): Caspvs (written twice); Paharhvætvs; Paharopanisvs.

The mountains, not considered as ranges, will be noticed lower down in italics.

Rivers.—The rivers are: two rivers near Goa; a river near Tana; one near Bassain (these four are nameless); the Taphi f[lumen] near Surate; Naruada f.; Machipara f.; the Indus Delta and Ab Indi; Riuulus Naroari flowing into the Samballus f., an affluent of the Indus (cf. fol. 3*b*); the Jamona, Jomanes f. (with its tributaries: Riuulus Delini, Riuulus Carnar) joining the Ganges at Jauza paya. The other rivers marked are all affluents of the

---

[1] No parallel passage in our MS.

Indus: Ambala f.; Satanulge or Zaradrus f.; Beha or Bibasis f.; the Raoy passing through Lahur (nameless); the next river, which is not marked, should be the Cingaro (cf. foll. 3*b*. and 61*b*. 4); next the Nani f., an affluent of the Chenao (cf. fol. 62*a*. 2); the Chenao or Sandabalis f., an affluent with the Riuulus Ruytasij of the Behet or Jehlam; the Jehlam which makes a large bend to the N.W. On turning the map round, one reads: *Fontes Bydaspis*, i e. the Behet or Jehlam (cf. fol. 62*b*. 3). Next, Riuulus Rauadi; Riuulus Gagaris; a secondary bed of the Indus. On the right bank of the Indus, the Coas f. with its affluent the Suastus f.

Lakes.—Only one lake is marked: Māsarüor lacus in Tibet. Above it, Monserrate wrote in red ink: *Hic dicũtur chris|tiani habitare.* To the right of the lake appears twice the letter *f*, which should mean: *fluvius*. These two rivers are neither the Sutlej, nor the Indus, nor the Ganges, according to Monserrate. They are nowhere mentioned in the text. I thought I could read near the lower *f*. the name Adris [=the Raoy or Ravi, otherwise not named in the map]; but, this supposition is negatived by the longitude 116° 7½′ assigned to the source of the Raoy (cf. fol. 3): hence, I propose to read [Mansar]auris f. It is impossible to guess what the other river might be.

East Coast, Bengal, Bihár, Oudh.—Proceeding from S. to N., we find: Pila .i. (perhaps, Pilapo .i. ?), where the *.i.* would seem to stand for *insula*; unfortunately, no island is to be found in that direction and Motupalli, Repalli—places in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam—are not likely guesses. Perhaps it might be "Petepolle," for which cf. the map in *Voyagie vau Capiteyn William Hawkins*. Leyden, P. Vander Aa, 1706, Vol. The ⊙ above it should mean a town. Next: Ponta de Massulapatã; Masulapatam; Guduguri; Jagarnat; Põta (?) das Palmeyras; Gallorũ insula [Cocks' Island]; Chaudecan. Going up the Hugli (not named), we meet: Ragora; Bethor; Goli [Hugli]; Satagam; Tanda. Higher up, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamona (?): Jauza paya [Allahābād?]. The Ganges is shown as coming from the Imaus (*fontes gãgis*), and passing by Patana and Agipur, which makes us think either of the Gogra or the Gandak. On the Jamona (!), to the westward: Junipur [Jaunpur]. North of Goli, Monserrate's geography of Bengal, Bihár and Oudh is strikingly unsatisfactory, a proof that he did not come to Bengal. These places are not marked, either, in the table of longitudes and latitudes.

West Coast.—Along the West Coast from Goa to the Delta of the Indus, we read to the left of the coast-line:—

Goa; Xeul; Tana; Bassain; Danu; Daman; Couleca; Balsar; Nausari; Surate; Cambaiet; frons & insula Dionisia [Diu]; Ponta do Sul; Ponta da Jaquete do Norte; Camelus ins[ula]. Within the Delta of the Indus: Bandel; Tata metrop[olis].

Along the West Coast from Goa to Surate, to the right of the coast-line:—

Sanqu[*i*]*li mons*; to the right of the word DE = /CĀ: *Huius e regione sunt duo iuga: Sanguissa, Carnala*; near Xeul: *Argao mons*; [Ca]ranja insula; Salseti insula; *Camon mons*; *Assari mons*; near Dana: *Rupes fastigiata*; near Daman: *Tres Cumuli*; *Paharnerâ*; Gandiui, on the coast below Nausari; Bearâ.

From Surate to Fathpur and Agra:—*Right bank of the Taphi*: Cossumba; Vasarai; *Left bank*: Dayta; *Right bank*: Cucuramunda; Peaz; Talaudha; Sultāpur; Rha; Auaz; *Left bank*: Cradha; Chitiuara; Brandpur; *beyond the sources of the Taphi*: Piazner (?); Cendua [Sindwa].

On the *Naruada*: Bamanq̃ gā [= the village of the Brahmaṇs]: Confluxus (marked by a stroke perpendicular to the river); *Left bank*: Surana; *on the river*: Ramamq̃ janamgam (?) [= the village of Rāma's birth].

North of the Naruada: Mandhou: Coius torrẽs; Dectan.

North of the Machipara: Usen.

On the Paharbati: *Left bank*: Sannareá; *Right bank*: Sarangpur.

Between the Paharbati and Riuulus Naroaris: Bersea; Pimpaldar; Siurange; Saddoa; Coilaraz; Cypirî.

Next: Naroar; Varásarai; Goulier; Commariâ; Daulpur; Fathpur.

From Fathpur to Qhabul: Bal; Matura; Anumanth; Delinû; Sonipat; Panipat; Carnar; Tanissar; Bad; Vadus Ambalæ, indicated by a stroke perpendicular to the river; Gagaq̃ sarai; *East*: Satcombee.

Sarind; Pael; Machiuara; *West*: Ludiana and Sultanpur.

Dungari; *West*: Gouindiuar and Gãdiuá.

Pachangari; *East*, near the sources of the Zaradrus: Concarq̃ gam.

Calanur; *East*: Nagarcott and Pargana peytá; *West*: Lahur, Xergar.

Chunigacarq̃ sarai; *East*: Samba.

Qhunja and Saddari, on the right bank of the Chenao or Sandabalis; *East*: Mancot and Jamúdib.

Balnat (only *Baln* legible): Ruytas (only *tas* legible).

Obeliscus Rhāchandi; opposite a triangle in pencil by the anonymous commentator: *N.B.* and a hand pointing to the obelisk.

Rhauadũ; Gagar; Nilabh, Azara.

On the right bank of the Coas: Oppidum rixæ; Saygi; Pirxaur; Caybar gate, opposite a triangle; Caybar; Bissaur et Beedaulat, opposite a triangle; *South*: *Baala mons.*

Gelalabad; Albaric; Qhabul.

THE END.

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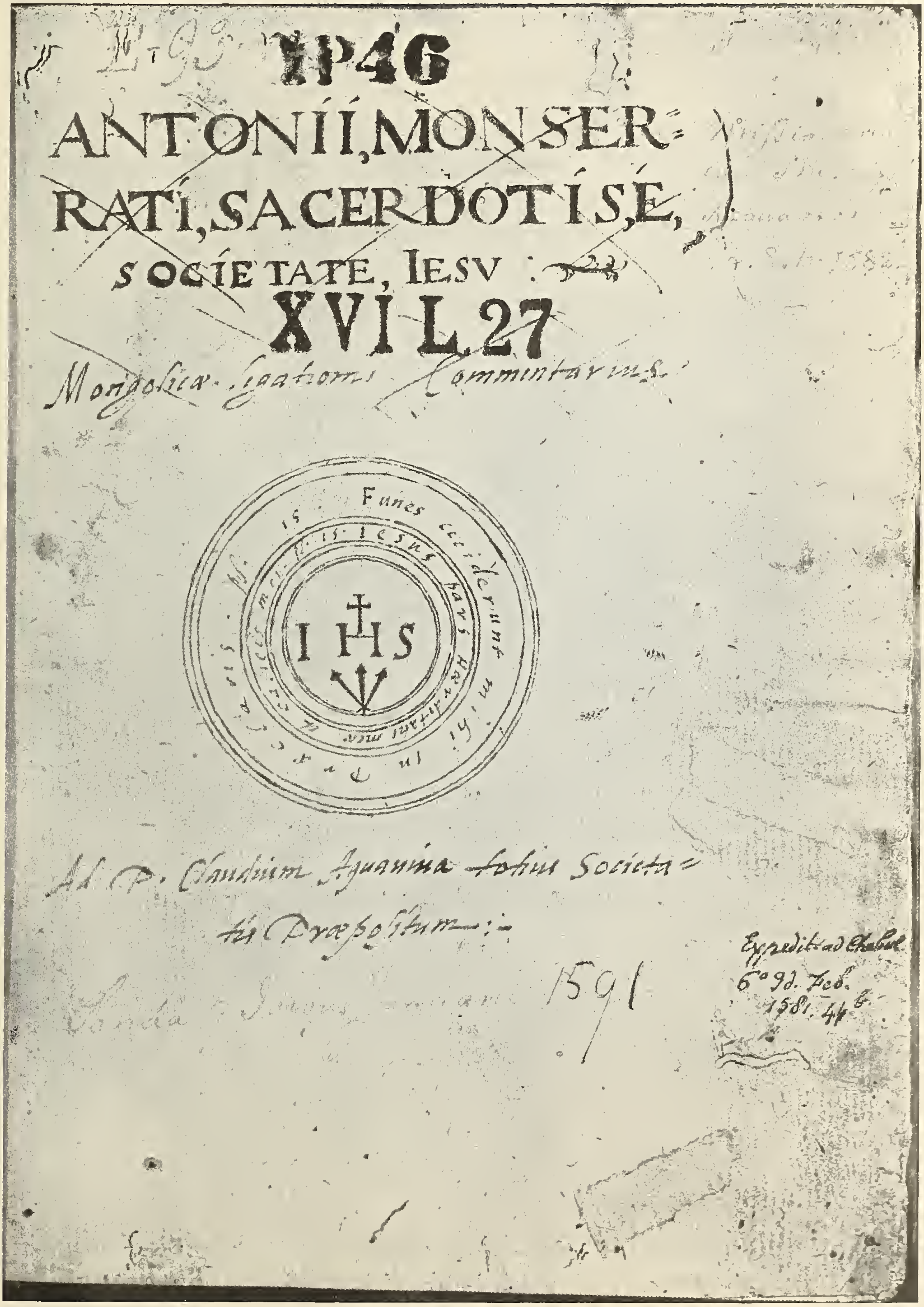

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Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius.

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Iesus pars hæreditatis meæ
IHS

Ad P. Claudium Aquauiua ~~totius~~ Societa-
tis Præpositum :-

1591

Expedit. ad Chabul
6° Id. Feb.
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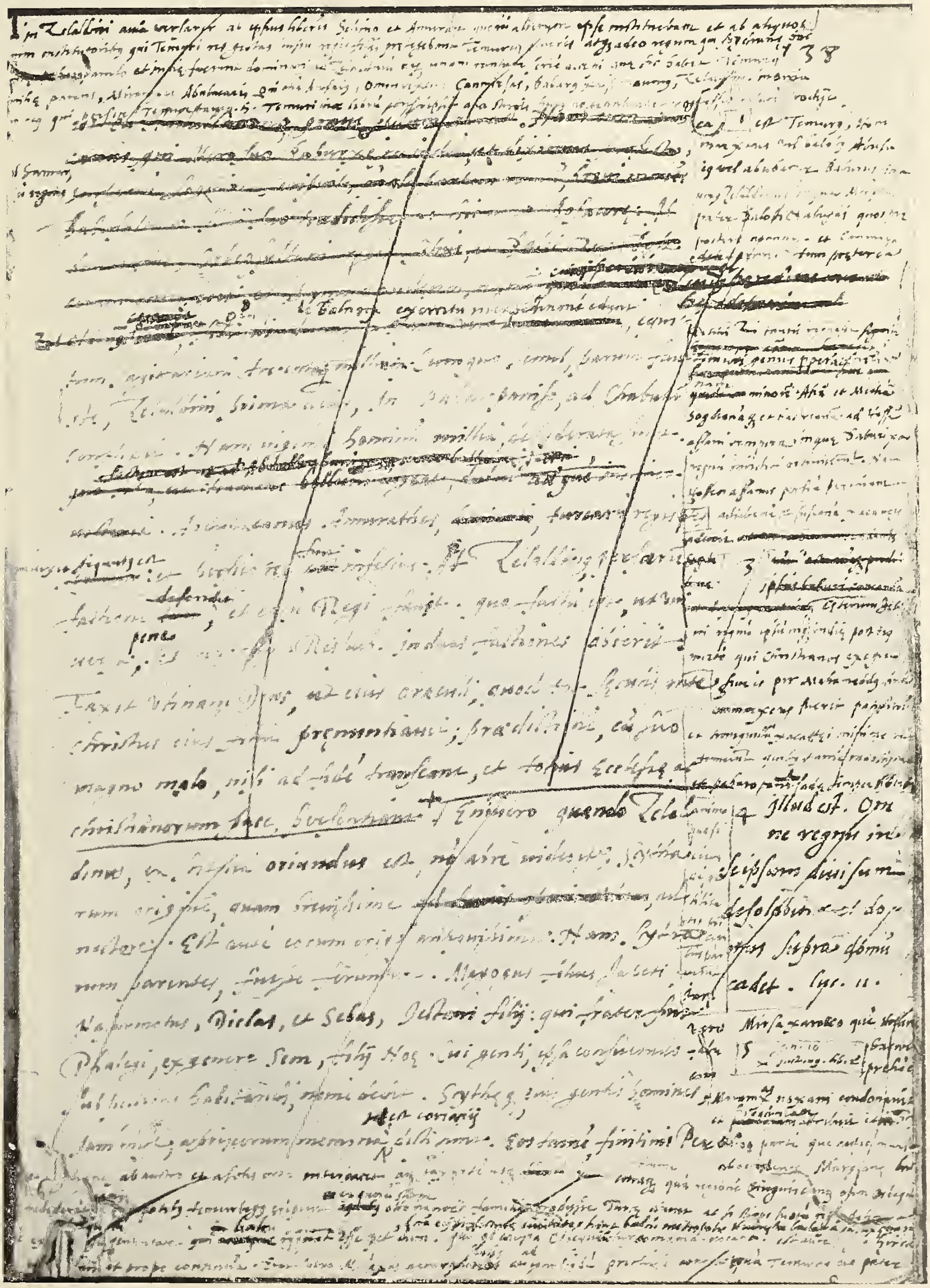

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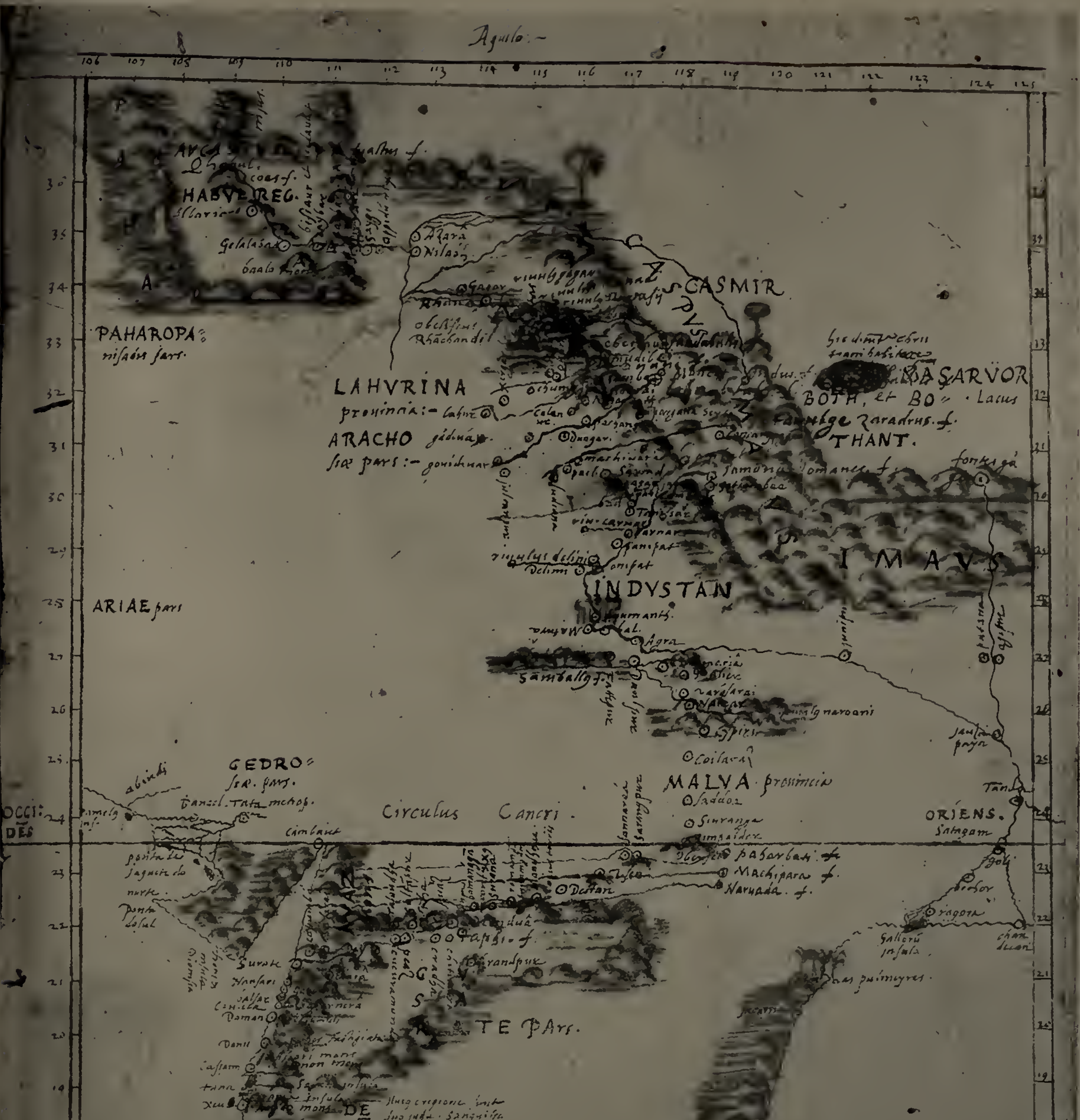
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INDVSTAN
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BOTH, et BO
Lacus
Agra
Delimi
ARIAE pars
GEDRO
sia. pars
MALVA provincia
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OCCI: DES
ORIENS.
Satagam
Tanda
Cambaiet
Surate
Damam
Tana
Goa
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DE CA
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Narvada f.
Guoaguri
ponta de Masulapatam
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